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INDEX TO THE TWENTY-SECOND VOLUME OF THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

JULY-DECEMBER, 1900.

- ABBOT, Willis J. The Management of the Democratic Campaign, 556.
Abbott, Lyman. Governor-elect Odell, of New York, 687.
Afghanistan, Amir of, 602.
Africa:
 Africa as a Game-Preserve, 733.
 Africa, South : see Transvaal.
 Beira Railway, On the, 601.
 Mid-Africa, Our Brothers in, 477.
Air-Ship, Count von Zeppelin's, 481.
Alabama, State Election in, 272.
Albee, Helen R. A Profitable Philanthropy, 57.
Alexander, King of Serbia, Marriage of, 279.
Alsace and Lorraine, 100.
American Historical Review reviewed, 744.
American Journal of Sociology reviewed, 494.
American Psychic Atmosphere, 343.
Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science reviewed, 494.
Arctic Exploration, 479.
Appellate Court-House, New, in New York City, 191.
Arctic and Antarctic Regions, Life in the, 733.
Arena reviewed, 108, 243, 367, 492, 626, 743.
Argentina, Italian Interests in, 348.
Arizona : Should She Be Admitted as a State ? 652.
Art :
 Appellate Court-House, New, in New York City, 191.
 Books, Holiday, Art in the, 749.
 Embellishment of a Michigan Town, 195.
 National Art Exhibition, 198.
 Paintings, Great, Selected by English Artists, 355.
 Paris Exposition, World's Art as Mirrored at the, 355.
Asia : see China, Japan, Philippines, Russia.
Asia, Central, Problem of, 82.
Asia ? Should the Monroe Doctrine Take in, 79.
Atlantic Monthly reviewed, 106, 241, 365, 489, 625.
Australia :
 Australasia's Place Among the Nations, 345.
 Constitution, New Australian, H. H. Lusk, 72.
 Election, Federal, in Australia, 406.
 Federation, Australian, 75.
Authors, New England, Old Age of, 698.

BEHREND, Rev. Dr. A. J. F., Death of, 21.
Beira Railway, On the, 601.
Belgian Heir-Apparent, Marriage of the, 536.
Betts, Lillian W. A Town and Country Club, 713.
Birds, On the Language of, 89.
Bonsal, Stephen. The Chinese Revolution, 166.
Bookman reviewed, 741.
Books, The New, 115, 377, 501, 632, 749.
 Art in the Holiday Books, 749.
 Children and Young People, Books for, 774.
 China, New Books on, 378.
 Editions, Some New, 769.
 Fiction, Current, Change in, 755.
 Fiction, Notes on the New Books of, 759.
 History and Travel, Some New Books of, 771.
 Roosevelt as a Man of Letters, 377.
Brains of Women, 237.
Brewster, William N. America and the Reconstruction of China, 314.
Bryan, William Jennings, at Home, 179.
Bryan, William Jennings : The Democratic Leader in 1900, 41.
Butterworth, Hezekiah. The Old Age of New England Authors, 698.

CAMPOS, Gen. Martinez, Death of, 536.
Canadian Elections, 406, 531, 592, 661.
Carey, Samuel F., Death of, 536.
Caricature, Current History in, 27, 158, 287, 411, 542, 668.
Census, Twelfth, of the United States, 275, 276, 650-652.
Century Magazine reviewed, 103, 238, 362, 486, 620, 740.
Century, Nineteenth, Review of the, 98.
Century's Ending, 643.
Character Sketches :
 Bryan, William Jennings, 41, 179.
 Daly, Marcus, 707.
 Humbert, King of Italy, 316.
 Huntington, Collis P., 323.
 McKinley, President William, 33, 673.
 Müller, Max Friedrich Maximilian, 703.
 Odell, Benjamin B., Jr., 687.
 Roosevelt, Theodore, 181, 187.
 Russell, Lord, 425.
 Stevenson, Adlai E., 420.
Children and Young People, Books for, 774.
Children, Provision for, in Public Libraries, 48.
China :
 America and the Reconstruction of China, 314.
 America, Chinese Revolutionary Junta in, 210.
 Americans in China, 209.
 America's Duty in China, 333.
 Armies Heading for the East, 150.
 Books, New, on China, 378.
 Boxers, The, 338, 476.
 China : Can It Be Saved ? 294.
 China's Future and the "Yellow Peril," 148.
 China Under the Dowager Empress, 76.
 China, What to Do with, 473, 606.
 Chinese Civilization, 212.
 Chinese Crisis, 15-18, 147-152, 213.
 Chinese Revolution, 166.
 Commercial Future of China, 475.
 Defense of the Chinese, 334.
 French Russophobist, 613.
 Germany's Foothold in China, 215.
 Hart, Sir Robert, on the Chinese Problem, 717.
 Imbroglio, Far-Eastern, 662.
 International Problem in China, 335.
 Japan's Present Attitude Towards China, 308.
 Missionaries, Chinese Attitude Towards, 211.
 Missions in China, 302, 721.
 "Mother Goose," Chinese, 722.
 Negotiations, Progress of the, 534.
 "Open Door" : Is It Guaranteed ? 81.
 Partition Is the European Purpose, 404.
 Peace Negotiators—Prince Ching and Li Hung Chang, 719.
 Peking Relieved, 277.
 Powers, China and the, 403.
 Punishment of China, 404, 605.
 Railways, Building, in China, 77.
 Russia, China and, 333, 610.
 Russians in Manchuria, 611.
 Sectaries, Chinese, Russian Among, 720.
 Societies, Secret, and the Chinese Government, 339.
 Tientsin Captured by the Allies, 151.
 United States, Attitude of the, Towards the Chinese, 80.

- United States, Leadership of the, 260.
Wu Ting Fang's Plea for Justice, 215.
Civil Servants, Training of, 222.
Civiltà Cattolica reviewed, 250.
Coal, World's, 480.
Coal-Miners' Strike, 399, 533, 534.
Collier, Price. The Rise of Golf in America, 459.
Competition : What It Costs Us, 729.
Confederate Reunion at Louisville, 20.
Congressional Affairs :
 Army Bill, New, 646.
 Congress, Questions for, 659.
 House, Representation in the, 653.
 Nicaragua Canal, 660.
 Reapportionment Problems, 653-655.
 Senate, Equilibrium of the, 653.
Conservative Review reviewed, 627.
Contemporary Review reviewed, 109, 245, 370, 628, 744.
Coöperation in Russia, 471.
Cornhill reviewed, 113, 247, 371, 496.
Cosmopolitan reviewed, 104, 239, 363, 488, 622, 740.
Cotton-Mills in Cotton-Fields, 61.
Country People, Industries for, 57.
Cox, Jacob D., Death of, 281.
Crane, Stephen, 93.
Crusoe, Robinson : Island of Juan Fernandez, 478.
Cuba :
 Affairs in Cuba, 394.
 Beveridge, Senator, on Cuba, 393.
 Constitutional Convention, 269, 660.
 Cuban Republic—Limited, 708.
 Election Times in Cuba, 14.
 Teachers, Cuban, in the United States, 13.
Custer's Last Fight, Indian Account of, 218.
DALY, Marcus, Death of, 663.
Daly, Marcus, Empire-Builders, 707.
D'Annunzio, Gabriele, the Herald of a New Italian Literature, 349.
Delagoa Bay Arbitration, Story of the, 472.
Democratic Campaign, Management of the, 556.
Democrats : see Political Affairs.
Dennis, James S. Missions in China, 302.
Deutsche Revue reviewed, 251.
Deutsche Rundschau reviewed, 251.
Development, Studies in, 359.
Disfranchisement of Negroes, 273-275.
District of Columbia, Hundred Years of the, 675.
Donald, Robert. Trusts in England, 578.
Du Bois, W. E. Burghardt. The American Negro at Paris, 575.
Edinburgh Review reviewed, 373, 746.
Education :
 France, "Popular Universities" in, 354.
 Hypnotism in Education, 90.
 Library, Public, and the Public School, 56.
 Manila's School System, 357.
 Oxford Undergraduate, 734.
 Textile Schools, New Developments in, 67.
 England : see Great Britain.
 English, Growth of the People Who Speak, 651.
 English Town and Country Ideals, 233.
 Europe : Why It Hates England, 97.
 Ewing, James S. Mr. Stevenson, the Democratic Candidate for Vice-President, 420.
 Eyes, How to Care for One's, 361.
FICTION, Current, Change in, 755.
Financial Policy, Bryan's : A Democratic View, 449.
Financial Policy, Bryan's : A Republican View, 447.
Finley, John. The Political Beginnings in Porto Rico, 571.
Flint, Charles R. New Light on the Problem of Trusts, 445.
Forbes, Archibald, 94.
Fortnightly Review reviewed, 111, 246, 369, 628, 745.
Fortune-Teller, Modern, 734.
Forum reviewed, 106, 241, 366, 490, 624, 742.
France :
 Affairs in France, 662.
 Fleet and Colonial Army, 342.
 France and England—(1) Population—(2) Defense, 646, 647.
 Naval Power of France, 472.
 "Universities, Popular," in France, 354.
Frank Leslie's Monthly reviewed, 742.
Fruit-Growing in America, 618.
GALVESTON'S Calamity, 398 ; Lessons of, 615.
Game-Preserve, Africa as a, 733.
Germany :
 Affairs in Germany, 662.
 Chancellorship, Change in the, 534.
 China, Germany's Foothold in, 215.
 England, Germany's Dependence on, 351.
 German Trade Jealousy, 225.
Gillmore, Lieut.-Com'd'r James C., Experiences of, in Luzon, 216.
Gladstone, Mrs. William Ewart, as Wife and Philanthropist, 358.
Golf, Rise of, in America, 459.
Goodrich, Joseph King. Japan's Present Attitude Towards China, 308.
Governmental Methods, Our, 222.
Great Britain : see also Transvaal.
 Affairs in England, 662.
 Army System, England's, 649.
 Boers, British Policy for the, 527-529.
 British Czar : The General Elector, 585.
 Colonial Problems, 279.
 Defense, National, Salisbury and Rosebery on, 647.
 Election, British General, 402, 526-530, 593.
 Europe : Why it Hates England, 97.
 Financial Burdens, 279.
 France and England—(1) Population—(2) Defense, 646, 647.
 Germany's Dependence on England, 351.
 Growth of the British Empire in the Nineteenth Century, 596.
 Liberalism, Future of, 530.
 Military Prestige Abroad, 596.
 Municipal Trading in England, Limits of, 728.
 Party Principles, Continuity of, 595.
 Salisbury Ministry, Some Assets of the, 530.
 Trusts in England, 578.
 War Office, Head of the, 648.
Gutenberg's Magazine reviewed, 109, 244, 368, 493, 626, 743.
Gutenberg and the Yellow Journalist, 484.
HADDEN, Archibald. The Embellishment of a Michigan Town, 195.
Haeckel, Ernst, and the New Zoölogy, 86.
Hague Peace Conference, Reminder of the, 644, 645.
Hall of Fame, The, 563.
Hamlin, Rev. Dr. Cyrus, Death of, 281.
Hanna, Marcus A., Truth About, 590.
Harper's Magazine reviewed, 103, 238, 362, 486, 621, 740.
Hawaii, Race Lines in, 661.
Hovey, Richard—A Successor to Poe and Lanier, 735.
Hull-Ottawa Fire, 228.
Humbert, King, Assassination of, 278.
Humbert, King, of Italy : A Character Sketch, 316.
Hunting in the Indian Ghauts, 86.
Huntington, Collis P., Death of, 281.
Huntington, Collis P., Sketch of, 323.
Hurricanes, West-Indian, 617.
Hygiene :
 Eyes, How to Care for One's, 361.
 Infection, Process of, 736.
 Microbe Infection, Basis of Immunity from, 483.
 Neurasthenia in Statesmen, 737.
 Hypnotism in Education, 90.
ICE-BREAKER as Polar Discoverer, 481.
Immigration as a Factor of Growth in Population, 276.
Infantry, Mounted, Value of, 723.
Infection, Process of, 736.
Ingalls, John J., Death of, 281.
International Monthly reviewed, 109, 493, 743.
Inventions, Some Notable New, 480.
Ireland, Remaking of, 727.
Irish Immigration, Century of, 227.
Iron : Demand for a Pig-Iron Reserve, 352.
Italian Review reviewed, 376.
Italy :
 Argentina, Italian Interests in, 348.

- Humbert, King, Assassination of, 278.
 Humbert, King, Italian Progress Under, 470.
 Italian Politics, 347.
 Pensions for Italian Operatives, 726.
 Revival of Italy, 725.
- JAMAICA : Does It Contain a Lesson in Colonial Government? 451.
 Japan and Korea, 82.
 Japan : Ito, Marquis, in Authority Again, 535.
 Japan's Modern Navy, 340.
 Japan's Present Attitude Towards China, 308.
 Johnston, Charles. An Estimate of Max Müller (1823-1900), 703.
 Jordan River, Sources of the, 732.
Journal of Political Economy reviewed, 495.
 Journalist, Yellow, Gutenberg and the, 484.
- KANSAS City Convention, 175.
 Kansas City, the Democratic Convention City, 84.
 Knauff, Ernest. Art in the Holiday Books, 749.
 Knauff, Ernest. The New Appellate Court-House in New York City, 191.
 Korea, Japan and, 82.
- Ladies' Home Journal* reviewed, 240, 364, 488, 623.
 Laughlin, J. Laurence. Trusts, in Case of Bryan's Election, 443.
 Lawyer, A Great, and His Career (Lord Russell), 425.
 Leading Articles of the Month, 75, 209, 333, 465, 590, 717.
 Leonora Beck Ellis. Cotton-Mills in Cotton-Fields, 61.
 Libraries, Public, Provision for Children in, 48.
 Library, Public, and the Public School, 56.
 Liebknecht, Wilhelm. Death of, 281.
 Light, New Sources of, 229.
 Lion, Taming of a, 359.
Lippincott's Magazine reviewed, 239, 364, 489, 622, 741.
 Literature ; Change in Current Fiction, 755.
 Literature, New Italian, Herald of a, 349.
 Lusk, Hugh H. The New Australian Constitution, 72.
- McClure's Magazine* reviewed, 105, 238, 363, 487, 621, 740.
 MacCracken, Henry Mitchell. The Hall of Fame, 563.
 McKinley, President William : The Record of His Administration, 33.
 McKinley, William : A Chronology, 673.
 Maine, State Election in, 272, 395.
 Maps and Diagrams :
 African Game-Preserve as Fixed by Treaty, 733.
 Australia, Commonwealth of, 24.
 Capitol Building at Washington, D. C., Plan of the Main Floor of the, 681.
 Center of Population in the United States, Diagram Showing Westward Movement of the, 652.
 China, Eastern, Scene of the Boxer Riots in, 16.
 China : Map Showing the Various Railway Concessions, 77.
 China : Route from Taku to Peking, 150.
 China : Route Taken by the Allies in Marching to Peking, 283.
 Election Results in the United States in 1896 and 1900, Diagrams Showing, 654.
 Hall of Fame, Ground Plan of the, 564.
 Hurricane of 1900, Map Showing Track of the, 617.
 Luzon, Island of, Northern Portion of, 218.
 Peking, British Legation at, 285.
 War, Regions Devastated by, 1864-1900, 667.
 Michigan Town, Embellishment of a, 195.
 Microbe Infection, Basis of Immunity from, 483.
 Missionaries, Chinese Attitude Towards, 211.
 Missions in China, 302, 721.
 Moffett, Samuel E., 707.
 Moltke, Count von, 724.
 Monnett, Frank S. Mr. Bryan and the Trusts : An Anti-Trust View, 439.
 Monroe Doctrine : Should It Take in Asia? 79.
Monthly Review reviewed, 629, 746.
 Morgan, J. Pierpont, the Great Financier, 738.
 Moritzen, Julius. Does Jamaica Contain a Lesson in Colonial Government? 451.
 "Mother Goose," Chinese, 722.
 Müller, Max, An Estimate of, 703.
 Müller, Max, at Home, 92.
- Müller, Max, Death of, 663.
 Municipal Architecture, Successful Experiment in, 191.
 Municipal Trading in England, Limits of, 728.
Munsey's Magazine reviewed, 105, 240, 364, 623, 741.
 Muravieff, Count, Death of, 18.
- National Review* reviewed, 111, 247, 371, 494, 629.
 Naval Strength of the Seven Sea Powers, 225.
 Negro, American, at the Paris Exposition, 575.
 Negroes, Disfranchisement of, 273-275.
 Neurasthenia in Statesmen, 737.
 New England Authors, Old Age of, 698.
New England Magazine reviewed, 105, 365, 622.
 Newfoundland's Remarkable Contest, 532, 533, 661.
 New Mexico : Should She Be Admitted as a State? 652.
 Newspaper, Sunday, Man Who Invented the, 619.
 New York, State of, Political Affairs in the, 270, 271, 396.
 Nietzsche, Tolstoi and, 614.
Nineteenth Century reviewed, 110, 244, 369, 628, 744.
North American Review reviewed, 107, 242, 366, 489, 625, 742.
 North Carolina, State Election in, 272-274.
 Northwest, Volcanic Scenery of the, 202.
 Norway, Election in, 406.
 Norway's Independent Course, 535.
Nouvelle Revue reviewed, 114, 249, 375, 498, 631, 748.
Nuova Antologia reviewed, 250.
- OBITUARY Notes, 21, 281, 536, 537, 663.
 Odell, Governor-elect, of New York, 687.
 Oklahoma, Living in, 344.
Outing reviewed, 239, 365, 488, 623, 741.
 Oxford Undergraduate, 734.
- PARIS Exposition :
 American Negro at Paris, 575.
 Art, World's, as Mirrored at Paris, 355.
 Upshot of the Paris Exposition, 730.
 Paris Slums, A Year's Plunge into, 355.
 Park, Prof. Edwards A., Death of, 21.
 Parker, John H. Pressing Needs of the Philippines, 312.
 Partridge, William Ordway. A National Art Exhibition, 198.
 Pensions for Italian Operatives, 726.
 Pension Systems, Old-Age, 95.
 Periodicals, Index to, 124, 252, 380, 508, 636, 780.
 Periodicals Reviewed, The, 103, 238, 362, 486, 620, 740.
 Philanthropy, A Profitable, 57.
 Philippines :
 Bryan's Proposed Solution of the Philippine Problem, 262-268.
 Filipinos and Independence, 469.
 Gillmore, Lieut.-Com'd'r James C.; His Experiences in Luzon, 216.
 McKinley on the Philippine Question, 388.
 Manila's School System, 357.
 Needs, Pressing, of the Philippines, 312.
 Philippine Problem, Practical Solution of the, 267, 268.
 Philippines, Practical Bryan Policy for the, 433.
 Progress in the Philippines, 15.
 Poetry : Work of Richard Hovey, 735.
 Political Affairs in the United States : see also Congressional Affairs.
 Beveridge, Senator, on Cuba, 393.
 Boer Cause in American Politics, 145.
 Bryan, Mr., as the Paragon of Statesmanship, 523-524.
 Bryan, Mr., at Home, 179.
 Bryan, Mr., Heavy Undertaking of, 657.
 Bryan, Mr., on the Issue in the Campaign, 83.
 Bryan Supporters, Some, 393.
 Bryan, William Jennings : The Democratic Leader in 1900, 41.
 "Bryanism" : Is It Socialistic? 466.
 Bryan's Financial Policy : A Democratic View, 449.
 Bryan's Financial Policy : A Republican View, 447.
 Bryan's Indianapolis Speech, Analysis of, 262-268.
 Bryan's Letter of Acceptance, 390, 391.
 Cabinet, President's, 659.
 Campaign, Progress of the, 145, 259-273, 387-397, 515-525, 655-658.
 Congressional Elections, 658.
 Democratic Campaign, Management of the, 556.
 Democratic Claims, 396.

- Democratic Convention, Forecast of the, 11, 12.
 Democratic Mistake at Kansas City, 134-138.
 Democratic Party and Its Leaders, 139.
 Democratic Platform, Analysis of the, 141-143.
 Democratic Vice-Presidential Problem, 140.
 Democrats and Their Fighting Ground, 131.
 Election Result, Meaning of the, 655.
 Forecasts, Republican, for November, 395.
 Governors, New, 658.
 Hanna, Marcus A., Truth About, 590.
 Kansas City Convention, 175.
 McKinley, President: Record of His Administration, 33.
 McKinley, President, Reflection of, 656.
 McKinley, President, Renomination of, and Its Meaning, 5, 6.
 McKinley, William: A Chronology, 673.
 McKinley's Letter of Acceptance, Analysis of, 387-389.
 Money in the Campaign, 397.
 New York State Politics, 271, 270, 396.
 Odell, Governor-elect, of New York, 687.
 "Paramount Issues," As to, 131.
 Parties and Policies, 389.
 Philippines and the Campaign, 260, 262-268.
 Philippines, Practical Bryan Policy for the, 433.
 Populist Nomination, Bryan's acceptance of the, 391.
 Populist Vice-Presidential Candidate, 391.
 Populists, Non-Fusion, 392.
 Presidential Campaign of 1900, 738.
 Prohibition Party, National, and Its Candidates, 327.
 Republican National Committee, Work of the, 549.
 Republican National Convention at Philadelphia, 3-10.
 Republican Principles in 1900, 3.
 Roosevelt, Governor, in the Field, 392.
 Roosevelt, Theodore, Nomination of, for Vice-President, 7-10.
 Roosevelt, Theodore, Sketch of, 181.
 Roosevelt's View of the Vice-Presidential Office, 9.
 Roosevelt's Work as Governor, 187.
 Shepard, Edward M., Views and Criticisms of, 390.
 Silver as an Abnormal Issue, 133.
 Silver Issue in the Campaign, 515-518.
 State Elections in North Carolina, Alabama, Vermont, and Maine, 272, 395.
 States, Various, Election Results in, 657.
 Southern Sentiment Regarding Campaign Issues, 515, 519, 520, 655.
 Stevenson, Adlai E., the Democratic Candidate for Vice-President, 420.
 Tammany Hall, Influence of, 521, 522.
 Tammany Turned the Scale at Kansas City, 138.
 "Third-Ticket Antis," 394.
 Towne Declines in Favor of Stevenson, 269.
 "Trusts" as a Fresh Issue, 522.
 Trusts, in Case of Bryan's Election, 443.
 Trusts, Mr. Bryan and the: An Anti-Trust View, 439.
 Wisconsin, Republican Campaign in, 273.
 Political Discussion: How It Should Be Conducted, 467.
Political Science Quarterly reviewed, 494.
 Population, Distribution of Our, and Evenness of Our Growth, 652.
 Population of the United States, 275, 276, 650-652.
 Porto Rico, Political Beginnings in, 571; Election in, 361.
 Portraits:
 Abbot, Willis J., 557.
 Abruzzi, Duke of, 408.
 Adams, John, 569.
 Afghanistan, Amir of, 603.
 Alcott, A. Bronson, 701.
 Allison, William B., 8.
 Ashley, Clarence D., 565.
 Atkinson, Fred. W., 15.
 Audubon, John J., 570.
 Aycock, Charles B., 272.
 Bacheller, Irving, 763.
 Baker, Capt. L. D., 453.
 Balfour, Arthur J., 527.
 Balzac, Honoré, 769.
 Barton, Edmund, 75.
 Beecher, Henry Ward, 570.
 Bellamy, Edward, 761.
 Binnie, Sir Alexander R., 409.
 Bliss, Aaron T., 656.
 Bliss, Cornelius N., 397.
 Bloch, Jean de, 475.
 Botha, Gen. Louis, 386.
 Boutwell, George S., 261.
 Bradbury, James W., 699.
 Bristow, J. L., 22.
 Brodrick, St. John, 649.
 Brooks, Christopher P., 67.
 Bryan, Grace Dexter, 180.
 Bryan, Ruth Baird, 180.
 Bryan, William Jennings, 41, 130, 179, 263, 514, 559.
 Bryan, Mrs. William Jennings, 179.
 Bryan, William Jennings, Jr., 180.
 Bülou, Count von, 534.
 Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Henry, 527.
 Campos, Gen. Martinez, 536.
 Cartees, Baron de, 407.
 Cartwright, Sir R. J., 531.
 Chaffee, Maj.-Gen. Adna R., 150.
 Chamberlain, Joseph, 527.
 Channing, William E., 569.
 Chinese Empress, 258.
 Clay, Henry, 568.
 Clark, Francis E., 155.
 Clark, John Bates, 465.
 Coler, Bird S., 271.
 Conger, Edwin H., 15, 284.
 Conger, Mrs. Edwin H., 284.
 Connaught, Duke of, 281.
 Cooper, Peter, 569.
 Corbin, Henry C., 538.
 Craigie, Maj. P. G., 409.
 Crane, Stephen, 93.
 Crane, W. Murray, 659.
 Crawford, F. Marion, 771.
 Croker, Richard, 139, 514.
 Custer, Gen. George A., 219.
 Daly, Marcus, 707.
 D'Annunzio, Gabriele, 349.
 Davies, Sir L. H., 531.
 Davis, Jefferson, 395.
 Depew, Chauncey M., 10.
 De Wet, Gen. Christian, 667.
 Dillingham, William F., 538.
 Dockery, A. M., 657.
 Dolliver, Jonathan P., 7, 538.
 Doyle, A. Conan, 598.
 Du Bois, W. E. Burghardt, 575.
 Durand, Sir F. M., 410.
 Durbin, Winfield T., 656.
 Edwards, Jonathan, 568.
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 568.
 Farragut, David G., 568.
 Fielding, William S., 531.
 Flanders, Prince and Princess of, 536.
 Foster, Murphy J., 23.
 Franklin, Benjamin, 568.
 Frye, Alexis E., 14.
 Fulton, Robert, 570.
 Garland, Hamlin, 763.
 Gear, John H., 157.
 Gibbs, Frederick S., 397.
 Gideon, D. S., 458.
 Giers, M. de, 407.
 Gillmore, Lieut.-Com'd'r James C., 217.
 Gladstone, Mrs. William E., 358.
 Gordon, Gen. John B., 20.
 Goschen, George J., 528.
 Goss, Charles Frederic, 763.
 Grant, Ulysses S., 567.
 Gray, Asa, 569.
 Gray, George, 644.
 Greene, Gen. Francis V., 270.
 Greene, Sir W. Conynghame, 410.
 Hackley, Charles H., 195.
 Haeckel, Ernst, 87.
 Hale, Edward Everett, 698.
 Hamilton, Rev. J. W., 25.
 Hanna, Marcus A., 4, 154, 397, 549.
 Harris, Joel Chandler, 766.
 Hart, Sir Robert, 278.
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 569.
 Hays, Charles M., 666.

- Hearst, William R., 396, 514.
 Heath, Perry S., 550.
 Hélène, Queen, of Italy, 322.
 Hemming, Sir Augustus, 452.
 Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, 701.
 Hill, David B., 139.
 Hill, John F., 273.
 Holls, Frederick W., 644.
 Hopetoun, Lord, 346.
 Howe, Archibald M., 395.
 Howe, Julia Ward, 700.
 Humbert, King, of Italy, 318, 320.
 Hunn, John, 658.
 Huntington, Collis P., 323, 325.
 Irving, Washington, 568.
 Isaacs, Meyer S., 689.
 Ito, Marquis, 535.
 Jefferson, Thomas, 568.
 Jennings, W. S., 658.
 Jones, James K., 12, 557.
 Jordan, Chester B., 659.
 Kang-Yu-Wei, 17.
 Kempff, Rear-Admiral Louis, 16.
 Kent, James, 570.
 Ketteler, Baron von, 407.
 Kröyer, Peter Severin, 236.
 La Follette, Robert M., 273, 656.
 Lamsdorff, Count, 153.
 Lansdowne, Lord, 649.
 Larmor, Joseph, 409.
 Laurier, Sir Wilfrid, 581.
 Lee, Robert E., 569.
 Li Hung Chang, 152, 404, 719.
 Lincoln, Abraham, 567.
 Liscum, Col. Emerson H., 151.
 Livermore, Mrs. Mary A., 698.
 Llorente, Señor, 660.
 Lloyd, John Uri, 762.
 Lodge, Henry Cabot, 5, 154.
 Long, John D., 7.
 Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 568.
 Lopez, Sixto, 540.
 Lord, James Brown, 193.
 Loubet, President Emile, 642.
 MacCracken, Henry M., 565.
 Macdonald, Hugh J., 531.
 Macdonald, Sir Claude, 151.
 McEnery, Samuel D., 23.
 Macfarland, Henry B. F., 685.
 Mackey, William F., 397.
 McKinley, President William, 2, 33, 154, 673.
 McLean, George P., 659.
 McMillin, Benton, 657.
 McSweeney, M. B., 665.
 Manley, Joseph H., 397.
 Mann, Horace, 569.
 Margherita, Queen, of Italy, 320.
 Markle, John, 540.
 Marshall, John, 568.
 Martin, Rev. W. A. P., 155.
 Metcalf, Henry B., 329.
 Middleton, R. W. E., 528.
 Mitchell, John, 400.
 Moltke, Count von, 724.
 Moore, Rev. D. H., 25.
 Morgan, J. Pierpont, 739.
 Morse, Samuel F. B., 568.
 Müller, Max, 92, 703, 704.
 Muravieff, Count, 18.
 Nevill-Dering, Sir Henry, 410.
 Nietzsche, Friedrich W., 614.
 Norton, Charles Eliot, 702.
 Odell, Benjamin B., Jr., 10, 271, 687.
 Oldham, W. D., 135.
 Orman, J. B., 657.
 Park, Edwards A., 700.
 Parker, Gilbert, 767.
 Peabody, George, 569.
 Perkin, W. H., 409.
 Philip, Rear-Admiral John W., 157.
 Phipps, E. C., 410.
 Platt, Thomas C., 5, 10.
 Plunket, Sir Francis, 410.
 Pritchett, Henry S., 541.
 Quay, Matthew S., 4.
 Raggi, Marquis Salvago, 407.
 Ramée, Mlle. De La, 765.
 Rassieur, Leo, 408.
 Reid, R. G., 532.
 Reitz, F. A., 20.
 Remey, Rear-Admiral George C., 148.
 Rhees, Rush, 541.
 Rhys, John, 409.
 Richardson, James D., 133.
 Richthofen, Freiherr von, 663.
 Ridpath, John Clark, 281.
 Robertson, Sir G. S., 409.
 Rockhill, William W., 278.
 Rodriguez, Gen. Alejandro, 14.
 Rogers, John B., 657.
 Roosevelt, Theodore, 9, 10, 146, 181, 187.
 Roosevelt, Theodore, Sr., 186.
 Root, Elihu, 259, 538.
 Rosebery, Lord, 648.
 Russell, Lord, of Killowen, 281, 425, 427, 431.
 Ryan, Archbishop, 400.
 Sabsovich, H. L., 689.
 Salisbury, Lord, 526.
 Sanford, William J., 272.
 Satow, Sir Ernest, 535.
 Saxe-Coburg, Charles Edward of, 280.
 Saxe-Coburg, Late Duke of, 281.
 Sayre, Lewis A., 541.
 Scott, Nathan B., 397.
 Selborne, Earl of, 649.
 Seymour, Vice-Admiral Sir Edward H., 148.
 Shaw, Edward R., 565.
 Shepard, Edward M., 261.
 Sherman, John, 537.
 Sidgwick, Henry, 410.
 Sollas, W. J., 409.
 Stanchfield, John B., 397.
 Stanley, W. E., 664.
 Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, 700.
 Stevenson, Adlai E., 130, 140, 420, 422, 423, 514.
 Stickney, W. W., 273.
 Stillé, Alfred, 541.
 Storrs, Rev. Richard S., 21.
 Story, Joseph, 569.
 Strathcona, Lord, 531.
 Strong, William L., 666.
 Stuart, Gilbert, 569.
 Takahira, Kogoro, 283.
 Tarte, J. Israel, 531.
 Tetuan, Duke of, 645.
 Thomas, Charles S., 135.
 Thompson, Maurice, 761.
 Tillman, Benjamin R., 137.
 Tolstoi, Count Leo, 91.
 Toole, J. K., 658.
 Towne, Charles A., 140.
 Traquair, R. H., 409.
 Trowbridge, John Townsend, 701.
 Tupper, Sir Charles, 531.
 Tupper, Sir Charles H., 531.
 Turner, Sir William, 409.
 Van Sant, Samuel F., 656.
 Van Wyck, Robert A., 514.
 Victor Emmanuel III., King, 321, 322.
 Victoria, Queen, and her Great-Grandchildren, 589.
 Villuendas, Señor, 660.
 Vines, Sydney H., 409.
 Waldersee, Count von, 277, 403.
 Waldersee, Countess von, 403.
 Wales, Prince of, 281.
 Ward, Mrs. Humphry, 759.
 Ward, Leslie D., 10.
 Wardwell, William T., 330.
 Warman, Cy, 767.
 Warner, Charles Dudley, 537.
 Washington, George, 566.
 Webster, Daniel, 567.
 Webster, Sir Richard, 645.
 Wellington, George L., 392.
 Wells, Heber M., 664.
 White, A. B., 665.

- White, Frank, 658.
 Whitney, Eli, 570.
 Wilcox, Robert W., 661.
 Wilhelmina, Queen, and her Prospective Consort, 663.
 Wilson, William L., 539.
 Wilmer, Rev. Richard Hooker, 21.
 Wolcott, Edward O., 146.
 Wolcott, Roger, 282.
 Woolley, John G., 328.
 Woolley, Mrs. John G., 328.
 Woolley, Mary E., 541.
 Wu Ting Fang, 79.
 Wyndham, George, 649.
 Yates, Richard, 656.
 Young, Lafayette, 11.
 Presidential Campaign: see Political Affairs.
 Progress of the World, The, 3, 131, 259, 387, 515, 643.
 Prohibition Party, National, and Its Candidates, 327.
 Putnam, George Haven. Roosevelt as a Man of Letters, 377.
Quarterly Review reviewed, 372.
 RADIOCULTURE, 89.
Rassegna Nazionale reviewed, 250.
 Reapportionment Problems, 275, 653-655.
 Record of Current Events, 22, 153, 282, 407, 538, 664.
 Referendum, Objections to the, 224.
 Relics and Their Cult, 356.
 Republican National Committee: How It Works for Votes, 549.
 Republicans: see Political Affairs.
Revue de Paris reviewed, 250, 374, 499, 630, 747.
Revue des Deux Mondes reviewed, 114, 249, 497, 630, 747.
Revue des Revues reviewed, 375, 500.
 Ridpath, John Clark, Death of, 281.
 Riis, Jacob A. Making a Way Out of the Slum, 689.
 Riis, Jacob A. Theodore Roosevelt, 181.
Rivista Politica e Letteraria reviewed, 251.
Rivista Popolare reviewed, 251.
 Roberts, George E. Bryan's Financial Policy: A Republican View, 447.
 Roosevelt, Theodore, as a Man of Letters, 377.
 Roosevelt, Theodore: His Work as Governor, 187.
 Roosevelt, Theodore, Sketch of, 181.
 Rug-Making, 57.
 Russell, Lord, of Killowen, Death of, 281; Sketch of, 425.
 Russia:
 China and Russia, 610.
 China, Russia's Stake in, 333.
 Coöperation in Russia, 471.
 Manchuria, Russians in, 611.
 ST. LOUIS STRIKES, Politics in the, 13.
 Saxe-Coburg, Duke of, 280.
 Science:
 Development, Studies in, 359.
 Haeckel, Ernst, and the New Zoölogy, 86.
 Thyroid Gland, 88.
Scribner's Magazine reviewed, 104, 238, 487, 621, 740.
 Sea Powers, Seven Great, 225.
 Serpents, Venom of: How It Is Collected, 230.
 Shaw, Albert. A Hundred Years of the District of Columbia, 675.
 Shepard, Edward M. The Practical Bryan Policy for the Philippines, 433.
 Sherman, John, Death of, 537.
 Sicily as a Summer Resort, 850.
 Slum, Making a Way Out of the, 689.
 Smith, Katherine Louise. The Provision for Children in Public Libraries, 48.
 Socialist State, Value of Brains in the, 353.
 Sovereignty, New Exposition of, 223.
 Spahr, Charles B. Bryan's Financial Policy: A Democratic View, 449.
 Spahr, Charles B. Mr. Bryan, the Democratic Leader, 41.
 Spain, Separatism in, 102.
 Spanish-American Unity, 470.
 Spanish Capital—Madrid, 237.
 Sports of Women: A Symposium, 231.
 Stead, W. T. A Great Lawyer and His Career, 425.
 Stead, W. T. British Czar: The General Elector, 585.
 Stevenson, Adlai E., the Democratic Candidate for Vice-President, 420.
 Stewart, Jane A. New Developments in Textile Schools, 67.
 Storrs, Rev. Dr. Richard Salter, Death of, 21.
 Strahorn, Robert E. Volcanic Scenery of the Northwest, 202.
 Strike, Coal-Miners', 399, 533, 534.
 Strong, William L., Death of, 663.
 Switzerland, Military Training in, 650.
 TELEPHONY, Wireless, 482.
 Textile Schools, New Developments in, 67.
 Theater for the People, 94.
 Thyroid Gland, 88.
 Tolstoi and Nietzsche, 614.
 Tolstoi, Count, The *Quarterly* on, 91.
 Town and Country Club, 713.
 Transvaal: see also Great Britain.
 American Politics, Boer Cause in, 145.
 Annexation of the Transvaal by Great Britain, 401.
 Boers, French Views of the, 220.
 Boers in Guerrilla Warfare, 144.
 Doyle, Dr. Conan: His Lessons from the Boer War, 598.
 Fate of the Boers, 527-529.
 Krüger, President, Retreat of, 400.
 Milnerism in South Africa, 599.
 Pretoria, Capture of, 18.
 Settlement in South Africa, 600.
 South Africa, Reconstruction of, 219.
 War Against Women and Children, 597.
 War Operations in South Africa, 280.
 Travel, Out of the Way, Glimpses of, 233.
 Tripoli, Modern, Notes on, 101.
 Trusts:
 Bryan, Mr., and the Trusts: An Anti-Trust View, 439.
 England, Trusts in, 578.
 Trust Problem, Latest Phase of the, 465.
 "Trust Problem, The," Review of, 445.
 Trusts, in Case of Bryan's Election, 443.
 UNITED STATES: see also Census, Congressional Affairs, Cuba, Hawaii, Philippines, Political Affairs, Porto Rico.
 Administration, Preoccupied, 259.
 China, America and the Reconstruction of, 314.
 China, Americans in, 209.
 China, America's Duty in, 333.
 Chinese, Our Attitude Towards the, 80.
 German Trade Jealousy, 225.
 Nations, Our New Place Among the, 343.
 Population of the United States, 650-652.
 VERMONT, State Election in, 272, 395.
 Villard, Henry, Death of, 281.
 Volcanic Scenery of the Northwest, 202.
 Voting by Mail, 468.
 Voting, Compulsory, 591.
 WALDERSEE, Field-Marshal Count, 604.
 Warfare: Value of Mounted Infantry, 723.
 War, How Armies May Prevent, 645.
 War in South Africa: see Transvaal.
 Warner, Charles Dudley, Death of, 537.
 Wars as Marking Periods of Time, 643.
 Washington: Building of Our National Capital, 731.
 Washington, D. C.: A Hundred Years of the District of Columbia, 675.
 Wellington, Duke of, and the Irate Painter, 485.
 Wellman, Walter. The Cuban Republic—Limited, 708.
 Wellman, Walter. The Kansas City Convention, 175.
Westminster Review reviewed, 112, 248, 370, 495.
 Wheat Supply, World's: Can It Be Cornered? 226.
 Wheeler, Edward J. The National Prohibition Party and Its Candidates, 327.
 Wilhelmina, Queen, Engagement of, 535.
 Williams, Talcott. Can China Be Saved? 294.
 Williams, Talcott. The Change in Current Fiction, 755.
 Wilmer, Rt. Rev. Richard Hooker, Death of, 21.
 Wilson, William L., Death of, 536.
 Wisconsin, Republican Campaign in, 273.
 Women, Brains of, 237.
 Women's Sports: A Symposium, 231.
World's Work reviewed, 620.
 ZOÖLOGY, New, Ernst Haeckel and the 86

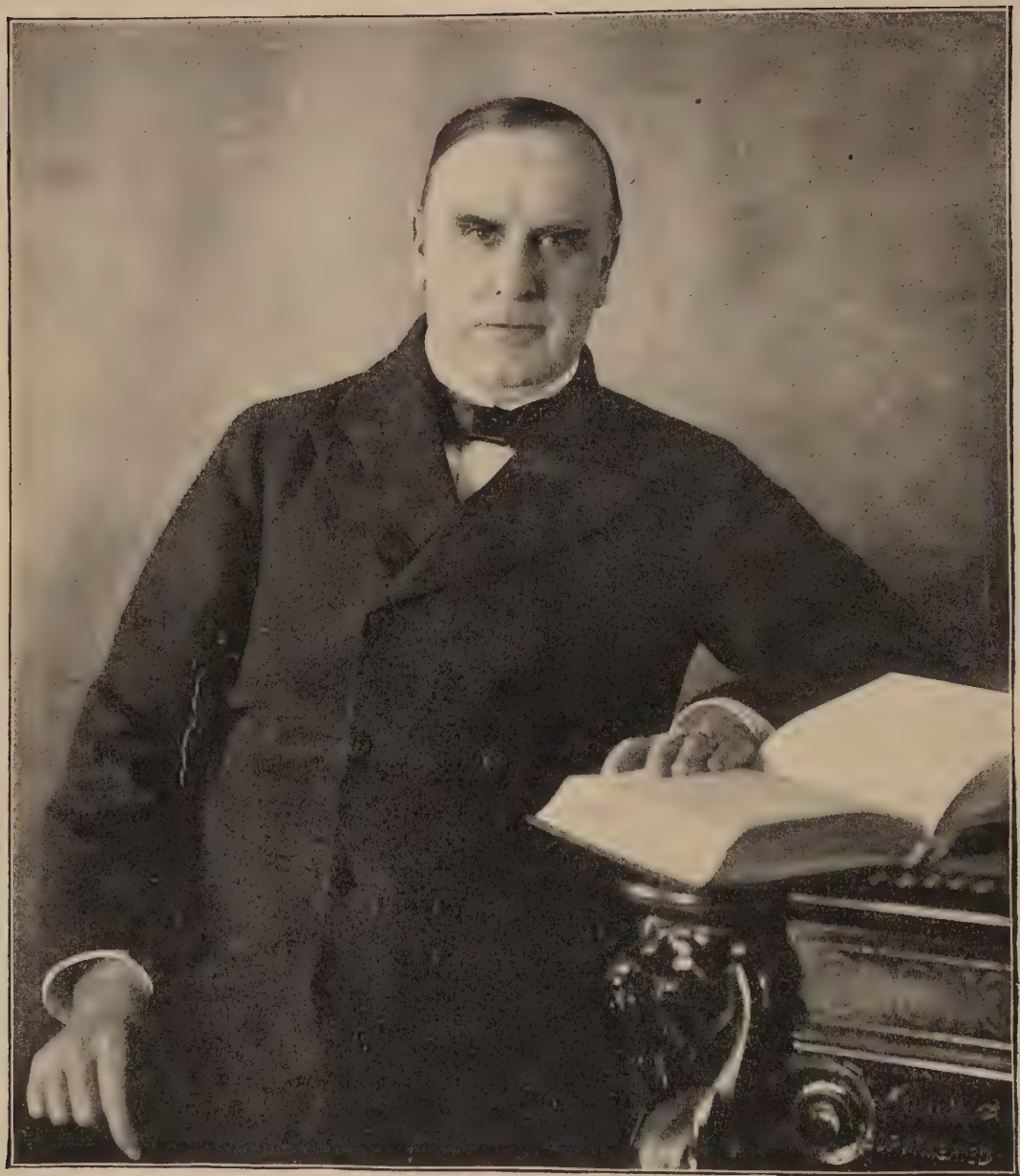
THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW.

CONTENTS FOR JULY, 1900.

President William McKinley.....	Frontispiece	The Public Library and the Public School. . .	56
The Progress of the World—		A Profitable Philanthropy.....	57
The Philadelphia Convention.....	3	By Helen R. Albee.	
Republican Principles in 1900.....	3	With illustrations.	
Harmony Unprecedented.....	3	Cotton-Mills in Cotton-Fields.....	61
Behold, How These Brethren Love One Another!	4	By Leonora Beck Ellis.	
What Is the True Interpretation?.....	5	With illustrations.	
The Question of a Second Term.....	5	New Developments in Textile Schools.....	67
What Is Thought of the President.....	6	By Jane A. Stewart.	
Two Character Sketches.....	6	With portrait of Christopher P. Brooks and other illustrations.	
The Second Place on the Ticket.....	6	The New Australian Constitution	72
The Movement for Roosevelt.....	7	By Hugh H. Lusk.	
How the Movement Was Revived.....	8	Leading Articles of the Month—	
How It Was Developed.....	8	Australian Federation.....	75
His Own View of the Office.....	9	China Under the Dowager Empress.....	76
Governor Roosevelt's Future.....	10	Building Railways in China.....	77
A One-Man Convention.....	11	Should the Monroe Doctrine Take in Asia?.....	79
A Platform to Match the Candidate.....	11	Our Attitude Towards the Chinese.....	80
The Difficulties of Fusion.....	12	Is the "Open Door" Guaranteed?.....	81
Politics in the St. Louis Strikes.....	13	The Problem of Central Asia.....	82
Cuban Teachers in the United States.....	13	Japan and Korea.....	82
Election Times in Cuba.....	14	Mr. Bryan on the Issue in the Campaign	83
Progress in the Philippines.....	15	The Democratic Convention City.....	84
The Chinese Crisis.....	15	Hunting in the Indian Ghauts.....	86
The Course of the Powers.....	17	Ernst Haeckel and the New Zoology.....	86
The Role of the United States.....	17	The Thyroid Gland.....	88
The Death of Count Muravieff.....	18	Radioculture.....	89
The Capture of Pretoria.....	18	On the Language of Birds.....	89
The Remnant of Boer Resistance.....	19	Hypnotism in Education.....	90
The Confederate Reunion at Louisville.....	20	" The Quarterly " on Tolstoi.....	91
Obituary.....	21	Prof. Max Müller at Home.....	92
With portraits of Matthew S. Quay, Senator Hanna, Senator Platt, Senator Lodge, John D. Long, J. P. Dolliver, Senator Allison, Theodore Roosevelt, Lafayette Young, Senator Jones, Alexis E. Frye, Gen. Alejandro Rodriguez, Fred. W. Atkinson, Edwin H. Conger, Rear-Admiral Kempff, Kang-Yu-Wei, the late Count Muravieff, Secretary Reitz, Gen. John B. Gordon, the late Richard S. Storrs, and the late Bishop Wilmer, map showing scene of the Boxer riots in Eastern China, cartoons, and other illustrations.		The Late Stephen Crane.....	93
Record of Current Events.	22	The Late Archibald Forbes.....	94
With portraits of J. L. Bristow, Douglass McEnery, Murphy J. Foster, Rev. J. W. Hamilton, and Rev. D. H. Moore, and a map of Australia showing the relative importance of each State.		A Theater for the People.....	94
Political Cartoons of the Month.....	27	Old-Age Pension Systems.....	95
The Republican Candidate.....	33	Why Europe Hates England.....	97
With portrait of President William McKinley.		The Dying Century.....	98
Mr. Bryan, the Democratic Leader, in 1900... 41		Alsace and Lorraine.....	100
By Charles B. Spahr.		Notes on Modern Tripoli.....	101
With portrait of William Jennings Bryan.		Separatism in Spain.....	102
The Provision for Children in Public Libraries 48		With portraits of Edmund Barton, Wu Ting Fang, Ernst Haeckel, Leo Tolstoi, Max Müller, and the late Stephen Crane, a map of China showing the various railway concessions, and other illustrations.	
By Katherine Louise Smith.		The Periodicals Reviewed.....	103
With illustrations.		The New Books.....	115
		Index to Periodicals.....	124

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PRESIDENT WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

(Unanimously Renominated by the Republican Convention, at Philadelphia, Thursday, June 21.)

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

Review of Reviews.

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NO. 1.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

The Philadelphia Convention. If Vice-President Hobart had not died in office, the National Republican Convention at Philadelphia last month would have been by far the most unanimous and most uneventful in the history of either great party since the Republicans nominated their first President at Philadelphia in 1856. The entire party had acquiesced in the opinion that the McKinley administration ought to be given another four years' lease of power. If Mr. Hobart had lived, his renomination for the Vice-Presidency would have been as unquestioned as Mr. McKinley's for the first place on the ticket. As for the platform, it was not really necessary to go through the form of adopting one. This we say, not because the Republican party at the present time has no principles or policies, but rather because its recent record has made its principles unmistakable, while its policies for the immediate future are of necessity fixed inexorably by existing conditions and by its committal to the furtherance of programmes already initiated. The platform, as adopted, does not attempt to be brilliant, ringing, or incisive. It has no catch-phrases. It is rather a review and a statement that—somewhat informally, but nevertheless guardedly—expresses the claims and general intentions of a party sobered by the consciousness that it is likely to remain in power and to be held responsible for all that it ventures to promise.

Republican Principles in 1900. Its real platform as to money, taxation, public indebtedness, and those kindred subjects which relate to the internal business welfare of the country, is best found in the record of its recent actions. It is now a gold-standard party. It is rather vaguely committed to a consideration of some plan for a more flexible currency; and its indirect allusion to bimetallism by concurrence of other powers is a mere touch of politeness, and nothing else. Upon no new topic had the Republican party any deliverance to make, in its grand quadrennial

gathering, that involved either discussion or difference of opinion. Not a voice was lifted against the Philippine policy of the administration. No one had anything to say in advocacy of the doctrine that the Constitution, of its own force, follows the flag and covers all territorial acquisitions. If any one of the more than two thousand delegates, alternates, and other prominent Republicans who were in the assembly had by chance a passing word to say about the Porto Rico tariff, there was certainly not even the hint of two opinions on that subject.

Harmony Unprecedented. Four years ago, at St. Louis, there was the utmost intensity of feeling upon great public questions, as well as upon candidates. This year, at Philadelphia, there was a pleasant air of harmony and confidence that was disturbed only by the gentlest ripples of excitement due to the question of a choice for the Vice-Presidential nomination. The placidity of the whole affair seemed to partake of the characteristics of Philadelphia itself. The prosperous "City of Brotherly Love," with its population of contented people who own their own homes, its manufacturing industries, its shipbuilding and its foreign and domestic commerce, has always been the most Republican of the large American communities, and seems in many respects to embody very fairly those Republican ideals with which Mr. McKinley's name is especially identified. It was a typical gathering of able and well-behaved American citizens. The great audiences of some fifteen thousand people in the convention hall were worth going a long distance to see. The occasion, from beginning to end, was altogether a model of its kind. Since, however, men had not come there to contend about anything, neither to strive greatly for any principle that they thought to be in danger, nor yet to press with fierce zeal the claims of any idolized leader as against those of his rivals, it was not to be expected that the

convention would show much excitement. We have never before had so calm a convention, and the next quarter-century is not likely to see another. It was a repetition of the "Era of Good Feeling." Mr. McKinley's acceptability at Philadelphia reminded one of the historical accounts of the atmosphere in which James Monroe received his nomination in 1820. Of course, there were in those days no great popular conventions, and the comparison may only apply to the prevalent tone of the political community. What this unprecedented harmony within the Republican party may foreshadow, as to the coming contest between the two parties, we will not at this moment try to discuss.

*Behold, How
These Brethren
Love
One Another!* Sometimes there has been found, in Republican conventions, a more or less distinct cleavage between the higher and the lower forces of politics. But no such antagonism was in any manner evident this year. Mr. Quay, in spite of recent strifes in which he has been represented as the embodiment of the worst methods in politics, did not fall far short



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HON. MATTHEW S. QUAY, OF PENNSYLVANIA.

of being the most popular personage in the entire convention. This, to be sure, might be attributed largely to the immediate environment; but his applause was by no means confined to the galleries or to the Pennsylvania delegation. Mr.

Addicks, of Delaware, who triumphantly seated his contesting delegation, seemed to be in every way as acceptable and popular as such time-honored and distinguished members of the Republican party as Senator Allison, of Iowa, or Senator Depew, of New York. Senator Hanna, as chairman of the national committee, opened the



SENATOR HANNA, OF OHIO.

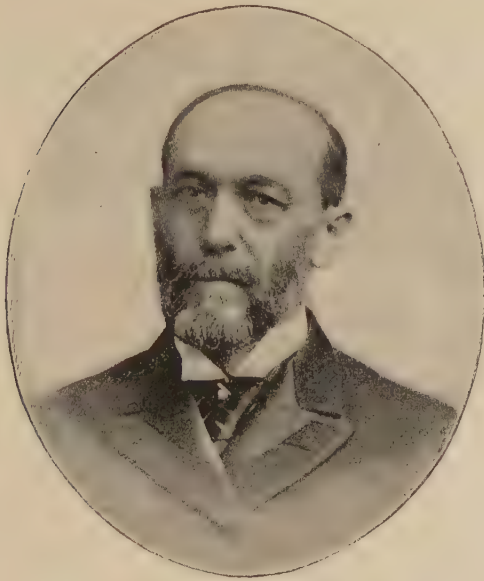
(Chairman of the Republican National Committee.)

convention with a brief address which added distinctly to the new reputation he is making as an effective public speaker; and his immense prestige was as tangible a fact as the very bunting that draped the convention hall. Mr. Platt, of New York, who has not infrequently found national conventions to be places of bitter controversy, was treated by every one with marked consideration, as due to recognized authority, power, and senatorial dignity. Everybody complimented all the speeches that were made, and every one carefully avoided saying anything upon the floor or the platform of the convention that could possibly wound the feelings of any Republican who was present. Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, was temporary chairman, and Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, was permanent chairman. It is true that both these gentlemen, in their elaborate orations—these being the two principal oratorical efforts of the convention—were severe enough in their diatribes against "anti-imperialists." But as none of them seemed to be present, there was no evidence of any offended susceptibilities. It was reported, in the early stages of the convention, that Mr. Platt and Mr. Hanna were not in entire accord as to

the selection of a Vice-Presidential candidate. But if any differences existed, they were held in a mildness and good-fellowship that would hardly have been found in the preliminary canvass for the vice-moderatorship of a Presbyterian General Assembly. The politeness of this convention would have done credit to the "National Congress of Mothers." It is not by way of idle or trivial comment that we allude in this way to the harmony that marked the entire proceedings at Philadelphia. It is the one important thing that stands out for mention and comment, as one looks back upon the convention. When one remembers the fierce strife of nearly all preceding conventions, whether Republican or Democratic, for half a century, the good-humor and the readiness to make everything unanimous that marked this Philadelphia gathering are in such notable contrast as to merit bold record in the history of American politics.



SENATOR LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS.



SENATOR PLATT, OF NEW YORK.

*What is the
True
Interpretation?*

What was the meaning of all this appearance of acquiescence, contentment, and good-will? Whatever might be said of delegations from individual States, it is certainly true that the convention as a whole was not brought into its mood of harmony through any extraneous pressure. It was not boss-ridden; it was not cowed by the so-called "money power" or the great corporate influences; nor was it in any sense under the pressure of the lash of President McKinley's administration. The condition to which we refer was due, undoubtedly, in the main to a clear party conscience; in other words, to a genuine conviction

that the past four years had made history for the Republican party in a most creditable manner. The so-called Silver Republicans had either entirely left the party or else had acquiesced in the achieved policy of the gold standard. The tariff issue had lived itself down, and had for the time being disappeared as a topic of political controversy. Our national credit had been vindicated in those vast refunding operations which had placed our public debt on a far lower interest basis than that of any other country, either now or at any past time. Business prosperity had come upon the country in such volume and with such wide diffusion as at no previous time in our history. The enormous agricultural prosperity of the West had done away with the sectional feeling toward the East that was so marked and disturbing a factor only a few years ago, while the war with Spain had seemed to wipe away the last vestige of unpleasant feeling between the North and the South. Certainly there was a great deal in these circumstances, and others that might be recited, to warrant the Republicans in self-congratulation at Philadelphia.

*The
Question of a
Second Term.*

These facts lent the propriety of highly exceptional conditions to the claim that President McKinley should have a second term. There are many people, indeed, who believe in the principle that no President of the United States should have a second consecutive term. Their reasons have been set forth so ably and frequently that all intelligent

citizens are familiar with them. Not a few of these opponents of a second term believe that their views should be enforced by an amendment of the Constitution. The matter is one, however, that the people themselves are able to meet in their own discretion from time to time. All Presidents, if we mistake not, since the early period of the Constitution, have desired and sought reelection; President Hayes being, perhaps, the sole exception. It is a fact, however, that since the reelection of Andrew Jackson in 1832, the American people have not seen fit to give any man two consecutive terms, excepting only Lincoln and Grant. For various reasons, it is not easy, under ordinary circumstances, to reelect a President. The incumbent who runs for a second term too often finds arrayed against him not only the consolidated opposition forces that fly the banner of the rival party, but also the indifference or the veiled hostility of many people in his own party, including hordes of disappointed office-seekers. The men who control national conventions have learned how to estimate all such considerations. It is, therefore, not only a testimony to their belief that the conditions are exceptional, but also a clear evidence of their personal confidence in Mr. McKinley, and their warm regard for him, that they should have agreed with such freedom from doubt or hesitation that it was both safe and wise to make him their candidate a second time.

What Is Thought of the President. Whatever might have been known to some individuals, it had certainly not been apparent to the public that Mr. McKinley had either exerted himself to secure a renomination, on the one hand, or said or done anything, on the other hand, in pretense that he did not wish it. So far as the public knew anything about it, Mr. McKinley had left the question wholly to the discretion of the party itself. His dignity in the matter had been absolutely unimpaired. It is not only since he came into the presidential office that he has exhibited tact and the ability to get along well with men. Through a long Congressional career, in which at many times he took extreme positions on public questions that were involved in the most raging controversy, Mr. McKinley held the personal good-will and friendship, not only of his Republican colleagues, but also of the Democratic members of the House. And this was not merely the politician's studied art of making friends and avoiding enmities, but rather the result of a gentleness and kindness entirely compatible with strong convictions and firmness of purpose. Throughout his whole career, Mr. McKinley has been much more free than most successful pub-

lic men from self-consciousness and vanity; and his air and manner have always been of a kind to be characterized not so much by the word unselfishness as by the word self-forgetfulness.

Two Character Sketches.

In short, there are many hundreds of men who know Mr. McKinley well, Democrats and Republicans alike, who testify that he is a courteous and manly Christian gentleman, whom they sincerely esteem for his admirable personal qualities. His work as a statesman and administrator is, of course, a matter about which opinions may differ widely. We publish elsewhere an article which is in some sense a personal character sketch of him, but is more particularly devoted to a review of his public work as President during the more than three years that have elapsed since he entered the White House, on March 4, 1897. It is not an article that purports to be written from the impartial and critical attitude of an outside observer. On the contrary, it comes from the pen of one who is close to the President and very loyally and heartily devoted to him. It is none the less the honest and sincere expression of its writer. Incidentally, it may be said here that the article which we also publish this month regarding Mr. Bryan, and which is from the pen of Dr. Charles B. Spahr, of New York, is also written in the spirit of full sympathy with its subject. And it also is a perfectly honest and sincere estimate set forth by a man of rare mental acumen and entire devotion to the truth as he sees it in all things, who knows Mr. Bryan intimately. We shall have occasion again, doubtless, to refer to Dr. Spahr's article about the gentleman who will in a few days receive the Democratic nomination at Kansas City. Let all men, of whatever party, try hard to believe, this year, that as private individuals and fellow-citizens the gentlemen who will head the opposing tickets are far above the reach of any darts of malice. Let each side vigorously suppress its cheap slanderers and defamers, and let the campaign be free from offensive personalities as regards Mr. McKinley on the one hand and Mr. Bryan on the other.

The Second Place on the Ticket.

A convention that was unanimous about the Presidential nomination and equally unanimous about the platform—while wholly free from differences as to its choice of temporary and permanent officers, its rules and order of business, and practically everything else—could not really be expected to resolve itself into a scramble for the Vice-Presidential nomination. It was manifest, from the beginning, that the convention wished to be unani-

mous about that matter also. Several excellent candidates were named outside of the convention hall, not one of whom was fomenting any eager propaganda on his own behalf. Many Massachusetts and other New England delegates were prepared to support the Hon. John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy. The Hon. J. P. Dolli-



HON. JOHN D. LONG, OF MASSACHUSETTS.
(Secretary of the Navy.)

ver, of Iowa, had been brought forward by the delegation from his own State at the urgent request of a great number of his Republican colleagues in the House of Representatives at Washington. The Minnesota delegation had been instructed to present the name of ex-Senator W. D. Washburn, if it should seem propitious to do so. A good many of the delegates from States still further northwest were favorable to the Hon. Bartlett Tripp, of South Dakota. The lieutenant-governor of the State of New York, the Hon. Timothy L. Woodruff, had a strong support among his own constituents, and the great delegation of the Empire State at length unanimously agreed at Philadelphia to present him. The names of a good many other favorite sons were on the lips of the members of various State delegations. But there was no name found among all these candidates that seemed to meet the demands of a convention that proposed to do all things on the principle of perfect unanimity. With nothing else for delegates to discuss in the hotel corridors, the topic grew absorbing.

*The Movement
for
Roosevelt.*

Soon after the death of Vice-President Hobart, last November, it was reported that the Hon. Elihu Root, Secretary of War, would almost undoubtedly be the nominee this year for the Vice-Presidency. His name had been so generally agreed upon that it was admitted on all hands that no other name would be offered to the convention, unless Mr. Root should positively decline to accept a place on the ticket. The wisdom of the selection was heartily concurred in by Republicans in all parts of the country. Mr. Root, however, on reflection, came to the conclusion that he did not wish and could not afford to take so inactive a position. He made this decision firmly; his wishes were respected, and his name was no longer used in that connection. This declaration came, as we remember it, in January. Other names were then freely canvassed among Republicans, and among them that of Governor Roosevelt, of New York. The prospect was so little to Mr. Roosevelt's taste, and so out of the line of his aspirations and preferences, that he decided to go fur-



HON. J. P. DOLLIVER, OF IOWA.

ther than Mr. Root had gone, and not only to inform the party leaders in private of his decision, but also to prepare a formal statement for the public and give it to the press. This he did on February 12. It was as follows:

In view of the continued statements in the press that I may be urged as a candidate for Vice-President, and in view of the many letters that reach me advising for and

against such a course, it is proper for me to state definitely that under no circumstances could I, or would I, accept the nomination for the Vice-Presidency. It is needless to say how deeply I appreciate the honor conferred upon me by the mere desire to place me in so high and dignified a position. But it seems to me clear that at the present time my duty is here in the State whose people chose me to be governor. Great problems have been faced and are being partly solved in this State at this time; and, if the people so desire, I hope that the work thus begun I may help to carry to a successful conclusion.

*How the
Movement
Was Revived.*

The governor's position was apparently understood and accepted by everybody. Mr. Hanna, the Administration leader, ceased to consider him among the possible candidates for the Vice-Presidency. A governor is to be elected this year in the State of New York, and the demand among Republicans that Colonel Roosevelt should be accorded a second term seemed general and urgent. It was felt that he was as admirably fitted for the arduous and difficult duties of the chief executive of the great commonwealth of New York as he was, in every way, ill adapted to the passive and functionless rôle of the Vice-Presidency. Moreover, it was also felt that in no other way could the State be so certainly held by the Republicans this year as with Roosevelt renominated for his present office. This was his own attitude, and it had received the indorsement of Senator Platt and all the party leaders. But it so happened that the governor had supported and signed the so-called Ford franchise-tax bill, under which street railway and other corporations holding valuable and lucrative franchises are required to pay taxes on the value of such franchises. Such corporations, in New York as elsewhere in the United States, are in politics. And it is a leading part of their business to make it desirable for political managers to be deferential to their wishes. Governor Roosevelt had not been deferential. They therefore decided that he ought to be put out of New York politics; and they are said to have made practical representations of their views. The Republican organization, headed by Mr. Platt, was led to the conclusion that the governor would be a weak candidate for another term, and that it would be altogether desirable for him to take the Vice-Presidency. In fairness, it should be added that the governor's belief in very radical canal improvements was said to have alienated the farmers in certain parts of the State, who are greatly opposed to this colossal enterprise. The Republican organization, in short, took the ground that Roosevelt would run brilliantly if named for Vice-President, and badly if named for governor.

*How It Was
Developed.*

The governor and many of his friends held the view that the very thing which might have made him unpopular with certain corporations was sure to make him strong with the voters; and that the threat to drive him out of New York politics would do as much as anything else to assure him a great popular victory. This revival of the talk of Governor Roosevelt as a Vice-Presidential candidate came just before the opening of the convention at Philadelphia. The governor adhered to his position, however, and reiterated his decision. Mr. Quay, Pennsylvania's unrivaled political



SENATOR ALLISON, OF IOWA.

manager, was called upon to aid in solving the Vice-Presidential problem, and in a few hours Pennsylvania's great group of delegates was added to that under Mr. Platt's control from New York in active promotion of the plan to confer the nomination upon the unwilling governor. The programme was aided not a little by the fact that the administration itself, as represented by Senator Hanna, had not selected a candidate, but had left the matter to take its chances in the convention. It is true that Senator Allison, of Iowa, had been urgently requested to accept the position; and, if he had been willing, it would have been his unanimously. But Mr. Allison did not want it, and had said so in a tone that was entirely conclusive. Meanwhile,

Governor Roosevelt's unbounded popularity in the Far West, and the devotion to him of the young Republicans of the Middle West, began to crystallize about the nucleus that had been provided in the definite action of the Pennsylvania men. The two movements taken together quickly reached the point where unanimous agreement upon any other name seemed impossible; and it was fated that all things in this convention should be done without a dissenting voice. A series of Western States, like Kansas and Colorado, where Populism and Bryanism are especially strong, demanded that Roosevelt should accept. All important elements in the convention soon reached the same conclusion. His terse and vigorous speech seconding Senator Foraker, who had proposed President McKinley's name for renomination, added the final touch. His name was presented by the Hon. Lafayette Young, secretary of the Iowa delegation, in a speech withdrawing Mr. Dolliver and eulogizing the man whom Mr. Young himself had accompanied in the Santiago campaign. Governor Roosevelt received every vote in the convention—excepting, of course, his own.

It is of some pertinence to recall
His Own View of the Office.

the fact that four

years ago, during the progress of the Presidential campaign, the editor of this Magazine asked Mr. Roosevelt, who was then president of the New York Police Board under Mayor Strong, to write an article on the office of the Vice-Presidency, together with comments upon the three prominent Vice-Presidential candidates; namely, Mr. Hobart, Mr. Sewall, and Mr. Watson, of Georgia. A very interesting article was forthwith produced, and



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GOV. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, OF NEW YORK.

it will be found in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for September, 1896. Among other things in that article well worthy of citation, Mr. Roosevelt made the following remarks:

The Vice-President should, so far as possible, represent the same views and principles which have secured the nomination and election of the President, and he should be a man standing well in the councils of the party, trusted by his fellow party-leaders, and able, in



GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT IN THE CONVENTION.

(Senator Depew is on the extreme left, and the other three standing figures are Governor Roosevelt, Dr. Leslie D. Ward, and Hon. B. B. Odell, Jr. Senator Platt's face is partly shown in the lower right-hand corner. The illustration is from one of the remarkable convention photographs taken by the *New York Tribune*, by whose courtesy we use it.)

the event of any accident to his chief, to take up the work of the latter just where it was left. . . . One sure way to secure this desired result would undoubtedly be to increase the power of the Vice-President. He should always be a man who would be consulted by the President on every great party question. It would be very well if he were given a seat in the cabinet. It might be well if, in addition to his vote in the Senate in the event of a tie, he should be given a vote on ordinary occasions, and perchance on occasions a voice in the debates. A man of the character of Mr. Hobart is sure to make his weight felt in an administration, but the power of thus exercising influence should be made official rather than personal.

These suggestions touching the official status of the Vice-President were, of course, made in connection with a theoretical and historical discussion rather than as a matter of immediate urgency. It is needless to add that Governor Roosevelt would not for a moment have permitted himself to be nominated if he had not felt that he could meet his own tests as to the necessity of harmonious relations between the Vice-President and the Administration. Mr. McKinley,

on the other hand, had set a precedent, in his public and private recognition of Vice-President Hobart, that he will be ready to maintain in his relations with Vice-President Roosevelt in case of the success of the ticket.

Gov-
ernor
Roosevelt's
Future. Roosevelt

vett, be it said, has made no sacrifice of principle. Through all his public life he has shown himself willing to do hard work steadfastly in positions where no one could accuse him of seeking anything else except the service of his country through his party. It is exactly in that

spirit that he yielded his own preferences at Philadelphia to what finally came to him as a unanimous party demand. We do not believe the sacrifice ought to have been demanded; but doing what he believes to be his duty has become a fixed habit with Theodore Roosevelt. His friends will not for a moment attribute to him any reason for changing his decision at Philadelphia other than his belief that it was his duty. The party to which he now shows such loyalty will have a strong sense of allegiance to him in return. He will be forty-six years old on October 27, 1904. If one must indulge in predictions, it is far safer to prophesy that he has thirty-five or forty years of active and valuable public life yet before him than to assume that the Vice-Presidency would necessarily end his political career. Four years of constant observation and study of national affairs from the safe vantage-point of the chair of the presiding officer of the Senate, added to Governor Roosevelt's existing qualifications as an executive officer, would make him unquestionably the best-equipped man for the

real work of the Presidency that the Republican party could bring forward four years hence. Let his admirers, therefore, take the view that they have now the opportunity to transfer him from the sphere of New York State politics, and from work of intense activity, to a place that affords the best conceivable chance for the deliberate study of every question of national impor-



HON. LAFAYETTE YOUNG, OF IOWA,

Who presented Governor Roosevelt's name to the convention.

tance, and of every phase of the life and work of the Federal Government.

A One-Man Convention. The convention about to meet at Kansas City will probably be dominated by one man. Mr. Bryan's campaign of 1896 was one which in a rare degree gained for him the hearts of his supporters—the votes of many of them expressing their feeling for the candidate rather than a definite intellectual belief in his programme. When a candidate has thus gained the affection of his party, defeat only intensifies its devotion. Because of his defeat, Mr. Bryan has remained the idol of thousands of voters who would have become his critics in the event of his success. At no time since 1896 has he lost his ascendancy. In 1898 it was seriously threatened by the almost successful effort of Mr. Croker and Mr. Hill to elect Judge Van Wyck governor of New York upon a conservative Democratic platform. This movement was defeated by the personal popularity of Colonel Roosevelt, which prevented Mr. Croker's becoming able to

assert that New York might again turn a national election over to the Democrats if a conservative platform were adopted. Last year Tammany Hall again attempted to destroy Mr. Bryan's leadership by putting forward Judge Van Wyck as a candidate for the Presidency upon an anti trust platform; but the "boom" it launched for Van Wyck at the "ten-dollar" Jefferson dinner was counteracted even in New York by Mr. Bryan's defense of the Chicago platform at the "one-dollar" Jefferson dinner held immediately thereafter; while, throughout the South and West, Mr. Bryan became all the stronger because of the enemy with whom he refused to make terms. The nation was forced to realize that west of the Alleghanies the mass of Democrats preferred defeat under Mr. Bryan to success obtained through concession to his Eastern Democratic opponents. This year even Tammany Hall was forced to accept Mr. Bryan as its candidate—the ice-trust revelations making the continued candidacy of Judge Van Wyck on his anti-trust platform too ridiculous for even Tammany's sense of humor to bear up under. The New York convention held last month instructed its delegates to Kansas City to vote for Mr. Bryan, and by its action assured his nomination by acclamation. Few Presidential candidates have entered a convention so absolutely under their control as that which Mr. Bryan will enter at Kansas City.

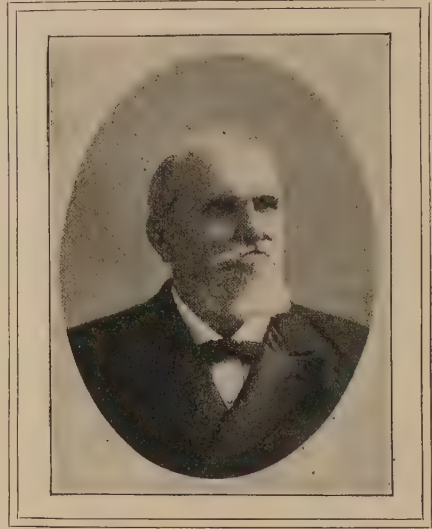
A Platform to Match the Candidate.

The candidate being thus in complete control of the convention, and standing as he does for a definite platform, the resolutions to be adopted at Kansas City are practically written in advance. No question can be raised as to the general indorsement of the platform of 1896. The leading plank in that platform, however, cannot be inserted bodily into the new creed of the party. Its opening statement, for example, is as obviously false now as it was obviously true four years ago. No platform adopted this year can begin with the assertion that "the money question is paramount to all others at this time." The money question, even in the minds of those most devoted to the free coinage of silver, has become less pressing by reason of the great increase of our currency through the doubling of the output of the gold mines and the large gold imports into this country. The Populists at Sioux Falls in May recognized this change in condition by recommending that the silver added to the currency shall be used to retire an equal amount of bank-notes, in order to maintain relative stability of prices; and the Democratic platform is likely to urge free coinage rather as a means to prevent a fall in prices in the future than as essential to imme-

diate conditions of trade. It is not unlikely that the second portion of the currency plank of 1896—the protest against the control of the currency by private corporations—may this year be given the greater emphasis. But the currency question, though it will remain first in position in the Democratic platform, is not likely to be treated as first in importance. The question of trusts, which in the platform of 1896 received but a few lines, will this year be given capital importance. It is not unlikely that the convention, in addition to demanding the repeal of the tariff wherever it enables a combination to raise prices, will also demand Congressional action by which corporations combining to create monopolies shall be denied the privilege of interstate commerce. The question, however, which will probably be given preëminence is the policy to be pursued toward the Philippines. Mr. Bryan's programme respecting this issue is set forth in an article in the *North American Review*, from which we quote at length on page 83. Its three essential points are stated in these words: "First, establish a stable government; second, give the Philippines their independence; third, give them protection from outside interference while they work out their destiny." The convention seems certain to indorse this programme, and will undoubtedly add to it a warm expression of sympathy with the struggles of the South African republics to maintain their independence. The fact that the Republican platform was cautious in its expression upon this issue is believed by many shrewd observers of public sentiment to afford the Democratic party greater hope of substantial gains than any other factor entering into the contest. The knowledge that it does not make the smallest material difference to the American people what the result in South Africa shall be—so these observers assert—in no sense lessens the political importance of the issue for the American people, who, far from being the most money-seeking people in the world, are the most certain to be influenced by moral sentiment.

The Difficulties of Fusion. With its Presidential candidate selected in advance and its platform practically written, the Kansas City convention has none the less a most difficult practical problem to settle. There is no possibility of Democratic success without the support of the Populists and Silver Republicans who supported Mr. Bryan in 1896. The recent Congressional election in Oregon, where an Independent Democratic candidate in one district and an Independent Populist candidate in both districts polled together upwards of four thousand votes, shows that even in the West it is difficult to get parties

once opposed to each other to add their votes together for the securing of common ends. If this difficulty is great in the West, it is much greater in the East, where the Democrats and Populists seek relatively few ends in common. Eastern Democratic leaders who are thoroughly in sympathy not only with the Chicago platform, but with the Populist platform adopted at Sioux



SENATOR JONES, OF ARKANSAS.
(Chairman of the Democratic National Committee.)

Falls, report that they find it almost impossible to get the active workers in their party to accept a Vice-Presidential candidate as well as a Presidential candidate first named at a Populist convention. Had the Sioux Falls convention, they tell us, left the selection of a common candidate to a committee representing the three parties, Mr. Towne would, with little doubt, have been selected as the most available man. But they question whether the Democratic convention will feel that it can afford to accept a ready-made ticket throughout. Mr. Bryan, however, can probably dictate who shall be his associate; and his close friendship with Mr. Towne seems, at the time of our writing, to assure either the ultimate agreement of all parties upon a single candidate for Vice-President or the agreement of their State committees upon a single set of electors in each State, who shall divide their votes for Vice-President between Mr. Towne and the Democratic nominee upon some definitely arranged basis. Among the leaders, the sentiment for fusion is so strong that fusion is likely to be effected; but the difficulty may be that many Democrats, many Silver Republicans, and many Populists, dissatisfied with the basis of agreement, will refuse to go to the polls to support it.

*Politics in
the St. Louis
Strikes.*

The strike of the employees of the street-car lines in St. Louis began on May 8, and on June 22 there was no promise of an early termination of the violence which the boycotting methods of the strikers had precipitated. St. Louis had assumed the appearance of a beleaguered town. A dozen people had been killed and many more wounded by the strikers or by the police and deputies. Cars and track had been blown up by dynamite; and, worst of all, in their determination to wreak vengeance on any citizens daring to ride in the boycotted cars, the strikers had maltreated women in a manner scarcely conceivable in a civilized community. Two thousand of the well-to-do citizens of St. Louis had been made deputy-sheriffs, and were constantly patrolling the tracks. President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, made an earnest effort to put an end to the violence which was so discrediting the cause of union labor, and had almost effected a settlement between the workmen and their employers. But a question arose as to the rapidity with which old employees were to be reinstated, the negotiations fell through, and it now looks as if the strikers would lose their cause. An ugly aspect has been given to the management of the affair by the open accusations on all sides of political motives. The governor of Missouri is, as always, a Democrat; the mayor of St. Louis is a Republican; four of the five police commissioners are Democrats appointed by the gover-

nor, and the fifth member is the mayor, who is of course powerless to control the police in case of a division of interests on political lines. Notwithstanding the shameful outrages which the less responsible strikers have been guilty of, Governor Stephens has refused to call out the militia—first, on the ground that the deputy-sheriffs appointed by the mayor could control the disturbances; and, second, on the ground that these disturbances were not serious enough to justify him in spending the State's money at the rate of two thousand dollars per day for the maintenance of a military force. The Republicans assert that the Democratic members of the police board, as well as the governor, are really restrained from dealing with the lawlessness in an effective manner by a fear of alienating the labor vote at this critical point in the course of the political campaign.

The hearty coöperation of Secretary of War Root, Governor-General Wood of Cuba, President Eliot, and the authorities of Harvard University, and the general public promise to make the pilgrimage to this country this summer of 1,450 Cuban teachers, led by Mr. Alexis E. Frye, Superintendent of Education in Cuba, a marked success. It has been criticized by some of the Cuban journals as a shrewd move on the part of the officials of the United States to "Americanize" the teachers, and thus Cuba; and some of the Harvard students at first were not eager to give up their rooms in the dormitories to unknown Cubans. But, barring these incidents, the scheme has met with enthusiastic support. Five Government transports, sailing from different Cuban ports, will bring the teachers to Boston, where they will arrive about July 1. The teachers will represent urban and rural Cuba, and be selected by Cuban school officials on the basis of merit. Five army physicians and a number of Cuban women of distinction will accompany the party, the latter to serve as chaperones. Mrs. Alice Gordon Gulick, head of the noted American Board mission school for girls, has been secured to act as dean of the women's department. For six and a half weeks the teachers will be the guests of Harvard University, which will furnish not only instruction, but board and lodging—the expense of which has been assumed by the University, relying on the hospitality and generosity of the people of New England to make good the expense incurred, which it is estimated will be \$70,000. Systematic instruction in English, physical geography, history (American and Spanish-American), botany, and kindergarten methods will be given, chiefly in Spanish, by the regular



AN UNCERTAIN WEAPON.

It does not always stop at where it is aimed.
From the Pioneer-Press (St. Paul).

teaching staff of Harvard, supplemented by thirty or forty extra teachers who use Spanish freely. Excursions to points of historic interest and to manufacturing establishments will contribute to the enlightenment of the visitors. After the teach-



MR. ALEXIS E. FRYE.

(Superintendent of Education in Cuba.)

ers leave Cambridge, they are to visit Niagara Falls, Chicago, Washington, and New York, from which city they will sail home on the Government transports. Nothing that Harvard has done in her long career has been more creditable to her than the work she plans to do this summer for the men and women on whom the future of Cuba so much depends. The scheme originated with two Harvard alumni in Cuba, Messrs. Conant and Frye. It met with the hearty approval of another Harvard alumnus, Governor Wood; and when it came to President Eliot, its audacity and romantic aspects, as much as its serious worth, instantly won his assent and coöperation. With Frye at work in Cuba laying the foundations of a school system, and another Harvard graduate, F. W. Atkinson, until recently head of the Springfield High School, en route to the Philippines charged with responsibility for the same serious task, Harvard may well feel that she is doing her full share in shaping the history of the Larger America. As most of these teachers will be Roman Catholics, the Catholics of Boston and Cambridge are planning to make the visitors welcome at various social functions.

On June 16, the Cubans held their *Election Times in Cuba.* elections for municipal offices—the first that the island has seen since the end of Spanish domination. The voting was done by the Australian system, and perfect order was maintained throughout the day, not a drunken man being seen on the streets of Havana. There are three political parties in Cuba: the Nationalists, composed of the soldiers of the late wars and their followers; the Republicans, who are the radicals most bitterly opposed to American influence, and the Democratic-Unionists, who muster a handful of conservatives born of the old Autonomist party, and upholding the interests of the wealthy. It has been arranged by General Wood, with the apparent consent of the Cubans, that the suffrage qualification shall be the ability to read and write, or the possession of property to the value of \$250, or a record of service in the Cuban Army. About 140,000 Cubans can vote under these restrictions, and there would be about 30,000 added to this number if all the Spaniards residing in Cuba elected to be Cuban citizens. With 60,000 men in Havana possessing the right to vote, only 24,000 registered, and less than 20,000 voted. The Nationalist candidate for mayor, Gen. Alejandro Rodriguez, was elected over his Republican opponent, Señor Estrada Mora, by a majority of two to one, showing that the influence of General Gomez and his ambitions for the final independence of Cuba have continued their strong



GEN. ALEJANDRO RODRIGUEZ.

(Newly elected Mayor of Havana.)

hold on the people. In Santiago, Señor Grinan was reelected mayor. Señor Grinan was the "white" candidate, whose followers were opposed to the negro vote. In Santiago, too, there was an apathy which goes to counteract the hope-

ful impression of the quiet conduct of the campaign. Here scarcely 20 per cent. of the legal electors cast a vote.

Progress in the Philippines.

Congress adjourned without providing any scheme of civil government for the Philippines. The commissioners arrived at Manila early in June, and announced that no attempt would be made at present to supersede the military executive.

General MacArthur will continue to perform the duties of governor until the country is ready to receive a system of civil administration. That Luzon, at least, is not yet prepared for such a change is made clear by the daily re-



PROF. FRED. W. ATKINSON.

ports of brigandage and armed resistance to authority in many parts of the island. As we stated last month, however, organized insurrection is no longer a fact. The archives of Aguinaldo's government were discovered and seized by General Funston in May. Last month a far more important capture was made in the person of Gen. Pio del Pilar, long regarded as the ablest military leader the Filipinos had. The work of our army in Luzon has been tersely described by General Schwan, who was General Otis' chief of staff, in a letter recently made public by the War Department. The garrisons of both the interior and the coast towns of Luzon are generally commanded, says General Schwan, by "comparatively young and remarkably energetic majors, holding lesser rank in the regulars, who are leaving nothing undone to perform with thoroughness the specified task set them." That task includes, of course, the suppression of the guerrilla bands, but it does not end there. It is also the duty of these young majors to open schools and establish municipal government; and these things are in course of accomplishment. As General Schwan points out in his letter, the greatest obstacle in the way of pacification lies in the lack of confidence between the soldiers and the inhabitants; but his belief is that "this distrust is certain to pass away when each class be-

comes acquainted with the customs, the aims, and the standards of the other." The Philippine Commission has chosen Prof. Fred. W. Atkinson, principal of the Springfield (Mass.) High School, as superintendent of instruction in the islands. There are 5,000 children in the city schools of Manila, under the superintendency of Prof. George P. Anderson, a Yale graduate. Of the teachers in these schools 85 are natives, 40 Spanish, and 22 Americans. The widow of Rizal, the Filipino patriot, is one of the teachers.

The Chinese Crisis.

For several months past, there have been occasional reports from the Orient of the turbulence of the Chinese Boxers and their violent persecution of native Christians. Toward the middle of May the extent and intensity of the rioting rapidly increased, and on the 19th the Christian village of Lai-Shun, seventy miles from Peking, was destroyed. Seventy-three native converts were massacred. A joint note was addressed by the great European powers to the Tsun-li-Yamen, the foreign office of the Chinese Government, and the reports of our own minister, Mr. Conger, of the operations of the Boxers within a few miles of Peking led the State Department at Washington to send Rear Admiral Kempff with his flagship *Newark* to the harbor of Taku, where within a few days gathered the available warships of Great Britain, Russia, France, Germany, and Italy. Taku is at the mouth of the Peiho



HON. EDWIN H. CONGER.
(U. S. Minister to China.)

River, and is the harbor for Peking, being connected with the metropolis by a railroad running by way of the treaty port of Tientsin. The *Newark* landed 100 men under Captain McCalla, who proceeded to Tientsin, and in consequence of the rapid spread of the Boxers over the coun-

try immediately about Peking, on the last day of the month a small international force, including 7 officers and 56 men of the American detachment, went by a special train from Tientsin to



THE SCENE OF THE BOXER RIOTS IN EASTERN CHINA.

Peking for the purpose of protecting the foreign legations in the capital, and the 400 or more Caucasians living there in commercial and missionary occupations. These marine guards were admitted, and seem to have effected temporary quiet; but on June 2 an English missionary, Mr. Norman, was murdered by the Boxers at Yung Ching, a few miles northwest of Peking, and the rioting broke out with renewed violence. The imperial decrees against the Boxers seemed to be half-hearted; and though the Chinese troops reported determined measures and heavy engagements with the Boxers, it is reasonably clear that a large number of the imperial troops are in sympathy with the rioters, or openly fighting with them. Nearly 50 miles of the Lu-han Railway was destroyed by the anti-foreign mob, together with great quantities of the railroad supplies for the lines projected under the new concessions. Chapels were burned everywhere in the provinces of Shantung and Pechili, and hundreds of native Christians were massacred. Finally, the railroad from Peking to Tientsin was cut. The foreign powers immediately lodged large claims for the damage

to European property, the Russian claim alone amounting to nearly \$5,000,000; and, on June 10, it was deemed expedient to send the British Admiral Seymour with nearly 2,000 troops of the international forces to repair the road between Tientsin and Peking. This force found the railway so badly damaged that in two days it had advanced only 34 miles.

Then came the startling news that its communications had been cut, and up to the time of our going to press, on June 22, nothing authentic has been heard of Admiral Seymour, and only wild rumors of the fate of the diplomatic servants and other Europeans in

Peking. The isolation of Tientsin and of Taku followed rapidly. On June 17 the Chinese forts at Taku opened fire on the allied squadron. The warships of Germany, Russia, Great Britain, France, and Japan promptly bom-



REAR-ADMIRAL KEMPPF, U. S. N.

Courtesy of *Ainslee's Magazine*.

QUARTERS OF THE UNITED STATES LEGATION AT PEKING.

barded the fortifications, which were finally captured at the point of the bayonet by soldiers landed from the fleets at a point enabling them to assault in the rear. It is reported that over 100 Europeans were killed and wounded, and that the Chinese lost 700 men. The United States ordered from the Philippines to the mouth of the Peiho the battleship *Oregon*, the gunboats *Yorktown*, *Nashville*, and *Monocacy*, and Colonel Lisum with the Ninth Regiment, mustering 1,400 men, and held other forces in readiness.

*The Course
of the
Powers.*

In the battle between the allied fleet and the Taku forts, the guns of the fortifications were fought by the trained artillerists of the Chinese regular army—a fact which would seem to mean, maugre any interpretations from Peking, that the Chinese Empire is in a state of war with the European powers. The world is asking itself if the long-talked-of dismemberment of China is at hand. Russia has at this writing landed 4,000 troops, Japan 3,000, and Great Britain, France, and Germany still other thousands; while Great Britain has, in addition, drafted several Indian regiments for service in China. The Chinese army contains nominally nearly 1,000,000 men, one-third of them in the "Eight Banners" of the Manchus, and two-thirds in the national army. The actual available force is said to be scarcely 300,000 men, and their equipment is largely obsolete. For a war emergency, doubt-

less, more than 1,000,000 men could be mustered, who might make a stiff defensive fight against invading hosts, though useless in offensive operations. If the safety of Europeans and their property can be guaranteed without a war of invasion, by stripping the Dowager Empress of the last vestige of power, it will be undoubtedly the welcome course to the three great powers most interested in subsequent events in the Orient. England would find it a bad time to insist on achieving her ambition to own the Yangtse Kiang Valley. Russia, even with her 100,000 Cossacks in Manchuria, would scarcely wish to bring upon her Eastern interests the



KANG-YU-WEI, THE REFORMER.

fleets of England and Japan while there are still gaps in the great Trans-Siberian Railway. Yet, in a partition, Russia would expect at least the whole of North China right down to the gates of Peking. Japan would never give up the idea of owning Korea as an outlet for her teeming millions, but the very flower of her new fleet will be unfinished before 1901. Thus, in spite of the numberless rumors of Russia's secret machinations in fomenting the Boxer troubles, and in spite of her enormous preponderance of land forces (she has over 100,000 troops at Port Arthur, with 90,000 coolies working on the fortifications), and in spite of Japanese indignation at the recent acquisition by Russia of the Korean harbor of Masampho, it seems likely that the powers will confine themselves to the task of setting things to order.



THE WOMAN IN THE CASE.

This Box (h)er movement is all right, if it is carried far enough.—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

The State Department at Washington has shown itself prompt and firm in instructing its officers in the East to do their part in the police duty of protecting foreign residents in China. The increased seriousness of the situation has led this country into a more concerted action with the European powers than was at first thought to be necessary. All the influence of the United States will, of course, go to limiting the operations of the European forces in China to the rescue of the 12,000 Caucasians in the empire, the assurance of indemnities for the destruction of life and property, and the exaction

of guarantees against a recurrence of the riots. It is peculiarly the interest of this country that no present partition of the empire should be made giving North China to Russia. Almost all of our rapidly growing export trade is with North China. There is no guarantee whatever that with the extension of Muscovite dominion south of Manchuria the door of trade could be kept open. In a thousand ways the exclusive dominion of Russia over this populous district would be hurtful to us. For instance, in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS Mrs. Leonora



THE LATE COUNT MURAVIEFF.
(Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs).

Beck Ellis tells us that the future hope of the Southern cotton-manufacturing industry is largely dependent on the use of the coarser grades of cotton goods by the Chinese. When the rioters are put down and the question of the future is raised, the position of the United States will be exceptionally strong in the international discussion which decides the fate of China, for we shall have contributed our men and ships to the task of stern police duty; and, on the other hand, there will be no suspicion of our longing for a certain slice of the moribund empire.

critical situation in the Orient gives her need of all the strength and wisdom to be had. Count Muravieff has been the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs since the death of Prince Lobanoff, in 1897. Immediately on his appointment to the office, his weight was felt in the strengthening of the Franco-Russian *entente*, and he has been credited with much of the diplomacy which has aided to keep France at peace in the past three years. Russia's great work in Eastern Asia, which might have been indefinitely postponed by a European *mêlée*, made this a task well worth while. Count Muravieff was born in 1845, was educated at Heidelberg, and entered on a diplomatic career at the age of 19, his first post being in Berlin. In 1874 he was appointed secretary of legation at The Hague. Thence he went to Paris, and in 1893 he was promoted to be minister at Denmark. In Copenhagen he was a great favorite with the reigning house; and doubtless this aided in procuring him the special favor of the Empress Dowager of Russia, who was a Danish princess, and who finally brought Count Muravieff into his ministerial honors.

*The Capture
of Pretoria*

Last month our record of events in the South African war closed with the relief of Mafeking and preliminary excursions of scouting brigades of the English Army into Transvaal territory. On May 24, the advance-guard of Lord Roberts' main army crossed the Vaal River near Parys, the Boers being outwitted by the strategic distribution of the British front. Scarcely any resistance was offered. While the world was speculating whether Johannesburg would be destroyed or defended by the Boers, and how long Lord Roberts would be on the journey to the Golden City, that redoubtable little commander arrived, on May 28. His cavalry and mounted infantry under General French and Colonel Henry had outflanked the Boers in their chosen positions again and again, and their strongholds were abandoned, one after another, before the mighty spread of the British advance. The magnitude of Lord Roberts' operations seems to have but little effect on the rapidity of his movements; the army marched twenty miles in one day on the way to Johannesburg. As soon as the British had peaceably occupied Johannesburg, on May 30, "Bobs" began the culminating step in his South African mission—the capture of Pretoria. The Boers were by this time much impressed with the inevitability of the British commander's offensive movements, and they must have decided some time before that it was useless to stay in Pretoria simply to be gobbled up by General Roberts. At any rate, before any one could find out whether the Boers were to make a last desperate

*The Death of
Count
Muravieff.*

The sudden death of Count Muravieff, on June 21, deprived Russia of an exceptionally energetic and able member of her diplomatic corps at a time when the

stand at Pretoria, as had always been anticipated, or not. General Roberts was there, President Krüger had fled, and the commandos of the republic had taken off all their artillery and most of the rolling-stock of the Netherlands Railway. On June 5, Lord Roberts took possession of Pretoria, after a fight at Six Miles Spruit on the



THE FAMOUS TUNNEL AT LAING'S NEK.

previous day. In the meantime, General Buller had been stubbornly battering his way through the Drakensberg Mountains, in Natal. On June 8 he forced Botha's Pass, and three days later gained possession of the historic ground about Laing's Nek and Majuba—a most significant advantage, which fully assured his communications with the main British army to the northwest. It was found that the Laing's Nek tunnel could be repaired, contrary to the general report, which had it that the Boers completely wrecked the tunnel by starting an engine at full speed at each end loaded with dynamite. The use of this road to the British is all-important, as enabling them to reach a point on the coast much nearer the Transvaal than any they have been able to utilize before.

*The Remnant
of Boer
Resistance.*

The burghers who insist on fighting to the end have betaken themselves to the Lydenburg district, in the east of the Transvaal, a region of a few small fertile valleys amidst numberless mountain fastnesses and steep, rocky defiles. Here they have their guns, ammunition, and supplies saved from the British advance, and they have even established

a cartridge factory. It is reported that they are still receiving new importations of French-made artillery, landed at some unknown point on the Portuguese coast. The indomitable President Krüger is living in a parlor-car on the railroad where it comes nearest this Lydenburg district, and he says fiercely that while five hundred burghers are left to bear arms the fight will continue against British usurpation. As the mountainous country of the northeast of the Transvaal is as large as Switzerland, and scarcely less easy of defense, there is no little trouble still before the British, if the Boers stick to this programme. Mr. Krüger calls his car the Capital of the Transvaal, and governs his remnant of faithful burghers with the same iron hand that held the helm in the council chamber at Pretoria. The most authentic accounts go to show that the body of Boers at present under arms can scarcely amount to more than 10,000 or 12,000 all told. Yet their daring sorties on the British, whenever a weak point is exposed in the distribution of Lord Roberts' force, promise to make a deal of trouble until they are finally annihilated. Two days after the British flag had been planted in Johannesburg, the Boers captured at Lindley, in the Orange River Colony, an entire battalion of Imperial Yeomanry. A still more signal evidence of the vitality of the fighting commandos was given in the incident at Roodeval on June 7, when the Boers attacked the British, killed 117 men, took possession of the railroad at that point, and actually cut off Lord Roberts' communications with the south for several days. There are bands of fighting Boers still operating, not only in the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony, but even in the mountains of Natal, in the fastnesses along the line of General Buller's recent advance. The hopes of the Republican adherents are clearly expressed in a letter published by Mr. Reitz, the Transvaal Secretary of State:

The British Government promised the British nation that the cost of the war shall be defrayed by the Boers.



ARMORED TRACTION ENGINE RECENTLY ORDERED FOR BRITISH USE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

But as the latter will not be in a position to pay, Great Britain must obtain the money from the gold-mines, which will thereby be mulcted of half the net profits, whereas the Transvaal never levied a special tax on gold. The instigators of the war—Rhodes, Werner, Beit, and others—will suffer most. In addition, the British will



MR. REITZ.

(The Transvaal Secretary of State.)

have to maintain a garrison of 50,000 men, the cost of which the mines will also have to pay. As soon as the British troops are withdrawn, wars and rebellions will break out, not for years, but for centuries. For England, this means a constant source of trouble, annoyance, and bloodshed.

In Cape Colony, too, there is no abatement of British anxiety. Mr. Schreiner, the Premier, has resigned in consequence of finding himself entirely out of sympathy with his Afrikaner colleagues, and a new ministry has been formed with Sir Gordon Sprigg at its head. It is undoubtedly an unfortunate incident in the task of pacifying South Africa that the British Government should lose the services of Mr. Schreiner—a man of ability, of strong sympathy with the Boer cause, and withal an open advocate of imperial federation.

From May 30 to June 6, the hospitable city of Louisville was given over bodily to the Confederate Reunion. In the week a hundred thousand visitors came to the city; the spirited loyalty to its own leaders which is such an engaging characteristic of the Southern temperament was not dulled in the ceremonies of this second generation after the

war, while on every appropriate occasion there were manly expressions of good-will for the Army of the Potomac. The United Confederate Veterans is the formal organization which held the reunion. It is an association formed in 1890 to further literary, social, and benevolent aims among the survivors of the Confederate Army. There are still living about 40,000 Confederate veterans; but most of them were scarcely more than boys when they fought. There is not a single general living of those that fought on the Southern side in the Civil War. Of the nineteen Confederate lieutenant-generals, six survive. The United Confederate Veterans is divided into 1,300 different camps, distributed homogeneously over the South and Southwest. Gen. John B. Gordon was reelected commander-in-chief at this reunion, for his tenth year of service in that capacity. In the course of the reunion it was announced that the sum of \$223,000 had been raised for the erection of a Confederate Memorial Building at Richmond, Va. The plans for this structure have already been executed and accepted. They show a classic building of fine simplicity and tremendous mass—a great dome approached through heavy doric columns. In the edifice will be gathered the archives and historical treasures of the South, with the portraits and statues of her famous soldiers. Mr. Charles



GEN. JOHN B. GORDON.

(Reelected Commander-in-Chief of the United Confederate Veterans.)



THE CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL BUILDING.
(To be erected at Richmond, Va.)

Broadway Rouss, who came from Virginia to build up a fortune in New York, gave \$100,000 to this purpose, on condition that a like sum should be added. The memorial will stand as a pleasant evidence of the success with which Southerners worked out of the *res angusta* of the post-



THE LATE REV. DR. RICHARD S. STORRS.

bellum years, and of their readiness to devote the first fruits of their prosperity to the honor of their soldiers.

In the necrology of the past six weeks are the names of several very eminent American clergymen and theologians. The Rev. Dr. Richard Salter Storrs, who died in Brooklyn, N. Y., on June 5, had long been regarded as our greatest master of sacred rhetoric. For more than half a century he had been pastor of the Brooklyn Church of the Pilgrims, and his was the distinction of representing, down to our own day, the traditions and the influence of the New England pulpit of generations past. His methods were not the methods of to-day, and yet his labors for the advancement of religion in our time were effective and far-reaching. His ten years' service as president of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in the most critical pe-

riod of the board's history, will never be forgotten by the friends of Christian missions. Dr. Storrs' death was preceded by that of the Rev. Dr. A. J. F. Behrends, another distinguished Congregationalist of Brooklyn. Dr. Behrends had thought and written much on current theological problems. That patriarch among American theologians, Prof. Edwards A. Park, of Andover, has also passed away, at the age of ninety-one. Professor Park had taught in Andover Theological Seminary from 1836 to 1881; and among his students were hundreds of men who rose to eminence as preachers, including Dr. Storrs himself. The Rt. Rev. Richard Hooker Wilmer, Episcopal Bishop of Alabama, died on June 14, at the age of eighty-four. Bishop Wilmer was an orator of rare power and a religious leader of great influence in the South.



Photo by Anderson.

THE LATE BISHOP WILMER, OF ALABAMA.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From May 21 to June 21, 1900.)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS.

May 21.—The Senate passes the post-office appropriation bill, with the amendment of Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) appropriating \$225,000 for the continuance of the existing pneumatic-tube service. A motion of Mr. Morgan (Dem., Ala.) to proceed to the consideration of the House Nicaragua Canal bill is defeated by a vote of 21 to 28....The House passes bills providing for an eight-hour day on Government work, and prohibiting interstate transportation of convict-made goods.

May 22.—In the Senate, Mr. Spooner (Rep., Wis.) defends President McKinley's Philippine policy....The House considers the Alaskan civil-code bill.

May 23.—In the Senate, Mr. Platt (Rep., Conn.) speaks on the Cuban postal frauds....The House passes the Judiciary Committee's bill to amend the extradition laws, so as to cover cases like that of C. F. W. Neely.

May 25.—The Senate begins consideration of the sundry civil appropriation bill. Mr. Morgan (Dem., Ala.) speaks in opposition to the Philippine resolution of Mr. Spooner (Rep., Wis.)....The House considers the Alaskan civil code.

May 26.—The Senate adopts the resolution of Mr. Bacon (Dem., Ga.) providing for an investigation into Cuban financial affairs....The House adopts resolutions calling on the Postmaster-General for information as to Director Rathbone's reports, and on the Secretary of War for reports on expenditures in Cuba and Porto Rico.

May 28.—The Senate debates the sundry civil appropriation bill....The House passes the Alaskan civil-code bill.

May 29.—The Senate adopts an amendment to the sundry civil appropriation bill appropriating \$5,000,000 for the exposition at St. Louis in 1903....The House adopts the conference report on the post-office appropriation bill, including the provision of \$225,000 for pneumatic-tube service.

May 30.—The House passes 190 private pension bills.

May 31.—The Senate passes the sundry civil appropriation bill....The House begins consideration of the proposed anti-trust constitutional amendment.

June 1.—The Senate passes the Military Academy appropriation bill, with amendments giving the senior major-general commanding the Army the rank, pay, and allowances of a lieutenant-general, and giving Adjutant-General Corbin the rank, pay, and allowances of a major-general in the Army....The House defeats the joint resolution providing for an anti-trust constitutional amendment by a vote of 154 to 131 (36 votes short of the requisite two-thirds).

June 2.—The Senate passes the general deficiency and the emergency river and harbor appropriation bills, and the bill to provide a method of extradition from the United States to Cuba of persons who have committed certain crimes in Cuba....The House, by a vote of 273 to 1, passes the anti-trust bill introduced by Mr. Littlefield (Rep., Me.), amending the Sherman act.

June 4.—The Senate, in executive session, ratifies the

new extradition treaty with Switzerland. Mr. Morgan (Dem., Ala.) favorably reports a resolution declaring the Clayton-Bulwer treaty abrogated.

June 5.—The Senate, by a vote of 43 to 23, refers the House anti-trust bill to the Judiciary Committee. In executive session, the nominations of John R. Hazel to be United States Judge for the Western District of New York, Gen. Elwell S. Otis to be a major-general, and Gen. Joseph Wheeler to be a brigadier-general in the Regular Army are confirmed, and the nomination of William D. Bynum to be General Appraiser at the Port of New York is rejected by a tie vote.

June 7.—After a bitter contest between the two branches over the coast-survey item in the naval appropriation bill, the House finally yields to the Senate,

and all the remaining appropriation bills having been passed, the first session of the Fifty-sixth Congress is adjourned.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

May 21.—E. G. Rathbone, director-general of posts in Cuba, is suspended from office by Postmaster-General Smith....The United States Supreme Court refusing to interfere in the Kentucky governorship contest, on the ground of lack of jurisdiction, the office goes to Beckham (Dem.);

W. S. Taylor, the Republican incumbent, dismisses the militia.

May 22.—The Louisiana Legislature elects United States Senator McEnery (Dem.) to succeed himself, and ex-Gov. Murphy J. Foster (Dem.) to succeed Senator Caffery (Dem.).

May 23.—Cuban Roman Catholics petition for a change in the marriage law, by which the religious ceremony may be legalized.

May 24.—In the Virginia State election, the proposition for a constitutional convention is carried; the Democrats carry all the municipal elections.

May 28.—Alaskan Democrats in convention at Juneau declare for Bryan for President, and denounce trusts, expansion, and favoritism to Canadian shipping and commercial interests.

May 31.—New Jersey Democrats refuse to instruct for Bryan.

June 2.—President McKinley nominates Morris M. Estee, of California, to be United States District Judge for Hawaii.



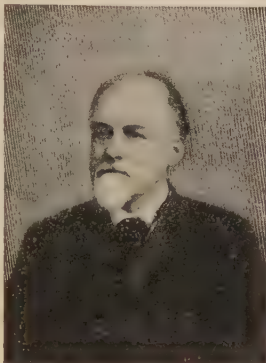
MR. J. L. BRISTOW.

(Fourth Assistant Postmaster General, now in Cuba investigating Cuban postal frauds.)

June 4.—In the Oregon elections, the Republicans carry both branches of the legislature and elect both members of Congress, together with State officers.

June 5.—Maryland Democrats refuse to instruct for Bryan, but recognize his strength in their platform. ...New York Democrats instruct for Bryan, but refuse to reaffirm the Chicago platform of 1896; Richard Croker, David B. Hill, Edward Murphy, Jr., and Augustus Van Wyck are chosen delegates-at-large to Kansas City.

June 6.—North Dakota and South Dakota Democrats instruct for Bryan....Indiana Democrats instruct for Bryan, and nominate John W. Kern for governor....Missouri Democrats nominate A. M. Dockery for governor, reaffirm the Chicago platform, and instruct for Bryan....West Virginia Democrats pledge support to Bryan, and nominate John H. Holt for governor....Idaho Democrats indorse Bryan....The Socialist Labor party of the United States nominates Joseph F. Maloney, of Massachusetts, for President, and Valentine Rimmel, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President.



HON. DOUGLASS M'ENERY.
(Relected U. S. Senator from Louisiana.)

June 7.—Connecticut Democrats instruct their delegates to support Bryan.

June 8.—Colorado Democrats instruct for Bryan.

June 9.—Mayor Van Wyck, of New York, admits in court his ownership of 4,000 shares of stock in the American Ice Company.

June 12.—Wisconsin Democrats instruct for Bryan, and reaffirm the Chicago platform....The Rhode Island Legislature reflects United States Senator Wetmore.

June 13.—Ohio Democrats instruct for Bryan, and nominate a State ticket....Governor Mount, of Indiana, refuses to honor the requisition of Governor Beckham, of Kentucky, for the return to that State of ex-Gov. W. S. Taylor, under indictment for complicity in the alleged plot resulting in the assassination of William E. Goebel.

June 14.—California and Kentucky Democrats instruct for Bryan....Vermont Democrats nominate a State ticket, headed by John H. Senter for governor, and declare for Bryan.

June 16.—Good order prevails in the Cuban municipal elections; Gen. Alejandro Rodriguez, Nationalist, is elected mayor of Havana, receiving 13,073 votes, against 6,534 cast for Señor Estrada Mora, the Independent candidate.

June 18.—A bulletin of the Porto Rican census, issued by the War Department at Washington, gives the population of the island as 953,243....Governor Roosevelt, of New York, issues a statement declining the Republican nomination for Vice-President at Philadelphia.

June 19.—The Republican National Convention meets at Philadelphia.

June 20.—The Republican National Convention adopts a platform....Minnesota Democrats declare for the nomination of Charles A. Towne for Vice President on the Bryan ticket at Kansas City....Florida Democrats declare for Bryan.

June 21.—President McKinley is renominated by unanimous vote in the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia, and Governor Roosevelt, of New York, is nominated for Vice-President.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

May 21.—The Australian federation bill passes its second reading in the British House of Commons.

May 22.—The French Chamber of Deputies reassembles....The Chinese authorities send troops to put down the "Boxer" movement.

May 23.—The German Reichstag passes the meat inspection bill by a vote of 163 to 123.

May 25.—The three men charged with an attempt to blow up the Welland Canal with dynamite, at Thorold, Ont., are found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment.

May 28. By a vote of 293 to 246, the French Chamber of Deputies declares confidence in the government.

May 29.—The Marquis de Galliffet resigns his post as French Minister of War, and is succeeded by General André.

June 2.—By a vote of 283 to 34, the French Senate passes the Dreyfus case amnesty bill.

June 3.—In the general elections for the Italian Parliament, the Constitutionalists secure a majority of the seats.

June 6.—The resignation of the Japanese Cabinet is reported.

June 7.—The German Reichstag passes the naval bill on second reading.

June 8.—Emperor Francis Joseph orders the session of the Austrian Reichsrath closed.

June 9.—The Chinese Government orders the withdrawal of the imperial troops opposing the "Boxers."

June 12.—The German Reichstag passes the naval bill....Premier Schreiner, of Cape Colony, resigns office.

June 16.—In view of the threatening Chinese situation, the Marquis Yamagata consents to retain the premiership of Japan.

June 19.—A convention of Irish Nationalists opens in Dublin.

June 20.—Lieutenant-Governor McInnes, of British Columbia, is dismissed from office by the Dominion Government, and Sir Henri Joly is appointed in his place.



HON. MURPHY J. FOSTER.
(Newly elected U. S. Senator from Louisiana.)

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

May 21.—Secretary Hay informs the Boer delegates that the United States cannot interfere in the South African war.

May 22.—The Queen Regent of Spain signs the postal convention with the United States.

May 23.—The United States makes a more peremptory demand on Turkey for the prompt settlement of the missionary indemnity claims.

May 24.—The European powers demand of the Chinese Government the immediate suppression of the "Boxers."

May 25.—Secretary Hay instructs Minister Conger, at Peking, to inform the Chinese Government that the United States expects it to suppress the "Boxer" society without delay, and to provide guarantees for the protection of the lives and property of Americans in China.

May 30.—American, British, German, Italian, French, Russian, and Japanese troops are ordered to guard the legations at Peking.

June 11.—The Chinese Emperor appeals to the powers for the deposition of the Dowager Empress and the establishment of a protectorate.

June 12.—President McKinley issues a proclamation of a reciprocal commercial agreement between the United States and Portugal under the Dingley tariff law.

June 16.—An arrangement for the arbitration of claims of American sealers against Russia for illegal seizures off the Siberian coast is announced.

June 17.—The Chinese forts at Taku, at the mouth of the Peiho River, fire on the foreign warships, which forthwith bombard the forts and compel their surrender.

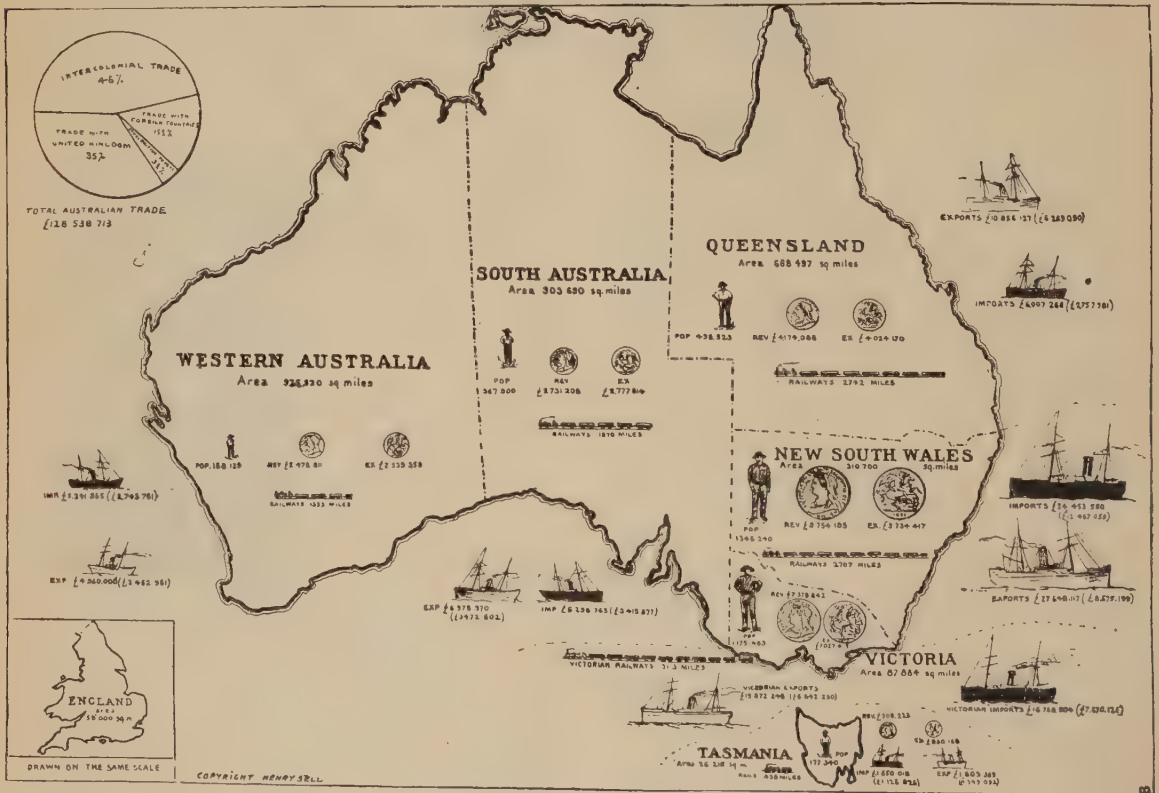
June 18.—United States troops are ordered from Manila to China; Admiral Kempff is directed to cooperate with the naval commanders of other powers in the protection of American interests in China.

June 19.—It is announced the French Government will dispatch a cruiser and 4,200 troops to China.

THE WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

May 21.—A squadron of Colonel Bethune's Horse is surprised on its way to Newcastle, six miles southwest of Vryheid; total casualties about 66.

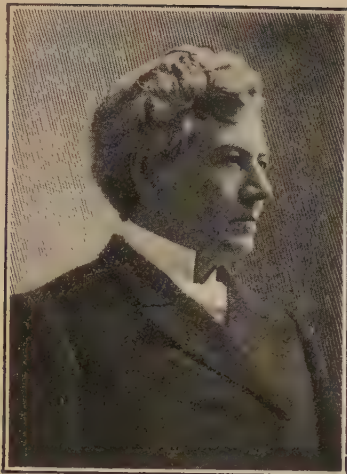
May 22.—General Hamilton reaches Heilbron, after a series of engagements with the Boers under Commandant De Wet.



THE COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA.

(Showing the contribution of each State.)

The Population is shown by a man; Revenue by the obverse side of a sovereign; Expenditure by the reverse side; Railway Mileage by a train; Imports by a black ship; Exports by a white ship (the figures within brackets denote the proportion of the imports and exports, which is purely intercolonial).



REV. J. W. HAMILTON.



REV. D. H. MOORE.

(Newly elected bishops of the M. E. Church.)

May 23.—General French reaches Prospect, about five miles to the north of Rhenoster River; the Boers leave their positions south of the Vaal and trek north.

May 24.—General Hunter reaches Vryburg, and the railway is repaired to that town.

May 25.—The Boers reoccupy Heilbron; General Hamilton occupies Vredeport; Taungs is garrisoned by the British.

May 26.—Lord Roberts' advance force crosses the Vaal near Parys, General Hamilton's column being at Boschbank; General Rundle occupies Senekal without opposition; Ficksburg is occupied by Brabant; General French crosses the Vaal at Lindigue's Drift.

May 27.—The main body under Lord Roberts crosses the Vaal at Vereeniging; Lord Roberts announces the annexation of the Orange Free State; British positions at Ingogo shelled by the Boers.

May 28.—Lord Roberts' force reaches the Klip River, eighteen miles from Johannesburg; General French pushes northward toward Johannesburg; the British occupy Zeerust (thirty-five miles northeast of Mafeking), and move in force on Lichtenburgh; Orange Free State formally annexed; in heavy fighting at Senekal, in the Orange River Colony (new name for the Free State), General Rundle loses 32 men killed and 150 wounded.

May 29.—Lord Roberts arrives at Elandsfontein Junction, and announces the capture of some rolling-stock.

May 30.—The British enter Johannesburg; President Krüger leaves Pretoria; the burgomaster is authorized to receive the British.

May 31.—The British flag is raised over the public buildings at Johannesburg....The Thirteenth Battalion (Irish) Imperial Yeomanry is compelled to surrender to a superior force of Boers near Lindley, Orange River Colony.

June 4.—The Boers resist Lord Roberts' advance on Pretoria at Six Miles Spruit, but are finally repulsed.

June 5.—Lord Roberts enters Pretoria, the town being formally surrendered by the Boers.

June 6.—General Buller's troops capture a mountain

west of Laing's Nek....The Boers cut General Roberts' communications north of Kroonstad.

June 7.—At Roodeval the British lose 117 men killed and 69 wounded of the Derbyshire and Cape Pioneer Railway Regiments, the remaining force of the Derbyshires being made prisoners.

June 8.—General Buller's troops succeed in forcing Botha's Pass.

June 11.—General Buller forces Almond's Nek, and the Boers retire from Laing's Nek and Majuba; British casualties about 100.

June 12.—The Boers under Botha are defeated 15 miles east of Pretoria; Generals Kitchener and Methuen defeat the Boers under De Wet on the Rhenoster River; communication is restored between Pretoria and Bloemfontein.

June 15.—President Krüger transfers the Transvaal seat of government to Alkmaar.

June 18.—General Hunter occupies Krügersdorp.

June 19.—General Methuen defeats the Boers under De Wet at Heilbron, Orange River Colony.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

May 22.—The Methodist General Conference at Chicago elects the Rev. Drs. D. H. Moore and J. W. Hamilton bishops....The Boer envoys to the United States are unofficially received by President McKinley, and informed that this government cannot intervene in the South African war....Two companies of Filipinos surrender to the American troops at Tarlac.

May 23.—The Methodist General Conference, by a vote of 433 to 238, abolishes the pastoral time limit, now fixed at five years....The Presbyterian General Assembly refers the question of creed revision to a committee of fifteen.

May 24.—Queen Victoria's birthday is celebrated with unusual enthusiasm throughout Great Britain....The brokerage firm of Price, McCormick & Co., New York City, fails with liabilities estimated at \$13,000,000.

May 28.—The total eclipse of the sun is observed under extremely favorable conditions along the whole line of totality both in Europe and America.

May 29.—Filipino insurgents rush the town of San Miguel de Mayamo, north of Manila, killing 5 of the American garrison, wounding 7, and taking Capt. Charles D. Roberts prisoner.

May 30.—The Confederate reunion is begun at Louisville....President McKinley and Secretary Root speak at the unveiling of the monument on the battlefield of Antietam, Md.

June 8.—Gen. Pio del Pilar, the Filipino leader, is captured at San Pedro Macati, near Manila.

June 10.—In a St. Louis street-car strike riot, 4 persons are killed, 1 fatally wounded, and several others severely injured.

June 12.—General Grant reports the capture of a Filipino insurgent stronghold in the mountains east of Samiguet, Luzon.

June 15.—A parade and dinner in honor of Gen. Ellwell S. Otis take place at Rochester, N. Y.

June 21.—General MacArthur issues a proclamation of amnesty with unconditional pardon for Filipino rebels who renounce insurrection within ninety days.

OBITUARY.

May. 21.—Col. Wickham Hoffmann, United States Minister to Denmark in President Arthur's administration, 79.

May 22.—Ex-United States Senator Nathaniel Peter Hill, of Colorado, 68....Rev. A. J. F. Behrends, D.D., of Brooklyn, N. Y., 60....Rev. Alexander Burns, D.D., President of Wesleyan Ladies' College, Hamilton, Ont., 66.

May 23.—Jonas Gilman Clark, founder of Clark University, Worcester, Mass., 85....Francis Bicknell Carpenter, the portrait painter, 70....Rev. John Scudder, D.D., of the Reformed Church's Arcot Mission in India, 64.

May 24.—Dr. Fessenden Nott Otis, surgeon and author, 75.

May 25.—Signor Giuseppe Puente, the famous operatic barytone, 60.

May 28.—Sir George Grove, the famous English musician, 80....Lewis W. Clark, late chief justice of the New Hampshire Supreme Court, 72....Ex-Judge John P. Rea, of Minneapolis, 60.

May 29.—William Adams Cobb, a well-known journalist of Lockport, N. Y., 58....David Ward, a leading Michigan capitalist, 78....Col. C. P. Atmore, general passenger agent of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad, 66.

June 2.—Clarence Cook, art critic and writer, 72.

June 3.—Mrs. Alzina Parsons Stevens, an active participant in social reform movements, 51.

June 4.—Prof. Edwards A. Park, the distinguished Andover theologian, 91.

June 5.—Rev. Richard Salter Storrs, D.D., the eminent Brooklyn clergyman, 79....Stephen Crane, the novelist and newspaper correspondent, 30....Miss Mary H. Kingsley, the African explorer and writer....Mrs. John Sherman, wife of ex-Secretary Sherman, of Ohio.

June 8.—Henry Wellesley, third Duke of Wellington, 54.

June 10.—Rev. John Braden, D.D., president of the Central Tennessee College, 72.

June 12.—Mme. Augusta Lehmann, once a singer of international reputation, 80....Lucretia Peabody Hale, a Boston writer, 80.

June 13.—Nicholas Frederick Peter, Grand Duke of Oldenburg, 73....Dr. Edward Maris, a well-known collector of coins and autographs, 69.

June 14.—Bishop Richard Hooker Wilmer, of Alabama, 84....Mrs. Gladstone, widow of the late William E. Gladstone, the British statesman.

June 16.—Prince de Joinville, son of King Louis Philippe, of France, 82.

June 18.—Henry Walter Webb, for many years identified with the New York Central Railroad, 48.

June 20.—Baron Loch (Henry Brougham Loch), formerly governor of Cape Colony and British High Commissioner for South Africa, 73.

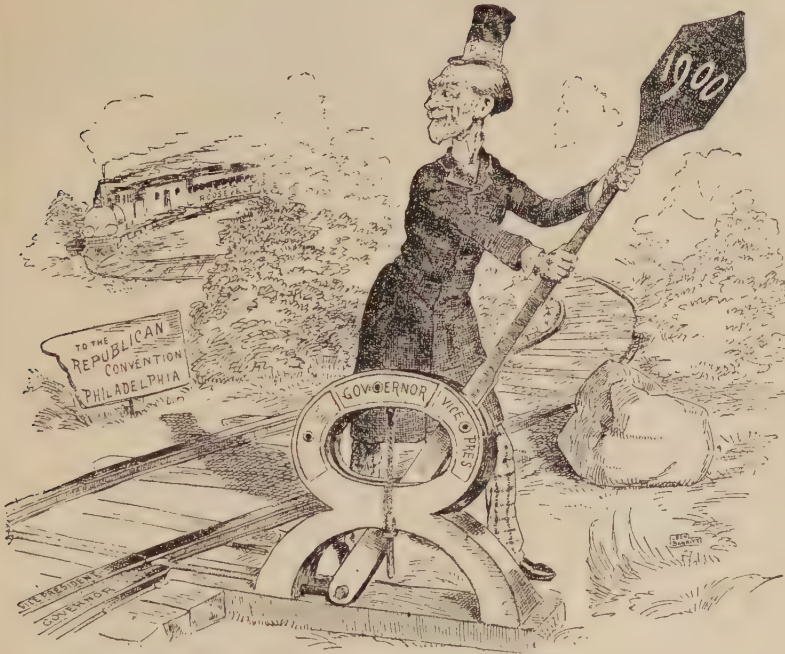
June 21.—Count Muravieff, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, 55.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

THE following conventions have been announced for the coming month: The Democratic National Convention, at Kansas City, on July 4; the National Silver Republican Convention, at Kansas City, on July 4; the United States Monetary League, at Kansas City, on July 4; The National League of Republican Clubs, at St. Paul, on July 17; the American Political League, at Boston, on July 4; the National Educational Association, at Charleston, S. C., on July 7-13; the American Institute of Instruction, at Halifax, N. S., on July 7-11; the German Music Teachers' Association, at Philadelphia, on July 5-9; the American Fisheries Society, at Woods Holl, Mass., on July 18-20; the American Association for the Advancement of Osteopathy, at Chattanooga, Tenn., on July 5-7; the American Philological Association, at Madison, Wis., on July 3-5; the United Society of Christian Endeavor, at London, on July 14-18; the Baptist's Young People's Union of America, at Cincinnati, on July 12-15; the United Society of Free Baptist Young People, at Lewiston, Me., on July 5-8; the Young People's Christian Union of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, at Denver, on July 25-30; the Young People's Christian Union of the Universalist Church, at Atlanta, Ga., on July 11-18; the National Association of Officials of Bureaus of Labor Statistics, at Milwaukee, on July 10-14; the Pan-American Conference, at Westminster Town Hall, London, on July 22; the National Good-Roads Convention, at Port Huron, Mich., on July 2-5; the National Farmers' Convention, at Topeka, Kan., on July 2-3;

the Commercial Law League of America, at Milwaukee, on July 23-28; the United States League of Local Building and Loan Associations, at Indianapolis, on July 25; the Sons of Temperance, National Division, at Dalton, Mass., on July 10-14; the National Dental Association, at Old Point Comfort, Va., on July 10-13; the National Dental Examiners' Association, at Old Point Comfort, on July 10; the National Association of Photo-Engravers, at Cleveland, Ohio, on July 16-21; the Photographers' Association of America, at Milwaukee, on July 23; the National and United Amateur Press Association, at Boston, on July 2-4; the National Bookkeepers' Association, at Put-in-Bay, Ohio, on July 20-23; the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters, at Wheeling, W. Va., on July 9; the National Theatrical Stage Employees' Alliance, at New York, on July 9; the American Association of General Baggage Agents, at Boston, on July 18; the National Association of Local Freight Agents' Associations, at Boston, on July 12; the Railway Transportation Association, at Detroit, on July 18; the National Railway Agents' Association, at Detroit, on July 24-27; the National Union Senate, at Alexandria Bay, N. Y., on July 17; the International 'Longshoremen's Convention, at Duluth, Minn., on July 10; Roosevelt's Rough Riders' Reunion, at Oklahoma City, on July 1-4; the American Whist League, at Niagara Falls, on July 9; the League of American Wheelmen, at Milwaukee, on July 10-15; and the National Amateur Oarsmen's Association, at New York, on July 19-21.

POLITICAL CARTOONS OF THE MONTH.



IS HE SETTING THE SWITCH FOR THE ROOSEVELT FLYER?
From the *Tribune* (New York).

THE practice of using cartoons in the daily papers has increased enormously, even since the last Presidential campaign. There is now not a town of any size in the country that has not a paper utilizing the service of a cartoonist, whose best efforts are, of course, called forth by the opportunities of a political campaign. While this has, of course, greatly augmented the number of forceful and striking cartoons, it has operated to do away with the striking preëminence of any one cartoonist or group of cartoonists, such as was seen in the days of Keppler and Nast. In the present campaign, the very striking physical, mental, and moral characteristics of Mr. Roosevelt, together with the picturesque situation which the Republican Vice-Presidential question created, has been a boon to the political caricaturists, and they have made the most of the occasion. Indeed, the fact that the Presidential nominees were, for all practical purposes, known

in advance to the public has made the Vice-Presidency the important theme for editors, reporters, and cartoonists on the Democratic side as well as on the Republican, so far as the personal side of the present political campaign is concerned. A marked change in the direction of mildness is seen on all sides in the treatment of Mr. Bryan, personally, by the cartoonists, though those wearing the Republican colors are as fierce as ever in their caricaturing of Bryanism. Indeed, to judge from present appearances, the principals in the campaign of 1900 will receive in the personal caricatures of the struggle but little annoyance from really vulgar and bitter flings, as compared with the pictorial denunciations of Mr. Blaine and Mr. Cleveland, and of Mr. Bryan in 1896. We may hope that this is due to a growth in good taste, as well as to the fact that President Mc. Kinley and Mr. Bryan are men who have not made personal enemies.



ROUNDED UP.—From the *Journal* (New York).



CHAIRMAN HANNA TAKES A STROLL DOWN POLITICAL AVENUE.
(From sketches on the spot by the Philadelphia *Inquirer* cartoonist, Mr. McAuley.)



THE MAN ON HORSEBACK.
From the *World* (New York).



THE GREATEST DANGER.
From the *Herald* (New York).



"NAY, NAY!"—From the *World* (New York).



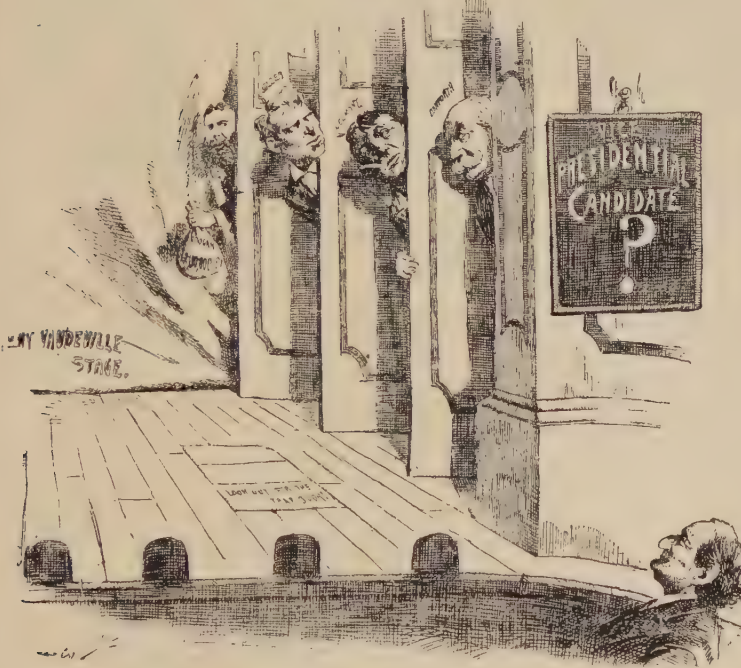
SAD FATE OF THE CALAMITY HOWLER.
From the *Tribune* (New York).



ROOSEVELT CANNOT GET AWAY FROM THIS STAMPEDE, LED BY PENNSYLVANIA.
From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia).



OVER THE RIVER IS OUT.
From the *Chronicle* (Chicago).



"WHO SAID 'NEXT?'"
From the *Herald* (New York).



ALL CUT AND DRIED.
(From the *Chronicle* (Chicago).



TAMMANY SUPPORTS BRYAN.
A chilly-ride to Kansas City.—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).



HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF.

The bell that will ring out four more years of independence for the American working-man.

From *Judge* (New York).



FORECAST FOR NOVEMBER 4.

From the *Pioneer-Press* (St. Paul).



THE POLITICAL CADDIE.

BRYAN: "Well, my boy, you might bring them along. We may need them."—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



"APRIL FOOL IS PAST, LITTLE BOY; TAKE 'EM AWAY."

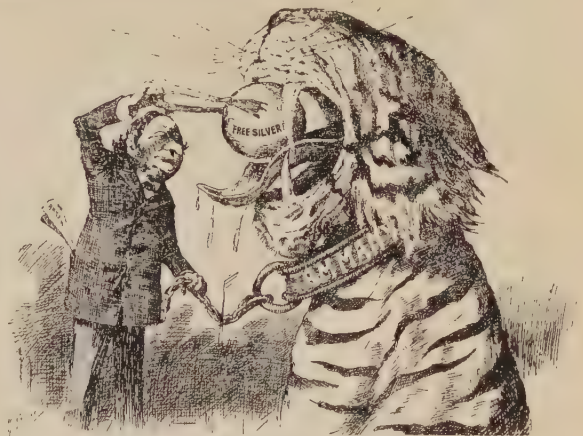
From the *Times* (Denver).



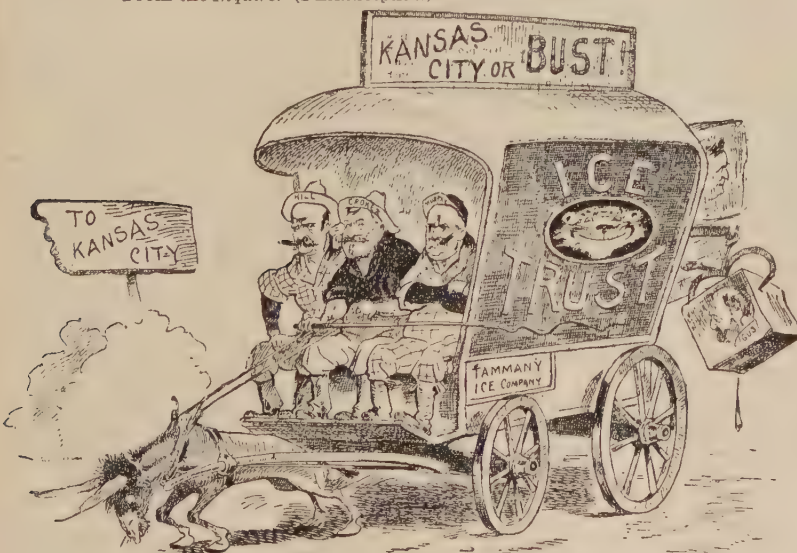
WHEN DEMOCRATS (?) DISAGREE, WHO SHALL DECIDE?—From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn).



HAVE A CARE, WILLIAM! DAVID'S ON THE WAR PATH.
From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia.)



SWALLOWING THE BRYAN PILL.
From the *Herald* (New York).



"WE'RE OFF!"

It looks like a case for the Cruelty to Animals Society.—From the *Tribune* (New York).



BOSS CROKER AS "DR. JEKYLL
AND MR. HYDE."

From the *Times* (Denver).



ANOTHER CHANCE FOR OUR TENDER-HEARTED "AUNT" TO SYMPATHIZE WITH THOSE WHO HAVE TO BE GOVERNED WITHOUT THEIR CONSENT.

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

In their treatment of the Democratic convention at Kansas City, and the personalities and "planks" which will come to it, no theme has appealed to the cartoonists so forcibly as the exposure of the connection of Tammany with the ice trust. The sly digs at the friend of the people—the enemy of trusts—have been innumerable throughout the country, in Democratic as well



SAID EACH TO THE OTHER.

"Well, well! Do you think there will be a resurrection?"

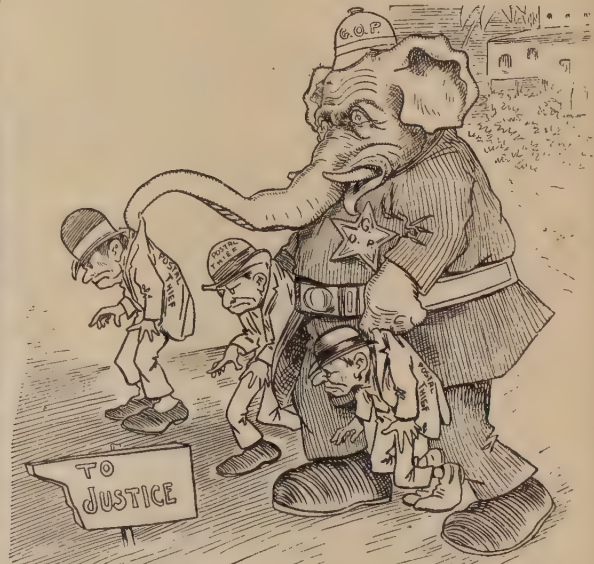
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn).

as Republican and Independent papers. We have the Tammany tiger dragging the incubus of an enormous cake of ice to Kansas City, Mr. Croker and his colleagues driving an ice-wagon to the convention, etc. Mr. Hill's fierce fight against Tammany in New York State to send uninstructed delegates to the convention furnishes another fertile subject; thousands of cartoons have reflected the anomalous position of Mr. Towne as Vice-President under the Populist nomination, with the Democratic choice still undecided.



KANSAS CITY HOTEL ACCOMMODATIONS.

BRYAN: "You can put five men to a bed any place else, but this bed is full."—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



DOWN IN CUBA.

One way to tell a good watchman is from the amount of felons he captures.—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE.

THE RECORD OF PRESIDENT M'KINLEY'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE Republican National Convention at Philadelphia, last month, renominated for President of the United States William McKinley, of Ohio.

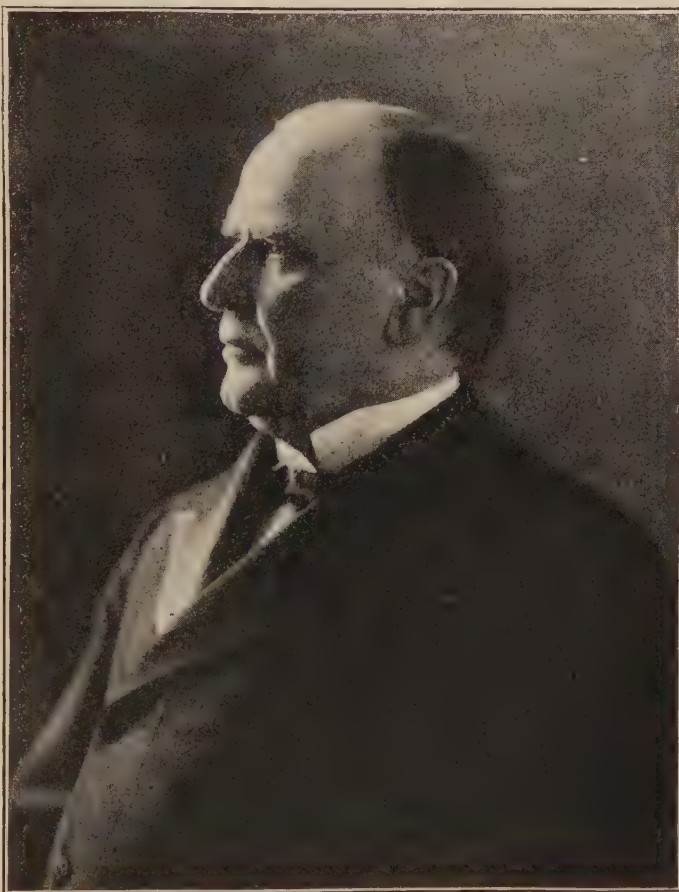
At such a time as this, when our people are approaching a political contest in which fundamental issues, involving both domestic policy and our relations to foreign peoples, are at stake, his record as President, and his position with regard to these policies, are legitimately before the people for discussion. For this reason, in this brief review, which is aimed to be partly a character sketch and partly a summary of the more important of his acts as President, we will not dwell at length on his well-known life before entering the Presidency.

The story of his boyhood and his young manhood; how, as a private soldier, at the age of eighteen, he enlisted in the army; how he received merited promotion and after a gallant military service in the Civil War began the practice of law at Canton; how he entered Congress, and by dint of his ability and study became the leader of his party; how he became Governor of Ohio,—all this has been fully told, not only in the pages of this REVIEW, but in all the American press, until it is familiar

to every one who keeps in touch with the current history of leading men and events.

On the 4th of March, 1897, he assumed the duties of the exalted office of President of the United States. It was a time of marked industrial depression. Business and commerce were

lagging, and large numbers of people throughout the country sought employment. The platform upon which he had been elected declared for a change in our tariff laws which would recognize more fully the protective principle, and for the enactment of a law which would firmly establish gold as the monetary standard of the nation. The new President immediately assembled Congress in extraordinary session, and addressed to it a message urging a revision of the existing tariff laws, under which business was suffering and deficient revenues were endangering the nation's credit and the stability of its



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PRESIDENT WILLIAM M'KINLEY.

(From a recent photograph.)

currency. This prompt action in convening Congress, and the resultant passage of the Dingley law, unquestionably hastened the return of national prosperity.

Under that law revenues revived, and with stable tariff conditions assured, the industries of the country slowly recovered from their depres-

sion. The intimate relations existing under the old financial laws between adequate revenues and the credit of governmental currency soon led to a restoration of public confidence; and even before the passage of the gold-standard law, gold was freely offered at the Treasury in exchange for greenbacks.

THE PRESIDENT AND CURRENCY REFORM.

The deficiency in revenues under the Wilson law, and the commercial panic of 1893, with the ensuing business depression, had exposed the inherent weakness of our currency system. This weakness resulted from a disproportion between the demand currency liabilities of the Government and the gold in the Treasury to redeem them, and the further fact that after these currency liabilities had been redeemed in gold they could again be paid out for expenses, thus enabling the public to again present them for redemption, causing what was commonly known as the "endless chain."

After the success of the Republican party upon its platform of sound money in a campaign in which this weakness formed one of the chief subjects of discussion, several plans of currency and banking reform were presented to the public and discussed generally in the press. It is highly creditable to the President's discernment and breadth of view that he avoided complicated recommendations, confining himself to urging the enactment of a provision which would remedy the weakness of our financial system without involving the business of the country in the dangers incident to radical legislative experiments with currency laws.

His recommendation, made in his first annual message and repeated in his second, went to the very gist of the trouble; and it is the cornerstone of the financial law which Congress passed at its last session.

In his first annual message to Congress, the President said:

I earnestly recommend, as soon as the receipts of the Government are quite sufficient to pay all the expenses of the Government, that when any of the United States notes are presented for redemption in gold and are redeemed in gold, such notes shall be kept and set apart and only paid out in exchange for gold.

In his second annual message to Congress, after renewing his recommendation of the year before, he said:

In my judgment the condition of the Treasury amply justifies the immediate enactment of the legislation recommended one year ago, under which a portion of the gold holdings shall be placed in a trust fund from which greenbacks should be redeemed upon presentation, but when once redeemed should not thereafter be paid out except for gold.

To the President's plain and simple presentation of a fundamental remedy, and his avoidance of the recommendation of extensive and experimental plans, the people of the country largely owe the present stable and safe condition of our entire financial system.

THE ANNEXATION OF HAWAII.

Almost as if foreseeing by intuition the necessity for the annexation of Hawaii, as later revealed by the tremendous events of the following years, the President early in his administration recommended to Congress the annexation of those islands. The importance of this step, both from the standpoint of the best interests of the islanders and of our own people, now seen so clearly by all, was not then so apparent; and, but for the earnest and aggressive attitude of the President, annexation would have failed. During the pendency of the Hawaiian question, speaking of the islands, he said to a visitor: "We need Hawaii just as much as, and a good deal more than, we did California." Although greater questions of territory have since come to us as the inevitable incidents of unavoidable war, the annexation of these beautiful islands was the first step in the new and broader life upon which this republic has entered, and from which neither duty nor self-interest will allow it to turn back.

MINOR PROBLEMS BEFORE THE EXECUTIVE.

The careful attention which, notwithstanding the absorbing nature of extraordinary questions arising during the present administration, has been given to less prominent duties of the kind with which every President must deal, is a testimonial to the thoroughness that has directed our national affairs for the last three years. The pressing questions of tariff and finance have had the attention demanded by our business interests. The delicate problem of such a revision of the merit system of civil service as would remove therefrom the dangers to its permanence arising from too rigid application of theory was for many months a subject of the most serious consideration by the President and the members of his cabinet, and the operation of the amendments finally adopted is daily proving their wisdom. Provisions for Alaska's growing needs have been arranged, and the necessary legislation has been enacted. The disposition of Porto Rican affairs and the formation of a government for that island have had no less careful deliberation.

The country sees the rise and disposition of questions of great moment to its welfare, but, from want of knowledge of details, gives little heed to the daily round of a President's labors, including the constant direction of affairs of state, the con-

sideration of appointments, the handling of such matters as the Pacific Railroad's indebtedness, domestic difficulties requiring federal intervention, the approval of the countless minor acts of Congress, and a multitude of other duties. As evidence of President McKinley's tact may be cited his policy in regard to the vetoing of bills which come before him for action. The statement has frequently been made that he never vetoes bills, implying either that he gives them but slight examination or leaves it for others to do for him. Probably no incumbent of the executive office has given more thorough examination and careful thought to every document to which he appended his signature. But the object of the veto has been compassed in many instances by sending for the authors of the objectionable bills and pointing out to them the evident inaccuracies or inconsistencies. The result has usually been a request from Congress for the return of the bill. Where the case is meritorious, a new bill without the objections of the old one has been passed and approved by the President. This has in no way abridged the prerogative of the executive; but it has expedited legislation, and tended to maintain cordial relations.

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF SECTIONALISM.

The complete obliteration of sectional lines, of the spirit of exultation and intolerance on the one side, defiance and intolerance on the other, has at last been happily achieved; and William McKinley may well look back with satisfaction upon the part he has borne in the work of reconciliation. The influence of his example, the power of his position, and all the force of his ability have constantly been given to this end; and his gratification at the fulfillment of so noble an inspiration found voice at Atlanta in words deserving of perpetuation—"Reunited—one country again and one country forever! Proclaim it from the press and pulpit; teach it in the schools; write it across the skies! The world sees and feels it; it cheers every heart North and South, and brightens the life of every American home! Let nothing ever strain it again! At peace with all the world and with each other, what can stand in the pathway of our progress and prosperity?"

Upon the field of Antietam, the President recently spoke again upon this subject, and said: "Standing here to-day, one reflection only has crowded my mind—the difference between this scene and that of thirty-eight years ago. Then the men who wore the blue and the men who wore the gray greeted each other with shot and shell, and visited death upon their respective ranks. We meet, after all these intervening

years, with but one sentiment—that of loyalty to the Government of the United States, love of our flag and our free institutions, and determined, men of the North and men of the South, to make any sacrifice for the honor and perpetuity of the American nation."

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

The Spanish-American War, in its causes and results, will go into history as one of the most remarkable and distinctive conflicts of modern times. Standing at its threshold, one saw in retrospect generations of oppression and cruelty, colonial systems that were either corrupt military despotisms or the barest shadows of representative government; and, permeating all, a self-effacing, soul-warping denial of rights dear to the great heart of mankind. Years of misrule had left an accumulated burden of bitterness and woe that found expression in solemn protest, in threatening outburst, and finally in open rebellion against the mother-country.

In the distant Pacific the Philippine Islands were repeatedly the scene of such outbreaks, and from time to time warfare in the Island of Cuba, at our own doors, brought vividly home to us the trials of an oppressed people. While we consistently pursued for years the course which international courtesy and comity then required, the situation in Cuba assumed more and more, as the years went by, an aspect dangerous to our peace and material welfare.

Mr. Cleveland had realized, during his second administration, the gravity of the Cuban problem, but had been obliged to hand it over unsolved to his successor; and on March 4, 1897, William McKinley assumed it, with results now known to the world.

The successive steps in the war have been told in many forms, and from various points of view. Every schoolboy and schoolgirl of the land knows the story of Manila Bay, of El Caney, and San Juan Hill, and Santiago; of the sinking of the Merrimac; of the conquest of Porto Rico with little organized resistance; of most of the principal incidents from the rupture of friendly relations in April, 1898, to the overtures for peace made to this country in July, and the signing of the Peace Protocol on August 12, of that year.

The blockading, by our fleet, of the ports of Porto Rico and Cuba; the heroism of our soldiers and sailors; the wonderful series of victories, without the loss of a man or a ship or a gun by capture,—have been told again and again; and the country, in grateful remembrance, has placed upon its roll of honor the names of heroes whose achievements for American arms have made their fame imperishable in our annals.

HOW THE ISSUE WAS MET.

But there is one story of the war that has not yet been written, and can even now be but imperfectly outlined—that of the sagacious, far-seeing man who, though kindly and sympathetic in all the relations of life, was ever inflexible of purpose for the recognition of the righteous principles which should control our conduct throughout the struggle, and masterful in the vigor and celerity with which he organized and directed the land and naval forces of the United States. And when the defeated and humiliated kingdom, recognizing the hopelessness of the strife, sought peace, he was magnanimous and merciful.

In the dark days preceding the opening of hostilities, amid increasing excitement, the importunities of well-wishing friends and advisers, and the abuse of the sensational press, the President of the United States never swerved from the line of duty he had marked out for himself and the Republic he had sworn faithfully to serve. His long legislative experience, his knowledge of men and events, had taught him that often many of the people form hasty opinions, at variance with the greater knowledge and wider sources of information available to those in high executive authority. But the provocation was great. The feelings of our people were outraged by scenes enacted in the island near our shores, and by the continuance of the unhappy conditions which from time to time appeared there, culminating in merciless proclamations and degrading requirements that shocked the moral sense of this nation. From all sections came the imperious demand that a stop must be put to these things, and that no longer should there be tolerated upon the American Continent a condition so menacing to our tranquillity and security.

THE PRESIDENT AS HARMONIZER.

The President knew that to interfere meant war. He had faith in the people, and believed that with a fuller knowledge of the facts on their part, and with still greater endeavor upon the part of the United States, the authorities in Madrid would yet find a way to meet the requirements of civilization and evade the horrible alternative of hostilities.

The war with Spain he sought by every honorable means to avert, hewing steadfastly to his conception of the American ideal—peace with honor, war rather than dishonor; justice to other nations, loyalty to his own. Foreseeing the conflict, he foresaw its certain and many of its possible evils. The one class could not be escaped; to the avoidance of the other he gave his full energy and intelligence. That we entered upon the war so well prepared, so little hampered by

mortgages on the future, and so generally united in purpose, was the result of long weeks of self-sacrificing, patriotic, devoted labor on the part of the dominant men among those intrusted at the time with our national fortunes—a labor in which the President led, and to which he gave the best that was in him.

During those trying days, when the war fever was constantly and rapidly increasing, there were frequent illustrations of the truth of a statement made by one of his associates in public life that "McKinley was one of the greatest harmonizers America had ever known." Daily and nightly consultations were had at the White House between the President and little groups of Senators and Representatives whom he invited to be present; these meetings were utterly non-partisan in character, composed of Republican rivals and Republican followers, and of Silver as well as Gold Democrats. The requests to attend the conferences were invariably acceded to with respect and cordiality; and the results which followed so broad-minded a course were of incalculable value in the preparation for and conduct of the war.

Does any one believe that with a less conciliatory policy, with less of the courteous consideration that has characterized the intercourse of the President with Congress and prominent officials throughout the country, the marvelous results would have been achieved as quickly and as completely as they were?

The destruction of the *Maine* removed almost the last doubt of approaching conflict. There remained to avert it only the possibility of showing the awful tragedy to have been an accident, and, failing that, prompt and full reparation by Spain. The suspicion entertained by every American was natural under the circumstances—our strained relations with Spain, the presence of our ship in one of her ports on a friendly errand, our faith in the high discipline of our navy, the eagerness with which Spanish officials sought to charge the event to American inefficiency. Having this suspicion, based on such circumstances, what American could incline very strongly to the belief that reparation would be made? And so the logic of the situation, added to the rage of the moment, almost involved us in what is now generally conceded would have been a grave mistake—a war for revenge.

RESPONSIBILITY OF THE EXECUTIVE.

In this time of great national excitement, a responsibility was suddenly imposed upon the President of an intensity unknown since the days of Lincoln. That he then realized that war was inevitable cannot be doubted, and under his direction the War and Navy Departments were

straining every resource in preparation for the coming conflict.

The general feeling of indignation ran high, and the halls of Congress rang with the demands and denunciations of the impatient ones who ascribed to the man upon whose shoulders the terrible burden of decision rested unworthy and unpatriotic motives for his refusal to take thoughtless, hasty, and half-considered steps. It was at this time that the President, from a sense of duty, took his position against the recognition on the part of this Government of the so-called Cuban republic. He had superior sources of knowledge of the actual conditions existing in the islands, and fully comprehending the fact that this recognition would have placed the officers of our army who might enter Cuba under the command of Cuban generals, and that there existed no form of government among the insurgents such as could be properly recognized under international law, he knew that such recognition would be fraught with the gravest consequences. Under the conditions which existed in the island, a recognition of the so-called republic meant helpless confusion and conflict, and humiliation in event of war. A false step then would have been irremediable.

During the time the President was preparing his message to Congress, he was called upon personally by the great majority of members of both houses, and the executive mansion was thronged each day with excited men protesting against anything short of complete recognition of the Cuban republic. He stated his reasons calmly and firmly to the people who called by hundreds to demand that his position be altered.

His political leadership hung in the balance, and every argument of expediency which political ingenuity could devise was urged upon him. But he was adamant; and, to the aid of that position which he knew to be right, he called every legitimate resource of his great power as chief executive, and every proper resource of his power as an individual.

A PATRIOT IN THE WHITE HOUSE.

Our present calm retrospect makes the course of William McKinley at this juncture seem one of courageous patriotism. We recall the violent denunciation, the scathing contumely, heaped upon him for his refusal to take the precipitate action which was widely demanded; the deliberate manner in which he directed an investigation of the *Maine* explosion, awaited the report, and communicated its substance to the Spanish Government. With wisdom gained by the lapse of time, we review the turbulent scenes in Congress, and remember the outcry then so much

in accord with our own feelings. We see the President stubbornly battling against the hasty indignation of the moment, because he felt that the time was not ripe for war, yet quietly and skillfully preparing to meet the crisis when it should come; and we see him not long after the recipient of a verdict of popular approval nearly as enthusiastic and quite as general as the denunciation of a few months before.

When in his message to Congress of April 11, 1898, he uttered the words "In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interest, which give us the right and the duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop," he realized the expectations of those who had followed his career through all its activities, and those who had prophesied for him a weak and un-American administration saw how erroneous had been their estimate of the man.

Every effort put forth by the President and his cabinet having failed, and the gage of battle having been accepted in obedience to the dictates of humanity and civilization, and in accordance with the authority given the executive by Congress, the people learned that they had placed in the White House one who was Commander-in-Chief in fact as well as in name—a man of iron will in the prosecution of his country's battles and in the exaction of honor and respect for its flag.

The burdens of the executive office during those weeks, and at the time when by message the Congress was made to share them, were more severe than have been placed upon any President since the Civil War. Out of the rancor and excitement the nation emerged prepared for conflict; partisan feeling was hushed in the presence of a great emergency, a vast sum was appropriated for national defense, and, with a unanimity not paralleled in our history, its expenditure intrusted to the President of the United States. The discordant notes of sensationalism died away; the tread of volunteers responding to the call to arms drowned the ill-natured comments of fault-finders, and carried messages of cheer and encouragement to the White House.

President McKinley rarely left his office until one or two o'clock at night; frequently he was there until a much later hour. He personally supervised the details of preparation. He gathered from his cabinet advisers the latest information upon vital points of equipment. His orders for instant and thorough preparation and ceaseless vigilance reached the utmost limits of our national authority. The suggestions and criticisms that came to him from all parts of the country would fill volumes. The incessant stream

of callers, always great, became larger, and every hour was filled with vast responsibilities.

The war came on; the President led in its prosecution. He was constantly in direct telegraphic communication with the front, and the "war room," adjoining his office in the executive mansion, was his first resort in the morning and his last at night. Maps, elaborate in detail, covered the walls of the room; and by means of tiny flags with pins for sticks the positions and changes of position of the ships and land forces of both sides were always before his eyes.

Frequent cabinet meetings and less formal conferences with his immediate advisers, the formulation and consideration of plans, the organization and movement of the army, the extension of the navy and its manipulation—these and many kindred duties engaged his time.

And when the struggle was over, how prompt was his recognition of the loyalty, bravery, and self-sacrifice of our soldiers, our sailors, and our marines! And how ready he has been to accord all praise to the defenders of the national honor in the Philippines, whose duty was nobly done, and who came to feel that their Commander-in-Chief at Washington was never so busy as to overlook merit or so exacting as to ignore their personality.

With the cessation of hostilities came the problems of peace. The Peace Conference at Paris felt the guiding hand and farseeing Americanism of the President at every stage of its proceedings. With no uncharitableness, he yet insisted upon those things which were the nation's right, and which the verdict of the future will establish as incalculable blessings, not only to our own people, but to the distant peoples who have come under our authority and within the beneficent influence of our free institutions.

THE PHILIPPINES.

Among the opponents of the President's course in the Philippines, none has yet expressed a wish that the battle of Manila Bay had not been fought. In the President's view, the acquisition of the Philippines was the only result of that battle consistent with the American ideal of duty, and with characteristic strength he has done his share in its accomplishment. Some of those who thought the battle could be fought without consequences have, while applauding the victory, decried the outcome; but he has steadfastly pursued the purpose he believed to be right.

It was a magnificent patience that withstood the pressure and temptations of the spring of 1898. The same patient mind dominated our soldiers at Manila in the early days of 1899, and restrained them from resenting the insults of ambitious

Tagals, who had converted themselves into foes. The time was not yet ripe for retaliation; for our legal title extended only to the confines of Manila, and hostilities might require the invasion of territory which we were in honor bound to hold inviolable until the treaty of peace should give us the right to enter. Under orders from President McKinley to avoid a conflict with the Filipinos pending the ratification of the treaty, American honor was sustained; and when military operations became necessary, they were carried on upon our own territory, and not upon that of a defeated foe with whom, under an armistice, we were treating for peace.

The Filipino insurrection is at an end. The work of pacification that remains is only such as during our entire national existence has required the presence of garrisons of soldiers on our frontiers and in other territory acquired in the past. Our title to the territory of the Philippine Islands is undisputed. Shall we relinquish them? To whom? This is a question for Congress; and Congress, fully informed on the subject, has calmly gone home, leaving to the President, for still many months, the duty of maintaining American sovereignty in the Philippines and providing for them a government. That he will do both of these things unflinchingly, all Americans believe, though they do not all agree to the undertaking.

STRENGTH OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

The men who compose the cabinet are strong in their respective departments; all of them strong in many branches of the public service. To the mature experience they brought into the cabinet have been added the trial and the test of great questions and new problems which have come before them for solution. To sustain with such a body of men relations of perfect confidence, so to guide debate, so to encourage the expression of personal opinion, so to invite vigor and individuality, as to make their discussions yield the largest results, is an achievement for any man. But with all this, to dominate their deliberations tactfully, considerately, forcefully, is leadership of the highest order. This has been President McKinley's relation to his cabinet.

No administration of recent years has dealt with such grave questions as have confronted the present one. The problems which have been crowded into any one of its three years would have made or unmade the fortunes of any administration. But during these busy years the country has taken note of things done, of promises fulfilled, of good faith and fair-dealing. In the excitement of debate, in the fancied necessities

of political strategy, it is easy to state fallacies and natural to exaggerate evils. To the opponent of the President and his administration, the conduct of the War with Spain appears open to severe criticism; to the impartial student of history, it is a record of marvelous preparation and execution. To those opposed to the results secured by the administration in the fields of finance, they presage an unstable currency and disaster to both capital and labor. To the practical, hard-headed, far-sighted business man, who knows confidence to be the bulwark of the financial world, the strengthening of the gold standard, and the enactment into law of the platform promises of the Republican party mean the permanence of public credit, the assurance of increased employment for labor, and the advancement of the country in its material interests. To many of the opponents of the administration, new possessions mean a weakening of tradition and a departure from right principle. To its adherents, who believe they read aright the nation's destiny in the light of what has come from former expansion, they mean the quickening of national spirit, the extension of free institutions among peoples who have hitherto striven in darkness and doubt, the advancement of the Republic ever higher and higher in its mission of liberty and enlightenment.

MCKINLEY A TYPE.

A great political leader is almost necessarily a type of the nation he leads—the embodiment of the characteristics of his time—the manifest product of the circumstances and conditions of the people he governs and directs. This is more especially true in the critical periods of a nation's history. When a people are profoundly absorbed in events—when it is necessary for them to come to conclusions upon vital matters—the man who most nearly represents them in character, rearing, and environment, as well as in thought, is most likely to reach a position of commanding power.

Washington embodied, as did no other of the Revolutionary heroes, the virtues and the limitations of the colonial community to whom fell the task of maintaining for Americans their rights and of constructing a new nation. Lincoln was the type of the frontiersman—the American engaged in conquering the wilderness—of the democracy which spread over the continent from East to West, carrying the idea of God and an eternal Justice, and which struggled too hard for its own life and happiness to be willing that any others should be denied them.

William McKinley is just as much the inevitable product of his time as these two great predecessors in the Presidency. His origin, his profession, his career, his manners, his methods,

his whole personality, and all his achievements, evidence this.

The end of the Civil War marked a sharp change in American life. New national activities, new currents of public thought, new conditions, have been creating a new type of political leader. President McKinley's unquestioned leadership in economic and financial policies has been followed by as complete and successful leadership in international and diplomatic questions. Many of those who differ from him most widely do not question that he has dealt with the gravest international matters—those involving the very future of the nation—masterfully, courageously, and consistently. Through the confused conflicts of our political life of the last twenty-five years, the jealousies of eager competition in Congress, the hurly-burly of conventions, along a rough path full of pitfalls, over the obstacles of temporary failure, of inevitable misunderstandings of his purposes and underratings of his abilities, in spite of the alternations of party success, a fit man has survived, and is the President of this nation at a time fraught with grave consequences for the future.

The thirty years from 1830 to 1860 witnessed a conflict for domination between the then radically differing civilizations and ideals of the South and North. The struggle for material well-being was severe, but did not absorb so much the energies and attention of individuals as it has since.

Since the Civil War, no issues with the moral importance of those of the ante-bellum period—slavery and the preservation of the Union—have until recently appeared. Public questions have become more and more of an economic nature. The energies and brains of the American people have been increasingly devoted to commercial and industrial development.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

For the past twenty-five years, President McKinley has been in public life, and has probably met more of his fellow-citizens in that time than any other living American.

The impression of him which a casual caller at the White House receives is that of a sincere, patient, and kindly man of great natural dignity and tact. In his personal contact with others, he is generous of his time in the extreme, and listens to the stories of the unfortunate and complaining with a patience which surprises his associates, when he himself is bearing well-nigh crushing burdens of administrative responsibility. He is naturally sympathetic, obliging, and self-sacrificing. Yet all this reflects but one side of his character, although it is the side which most impresses those who meet him but casually.

His most predominant characteristics, which bind great bodies of men to him with rivets of steel; which have lifted him from the position of a private soldier to that of Chief Magistrate of the nation, which have sustained him and carried him through the many great crises confronting him, and have given him the trust and confidence of the American people,—are his moral strength and his unflinching courage to do the right as he sees it, irrespective of temporary consequences. His natural gentleness and his tendency to ignore small and non-essential differences, his willingness to oblige even his enemies, and his utter lack of vindictiveness,—all these, when the times of crisis have come and the eyes of the people have turned to him alone, have given him added strength to achieve great results in public affairs. At such times he has found that behind him is a multitude of men who believe in the sincerity of his purpose and his unselfishness, and are willing to trust his judgment. These characteristics of moral strength and courage are constantly apparent to those whose connection with the administration of national affairs gives them intimate knowledge of the true relation of the President to public questions. They have been manifest to the people of the United States whenever great issues have placed responsibility upon him. In 1892, when the temporary reaction against the McKinley law brought defeat upon the Republican party, and the law was assailed both from without and within the ranks of the party, Major McKinley not only made no apology for his convictions, but took occasion, both before and after the election of that year, especially to emphasize his advocacy of the protective principles embodied in that law.

His words uttered at Columbus, on February 14, 1893, may well be repeated here. He said :

The Republican party values its principles no less in defeat than in victory. It holds to them after a reverse, as before, because it believes in them; and, believing in them, is ready to battle for them. They are not espoused for mere policy, nor to serve in a single contest. They are set deep and strong in the hearts of the party, and are interwoven with its struggles, its life, and its history. Without discouragement, our great party reaffirms its allegiance to Republican doctrine, and with unshaken confidence seeks again the public judgment through public discussion. The defeat of 1892 has not made Republican principles less true, nor our faith in their ultimate triumph less firm.

President McKinley is a lawyer—a member of

the profession which has the best primary equipment for participation in government, and which necessarily knows the fundamentals of statecraft. He is a lawyer from a small town, where the pecuniary rewards of legal practice are small and uncertain, and where it is unlikely that talent will be early diverted to the service of corporations. He is from a community both agricultural and manufacturing, where the effect of financial policies upon industrial development has been well demonstrated. He is from a close and doubtful State, where the consequence of political mistake is sudden defeat and leaders learn caution and wisdom in the hard school of imminent adversity. In a career open to all on an equal footing, among surroundings where arrogance is as fatal as incompetence, he has risen inevitably to leadership by the force and attractiveness of his character and personality.

THE FAME OF PRESIDENTS.

In a country whose social and political systems offer a wide range of opportunity to the individual, some of the greatest possibilities for development and for fame are open to him who has seemingly reached the end of American ambition by attaining to the Chief Magistracy of the nation. The fame of Presidents has been perpetuated or lost according as they have grasped or failed to grasp the American ideal of nationality. It seems hardly necessary now, after the many evidences of this embodied in our history, to assert that this ideal is not always contained in the popular agitation of the day—so often a delusion that by the morrow has vanished from the public mind.

The clear vision to see through an effervescence of feeling to the enduring principle beneath it, and the strength and integrity to act in accordance with such a perception of the real aspirations of the people, make public men great. The absence of these traits accounts for the oblivion into which our prominent statesmen so often pass. Whether the fame of William McKinley shall remain a part of our national glory depends not altogether on the present popular estimate of his deeds, which even his contemporaries accord high rank. Another epoch, another generation, will pronounce the final verdict. But three years ago he was one of a number of popular leaders—an untried President. To-day his place is fixed by that severest of all tests, the faithful performance of high public duties in a great crisis.



MR. BRYAN, THE DEMOCRATIC LEADER, IN 1900.

BY CHARLES B. SPAHR.

I FIRST met Mr. Bryan in the spring of 1894, and in a few hours I knew him well. It was an illustration of how quickly and strongly men are bound together by holding in common an unpopular belief.

The year before, when writing an article for the *Political Science Quarterly* upon Giffen's "Case Against Bimetallism," I had been slowly brought to the belief that the free coinage of silver, instead of suddenly inflating our currency, would only provide for its gradual and steady expansion. Having reached this belief, I was naturally drawn into sympathy with the men in Congress who advocated it. A few months later, the issue came to the front.

In June, 1893, the English Government closed the mints of India to the coinage of silver; and when the prospective scarcity of currency occasioned by this act caused prices all over the world to fall, President Cleveland called Congress together to suspend the coinage of silver here, alleging that the fear of the depreciation of our currency had been the cause of the recent rise in its value—for the fall in prices meant nothing else. The speeches that were made when Congress assembled were, for a few days, disappointing to my hopes. Soon, however, one speech was delivered the ability of which was recognized

even by the hostile press, though the quotations made from it were almost entirely from the peroration—which, like most impassioned perorations, seemed eloquence to those who sympathized with it and gush to those who did not. This speech I carefully studied as soon as it appeared in the *Congressional Record*, and I found that the eloquent passages quoted in the press dispatches

were almost the only passages in the speech that were not as calmly and closely reasoned as a court decision. It was not only the best Congressional speech I had read on the subject of bimetallism, but it was a stronger argument for bimetallism than I had read in any of the scientific works upon the subject. From that time I regarded Mr. Bryan as the intellectual leader of the Silver forces; and no amount of abuse poured upon him as a mere popular orator ever made me think of him as distinctively an orator, except in the sense in which he once defined an orator in a con-

versation with me. "An orator," he remarked, "is a man who says what he thinks and feels what he says." In this sense, Mr. Bryan is an orator; but if oratory is supposed to mean ringing declamation rather than earnest conversation, Mr. Bryan is not an orator one minute in ten.

Holding this view of Mr. Bryan when I was called to Washington in the spring of 1894, I



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HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

took pleasure in sending him my card at the door of the House of Representatives. It was the morning that the Coxe procession was about to enter the Capitol grounds, and Mr. Bryan and I stood together on one of the terraces of the Capitol to watch the event. That which surprised me then I have since found to be a fundamental characteristic of the man. I had expected him, as the representative of a Western district, where Populists were a majority among his constituents, to be in sympathy with the Coxe propaganda. But I found that he took no stock in it whatever. The people for whom he stood were the men who were trying to work at their homes, and not the adventurers called together for a theatrical procession; and the method of increasing the currency for which he stood was one which was under the control of the National Government, or which automatically secured a constant expansion upon which business could safely be conducted. He believed in bimetallism, because the indestructibility of the precious metals made it impossible for changes in the production of any single year to greatly affect the amount or value of the accumulations of the past. The free coinage of silver and gold together, he urged, never had inflated the currency faster than the increase of business demanded, and he did not believe they ever would. He was more inclined to believe that the time would come when, in addition to gold and silver, paper money also must be used, in order to make the currency expand as fast as the volume of business, and thus preserve substantial uniformity of prices. His whole position towards the currency was not that of a radical who believed in the dogma, "the more money the more prosperity," but of a conservative who agreed with the classic economists, that the quantity of the currency should be regulated so as to secure business stability as well as business activity.

HOW HE BECAME A BIMETALLIST.

That evening, Mr. Bryan dined with me at my hotel, and after dinner we had a long talk together. In the course of it he had occasion to tell me of the way in which he came to believe in bimetallism. When he was first elected to Congress, he said, he knew practically nothing about the question; but as his Republican opponent believed in the free coinage of silver, and his own sympathies were with the farmers in their demand for this measure, the issue was never referred to during the campaign. When he reached Washington, he said, he told his wife that he believed the silver issue was going to grow in importance; and they two, who had been in college

at the same time, who both had studied law, the wife that she might be with her husband in his work, even though she took no part in it, devoted their leisure during the winter in Washington to studying the silver question together. In speaking of the books which had most profoundly influenced them, he put first and foremost De Laveleye's "Bimetallism." This book, I happened to know, had not been translated from the French, and the chance remark showed that his reading had not been confined to the English works. But the charm of his story had no relation to the thoroughness of the scholarship which it evinced. It lay entirely in the relation which it showed between himself and his wife. Heine once remarked that a German, even when married, continued to live "a bachelor life of the intellect." Mr. Bryan seemed to me to illustrate that in America, more and more man and wife share together the same intellectual life as well as the same social life. In speaking of one of his colleagues who died during that session of Congress, Mr. Bryan said that "he found his inspiration at his fireside." This seemed to me to be equally true of Mr. Bryan himself; and the purity of the moral atmosphere about him, together with the strength of his religious faith, both seemed to me counterparts of that love of wife and home which were the most strongly marked features of his private character.

It is not, however, of Mr. Bryan's private character that I wish in this article to speak. That has been frequently enough eulogized; and private character and private devotion to religion have too often been used to turn public attention from the public principles for which statesmen stand. My personal knowledge of the man, however, makes complete my conviction that his whole life was moored in what is best in the life of the American people, and that from instinct, more than from deliberation, he was likely to voice the conscience and the heart of the nation.

THE DEFEAT OF 1894.

I next met Mr. Bryan in New York, after his party had been so overwhelmingly defeated in the Congressional elections of 1894. This defeat he bore with his customary good-nature. During the campaign, he said, he had been in the habit of telling a story which was better than it was now. When the Republican speakers had claimed that thousands of discontented Democrats were going to vote the Republican ticket, he had said that they reminded him of the farmer who had asked the restaurant-keeper how much he paid for frog's legs, and when the restaurant-keeper had told him, had asked whether he

would take two carloads at that rate. When the restaurant-keeper assured him that he would take all that the farmer could bring, the farmer returned to his home, and a week later came into the restaurant with four frog's legs. When the restaurant-keeper asked him where those two carloads were, he replied: "When I heard them croaking, I thought they were two carloads, but when I came to catch them they were only two." The story, said Mr. Bryan, had lost much of its point, since the returns had showed that over 1,000,000 Democrats had failed to come to the polls to vote for their party. He was not, however, at all discouraged as to the outlook for the cause which he represented. Tens of thousands of men who believe in the free coinage of silver, he said, had voted the Republican ticket, and he believed that the Silver men in the Democratic party were strong enough to control its final attitude. This faith I then regarded as much too optimistic, but when I met him next his hopes had been fulfilled. It was at St. Louis, during the Republican convention of 1896. While we were dining together, I expressed my feeling that the all-important thing was to secure at Chicago the nomination of a candidate whom the Populists could indorse, and my belief that he was by all odds the most available man. It was the kind of a compliment to try a man's soul, and his stood the trial. Without self-depreciation or self-assertion, he discussed his prospects as if he had been a third person. He realized to the full that, in ordinary years, a man with his sympathies could not possibly secure the favor of the forces which dominate national conventions. But he also realized that this was an exceptional year; that the common people were thoroughly stirred throughout the South and West; and that men with his sympathies were likely to control the approaching convention. Three weeks afterwards, the convention was held at Chicago, and Mr. Bryan received the nomination.

The campaign which followed is national history, and no word need be said here as to its character. For those who live in the East, however, and for those also who live in the cities of the West, the extent of the change which the campaign of 1896 wrought in the Democratic party may demand a few words.

THE NEW DEMOCRACY.

In 1894, in the section west of the Alleghanies and north of the Ohio, the Democratic party had been crushingly defeated. In many States its vote was less than that of the Populists. Even in Ohio, the easternmost of these States, its vote had fallen from 404,000 cast for President Cleveland in 1892 to 276,000 cast for the Democratic

State ticket in 1894. In 1896 the vote for Mr. Bryan in Ohio rose to 477,000, or 70,000 more than the vote by which President Harrison had carried the State in 1892. Nor did this gain of 200,000 votes mark the full extent of the change that had been wrought. Thousands of Democrats voted against Mr. Bryan in 1896; and tens of thousands of Republicans—Quaker Republicans, Abolition Republicans—men who had been with the Republican party since 1856—voted for the first time in their lives for the Democratic candidate. Prior to 1896 the cities had been the stronghold of the Democratic party, and the rural districts the stronghold of the Republicans. In 1896 the situation was reversed. Prior to 1896 the immigrant voters had been, as a rule, on the side of the Democrats, and the American-born voters on the side of the Republicans. In 1896 this, too, was changed. It is safe to say that, of the 3,000,000 votes cast for Mr. Bryan in 1896 west of the Alleghanies and north of the Ohio, much less than one-half had voted the Democratic ticket in 1894. It was a new party, numerically stronger than the old, and infinitely surpassing it in the moral enthusiasm which came out of the contest. Eastern Democrats and city Democrats, who demand that the brilliant Silver Republican leader who has been nominated by the Populists for Vice-President ought to be ignored by the National Democratic Convention do not realize how new a party was brought into being by that conflict. The supreme duty of the present campaign is the union of all these forces, and the action of the Populists in nominating the Democratic leader for President and the anti-imperialist Silver Republican leader for Vice-President ought to be accepted as a sufficient offering for union on the part of the elements which constitute so large a part of the new Democracy in the pivotal States of the West.

THE CHICAGO PLATFORM.

In 1896 Mr. Bryan was represented in the cities, and even on the farms, in the East as the representative of destructive radicalism. Every plank in the platform was caricatured, and its defenders could get no hearing, because the daily press was almost a unit against them. The plank declaring for the free coinage of silver was represented as a declaration in favor of a 50-cent dollar, though the whole argument for free coinage was that the restoration of silver to the currency would certainly double the demand for silver bullion and almost certainly double its price. Coined silver had never fallen below the legal ratio. In 1890, when a single house of Congress passed a bill for the unlimited purchase of silver at a price not exceeding 16 to 1, the value of

silver bullion rose all over the world to 17 to 1. Rightly or wrongly, the bimetallist forces believed that free coinage would restore the market-value of silver to the ratio which it held for two hundred years, during most of which time silver was relatively more abundant than now. Whether this belief was correct or not, the injustice of the outcry against a "proposed 50-cent dollar" is none the less apparent, because most of the men who supported free coinage supported it only because they believed that it would increase the currency with dollars on a par with gold—which itself, however, would be less in demand. If free coinage at the old ratio failed to have the anticipated effect, the very men who voted for it would vote to change the ratio, or otherwise provide that a dollar's worth of silver bullion should be back of every dollar issued by the Government. The same thing holds true to-day. As Mr. Bryan himself has said, "The restoration of silver to the currency does not take away from Congress the power to enact subsequent legislation." The free coinage of silver is not championed by Mr. Bryan or his supporters as a measure of reckless radicalism. They support it because they know that for centuries past the coinage of both metals has hardly increased the currency fast enough to prevent falling prices and business stagnation; and they believe that the acceptance of monometallism, carrying with it the inevitable retirement of all legal-tender silver, means decades of recurring depression, until the credit of the world is adjusted to one-half of its old foundation. The partial restriction of the coinage of silver since 1873 has not established the logical gold standard. To every clear-sighted monometallist, all the silver currency of the world is unsound currency; and only when it is replaced by promises to pay gold, and those promises are redeemed in gold, will the world's currency rest upon a sound gold basis. Those who contemplate cutting in two the basis upon which the credits of the world rest are the radicals, and not those who would keep in the world's currency the four billions of silver already there, and add to it year by year the new silver bullion not used in the arts.

The other planks in the Chicago platform met with misrepresentation hardly more justifiable. The plank condemning government by injunction was not a condemnation of equity proceedings; and the demand for an income tax was only a renewal of the demand made by the Republican party in its early days, and made to-day by every liberal party in Western Europe, that a part of the burdens of taxation should rest upon what men own rather than on what they need. Just after the campaign of 1896, the writer had the

pleasure of meeting Mr. Leopold Maxse, the editor of the *National Review*, of London. Mr. Maxse, I soon found, was heartily in sympathy with the renewed coinage of silver. The action of our federal courts in issuing blanket injunctions against labor organizations, commanding them to refrain from acts legal and illegal, and punishing them without trial by jury for alleged disobedience, seemed to him inconsistent with the precedents of English jurisprudence. The demand of the Chicago platform, that the need of increased revenues of our national Government should be met by a light tax on the incomes of the rich, instead of a still heavier tax on the necessities of the poor, seemed to him one that all parties ought to support. Presently a chance remark of his seemed to indicate that the *National Review* was a Conservative magazine. I said to him, in some astonishment, "Do you mean to say that you are a Conservative?" "Yes," he replied; "in England they call me a Tory;—but here, it seems, I am an anarchist."

The fierce passions which marked the campaign of 1896 have now subsided. Men understand each other better; and the raising of new issues, upon which people divide differently, has forced men in all parties to recognize the patriotism of those whom they fiercely condemned as anarchists on the one side or sycophants on the other during the campaign of 1896. The new issues that have been presented have lost Mr. Bryan the support of many voters in the West who supported the free coinage of silver, not as a measure of justice, but as a measure from which their section would receive pecuniary profit. The very same element, in fact, has been powerfully appealed to by the promise of commercial gain for the Pacific Slope held out by the Republicans as a result of the subjugation of the Philippines. Just how the possession of the Philippines is to effect this result, they do not explain; for few of them can calmly deny the truth of Benjamin Franklin's statement, that "the true and sure means of extending and securing commerce are the goodness and cheapness of commodities." But however wrongly held, the belief that the Pacific Slope, at least, will get profit from the conquest of the Philippines, is common among the commercial classes in the far West. One intelligent business man assured the writer that Oriental expansion would restore "dollar wheat," though the same man believed that it would injure us to trade freely with Europe, because of its ill-paid labor. By reason of these commercial dreams, Mr. Bryan is likely to lose largely from his vote of 1896 in the Mining States, and also on the Slope. But what he loses there is likely to be offset, and

offset several times over, by the gains which he has made in the East among the classes which sympathize with his devotion to the interests of the common people and the ideals of American democracy, but who differed from him intellectually respecting the results of bimetallism.

MR. BRYAN AN INDIVIDUALIST.

The first and less important of the new questions that have forced their way to the front during the past four years is that of the trusts. Upon this question Mr. Bryan's attitude is conspicuously that of a conservative. Because it is so, he has lost the support of a few irreconcilable radicals who voted for him in 1896. One of the best thinkers among these remarked to the writer: "Why should I support Bryan? He is at heart an individualist." This is preëminently true. Mr. Bryan is at heart an individualist. He believes, it is true, in the municipal ownership of public franchises; but that is because these municipal franchises are inevitably monopolies, and he agrees with the principle of our common law that a private monopoly is essentially hostile to the welfare of a community. The fact, too, that these municipal monopolies must be managed under the oversight of the ordinary voters intensifies his faith that this is a democratic measure. But his advocacy of municipal ownership of municipal monopolies does not give to him the slightest sympathy with the socialist and capitalist programme, that all sorts of manufacturing and other businesses must be allowed to pass into the hands of private monopolies. He does not believe, with the Socialists, that for the citizens to permit themselves to come under the control of private monopolies is a promising way for them to get the private monopolies under their control; and he does not believe, with the capitalists, that private monopoly secures the welfare either of the public or the employees under its power. Even on the economic side, he knows the inertia which private monopoly has always produced, the restriction of production which monopoly prices have always brought to the industry controlled, and the sluggishness in making improvements which lack of competition has always engendered. But even did he believe the absurd economic claims put forward in every age by the partisans of monopoly, it would still be hateful to him because of its depressing influence upon the independence, the self-reliance, the manhood of its employees. A nation of irresponsible workmen under the direction of private monopolies is as hateful to his sentiments as a nation of irresponsible subjects under the control of rulers. Indeed, it would be more hateful; for he believes that our republican institutions are, in

large measure, the result of the economic independence of the mass of our people. To destroy this independence and individual responsibility would be to destroy the best element in our national character. He is, as my Socialist friend said, at heart an individualist; and he therefore would put an end to the protection of trusts by the tariff, and would use all the power of the Government to prevent the contracts by which combinations keep their patrons from buying of competitors, and the secret rebates by which they secure cheaper access to markets.

RAILWAY REGULATION.

He has never, to my knowledge, declared himself in favor of aggressive action regarding the ownership of railroads; but not long ago he sent me, with evident indorsement, an address recently made by Interstate Commerce Commissioner Prouty regarding the proposed amendment of the Interstate Commerce Act, so that the commission shall not only have its present power to declare certain rates unjust, but also have the power originally intended to specify what rates are reasonable. One of the passages in the Republican commissioner's address read as follows:

It is urged by the railways that no commission can deal with these rates situations. The idea seems to be that nobody not specially ordained can deal with a freight rate, and that the right of ordination consists in putting a party on the pay-roll of a railway company. . . . To-day the railway is the sole judge between itself and the public of the rate which it makes. Some tribunal should be devised to which the public can appeal, and from which the public can obtain relief.

The Cullom bill, to give the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to give the public relief,—subject, of course, to an appeal to the higher courts,—Mr. Bryan would undoubtedly support; and with the support of the President, this bill, already demanded by many boards of trade as well as farm organizations, could be made law. With the Interstate Commerce Commission authorized to fix what rates are reasonable, the destruction of the small firms in the small towns by reason of the discriminations in favor of their competitors in the cities could in a large measure be stopped, and by requiring complete publicity for the transactions of railroads the secret concessions granted to powerful individuals and to trusts could in a large measure be prevented. These are not the remedies of a radical, but the remedies of a conservative, who would restore to the rural districts and to the industry of small manufacturers and merchants the rights which are naturally theirs. If the artificial advantages to the trusts were removed, and if the combinations of manufacturers in dif-

ferent States to form a monopoly were as effectively prohibited as the combinations of national banks in different towns now are, the menace of the trusts would be largely removed.

THE SUPREME ISSUE.

But the supreme issue in the approaching campaign will not be the trusts. It will not be an economic issue at all. Mr. Bryan typifies the American people in the fact that to him moral issues are of supreme importance, and that the principles of liberty for which this country has always stood are the supreme expressions of the national conscience. He warmly supported the war for the emancipation of Cuba, because he believed that our duty as a neighbor, and our principle that all men have the right of self-government, demanded that we should put an end to the slaughter which was going on at our doors. But when the war for Cuban independence first threatened to turn into a war for the subjugation of the Philippines, Mr. Bryan sounded the note of warning. On June 14, 1898, when the first intimations were received that our government did not sympathize with the independence of the Philippines, but was negotiating for their annexation, Mr. Bryan spoke as follows at the trans-Mississippi Exposition at Omaha :

History will vindicate the position taken by the United States in the war with Spain. In saying this I assume that the principles which were invoked in the inauguration of the war will be observed in its prosecution and conclusion. If, however, a contest undertaken for the sake of humanity degenerates into a war of conquest, we shall find it difficult to meet the charge of having added hypocrisy to greed. . . . If others turn to thoughts of aggrandizement and yield allegiance to those who clothe land-covetousness in the garb of national destiny, the people of Nebraska will, if I mistake not their sentiments, plant themselves upon the disclaimer entered by Congress, and insist that good faith shall characterize the making of peace, as it did the beginning of war.

Four months later, immediately after the signing of the treaty of peace with Spain, Mr. Bryan resigned his commission as colonel of his regiment. In an interview then published, he stated his reasons for resigning, as follows: "Now that the Treaty of Peace has been concluded, I believe I can be more useful to my country as a civilian than as a soldier. I may be in error, but in my judgment our nation is in greater danger just now than Cuba. Our people defended Cuba against foreign arms; now they must defend themselves and their country against a foreign idea—the colonial idea of European nations. Our nation must give up any idea of entering upon a colonial policy such as is now pursued by European powers, or it must abandon

the doctrine that governments obtain their just powers from the consent of the governed." From that time to the present, Mr. Bryan has been unceasing in his demand that the nation should remain true to the principles which Jefferson formulated in the Declaration of Independence, and which Lincoln reformulated when he declared that "no man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent."

MR. BRYAN'S CHOICE OF POSITION.

At the time that he resigned from the army, Mr. Bryan took one position which has brought down upon him unceasing criticism from one New England anti-imperialist who believed that the annexation of the Philippines should be prevented by the Senate's refusal to ratify the Treaty of Peace. Mr. Bryan's reason for following Lincoln's maxim, that "friends can make laws . . . easier than aliens can make treaties," was at the time clearly stated by himself; but his statement has not received the attention which it deserves. "It will be easier," he said, "to end the war" at once by ratifying the treaty, and then deal with the subject in our own way. The issue can be presented directly by a resolution of Congress declaring the policy of the nation upon this subject. The President, in his message, says that our only purpose in taking possession of Cuba is to establish a stable government, and then turn that government over to Cuba. Congress could reaffirm this purpose in regard to Cuba, and assert the same purpose in regard to the Philippines and Porto Rico. Such a resolution would make a clear-cut issue between the doctrine of self-government and the doctrine of imperialism." Such a resolution was offered in the Senate, and was only defeated by the casting vote of the Vice-President. The defeat of this resolution laid upon the administration the responsibility of continuing the war.

THE COST OF THE WAR.

The arguments which Mr. Bryan has been making in all parts of the country in favor of treating the Philippines as we are pledged to treat Cuba have been, in the main, arguments addressed to the nation's sense of honor and duty. He has, however, shown the baselessness of the claim that we should continue the war because of the commercial advantages to be secured. The Spanish islands, he has pointed out, are already more densely peopled than our own territory, and cannot, like our expansion toward the West, possibly furnish a field of opportunity for American labor. The plain people of America, who demanded the annexation of Louisiana when the aristocratic class opposed it, are being guided by the same

true instinct when they oppose the annexation of the Philippines, which the capitalist class demands. American labor cannot be benefited by the conquest of tropical islands more densely peopled than our own Eastern States. It cannot go there. The only opening that can be made is for American capital; and even this opening can be better secured if we retain the friendship of the people, as we have that of the Mexicans and Japanese, by respecting their aspirations for independence. It is the height of absurdity, he points out, for the same administration to insist that we should "have an English financial system in order to bring European capital into the States, and also an English colonial policy for the purpose of taking American capital out." Even if the war in the Orient did give additional profit to American capital taken from our own country, these profits would not come to the people who pay the taxes to support the war. To the plain people of the country, upon whom the mass of these taxes would fall, the policy of militarism means nothing but loss; and Mr. Bryan appeals to all who would keep this nation free from militarism to resist the colonial policy, whose first fruits in legislation was the administration's ill-timed advocacy of the bill for the permanent quadrupling of the standing army.

AMERICA'S MISSION.

But Mr. Bryan's principal arguments have never been addressed to the nation's sense of its own economic welfare—not even to its sense of the economic welfare of its poorer classes. The question to him has been one of the nation's duty to remain true to those principles of liberty which have been the very life of our own democracy and of the century's struggles for democracy all over the globe. He believes, more profoundly than any of the imperialists, in the greatness of America's mission; for he believes that that mission has been of transcendent importance during the century that is past. In an address delivered upon Washington's Birthday, last year, when speaking of the love of human liberty which this nation has cherished, Mr. Bryan said:

This sentiment was well-nigh universal until a year ago. It was to this sentiment that the Cuban insurgents appealed. It was this sentiment which impelled our people to enter into the war with Spain.

Have the people so changed in a few short months that they are now willing to apologize for the War of the Revolution, and force upon the Filipinos the same system of government against which the colonists protested with fire and sword? The hour of temptation has come, but temptations do not destroy: they merely test the strength of individuals and nations; they are either stumbling-blocks or stepping-stones; they lead to infamy or fame, according to the use made of them. If I mistake not the sentiment of the American people, they will spurn the bribe of imperialism, and by resisting temptation, win such a victory as has not been won since the battle of Yorktown. For over ten decades our nation has been a world-power. During its brief existence it has exerted upon the human race an influence more potent for good than all the other nations of the earth combined, and it has exerted that influence without the use of sword or Gatling gun. Mexico and the republics of South and Central America testify to the benign influence of our institutions, while Europe and Asia give evidence of the working of the heaven of self-government. Standing upon the vantage-ground already gained, the American people can aspire to a grander destiny than has opened before any other race. Anglo-Saxon civilization has taught the individual to protect his own rights. American civilization will teach him to respect the rights of others. Anglo-Saxon civilization has taught the individual to take care of himself; American civilization, proclaiming the equality of all before the law, will teach him that his own highest good requires the observance of the commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Such is the appeal made by the leader of the new democracy to the conscience and heart of the American people. He goes before the people appealing to their profoundest patriotic and religious sentiments. He demands that we shall stop the war in the Philippines by treating those islands as we promised to treat Cuba, and as in the past we have treated all the nations of Spanish America. The fundamental principle of our democracy, he affirms, demands that we shall give to the people of the Philippines the government of their choice. The fundamental law of our religion demands that we shall treat them as we ourselves would be treated. In 1900 under Mr. Bryan, as in 1860 under Mr. Lincoln, the party which would lift up the manhood of the poor makes the foundations of the platform the Declaration of Independence and the Golden Rule. Dare men of conscience repudiate these principles; dare they refuse to apply them to the supreme issue pressing for settlement?





CHILDREN'S ROOM, CARNEGIE LIBRARY OF PITTSBURG—WYLIE AVENUE BRANCH.

THE PROVISION FOR CHILDREN IN PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

BY KATHERINE LOUISE SMITH.

A WELL-KNOWN sociologist has said that the greatest successes of social reform lie in the work for children. If the children of the present are taught aright, the coming generations will tend in the same direction, and, by unconscious evolution, good will be wrought.

The children's library is gradually being recognized as a great factor in sociological questions for the young, and the incompleteness of any educational system which does not provide this is being forced upon us. What more influences the character of a child than the ideal he strives to follow? Nothing creates ideals sooner than books, and if the public is to profit greatly by its library it must be trained from childhood into the use of proper reading.

It is said that 50 per cent. of our children leave school before the age of twelve. How to reach these children with good and, at the same time, educational influences is a problem that is agitating the workers in cities. It is quite as serious as those which confront earnest thinkers in regard to the betterment of men and women.

What to do with the children in the free public libraries has been one of the unsettled questions. For the comfort of the elder readers it is desirable that the children should not come in large numbers into the main part of the library, and yet it is of vital importance that they should feel at home in some part of the building.

The separation of children from the adult

users of the library, by means of a room of their own, originated in the public library of Brookline, Mass., which in 1890 set aside an unused room as a children's reading-room. In 1893 the Minneapolis Library fitted up a room for the young people which has the largest number of children's books provided by any public library in the country. The Denver Public Library also opened a circulating library for children, and by 1896 Boston, Omaha, Seattle, San Francisco, Detroit, New Haven, Buffalo, Pratt Institute (Brooklyn), Pittsburg, and Kalamazoo had followed suit. The Chicago Library has no special room for children, and they are expected to use the branch libraries. Out of 125 libraries, 31 have some sort of children's reading-room.

At present there are four principal kinds of children's libraries:

1. That represented by the New York Free Circulating Library, in which children are served with adults.
2. That of the Utica Library, in which juvenile literature is given a special set of shelves.
3. That of the Pratt Institute Free Library, in which the children have a separate room opening out of the room for adults.
4. That of the Minneapolis Public Library, in which the children have a room on the ground floor entirely separate from the part of the building devoted to adults, and need not enter the main part of the building.

One of the signs of improvement is the fact that libraries are not simply interested in children, but are devising ways to do more effectual work. The building and furniture of the children's department are important factors, and the children's librarian must have the best scholastic training. Most of all, she must be in sympathy with the little ones and be in every way their "guide, philosopher, and friend." The librarian in this department in the Kalamazoo Library is a kindergarten of many years' experience. Besides the books and periodicals for use in this library, they have dissected maps, pictures, and drawing-cards; also pictures that the children can cut up and paint. On cold and stormy Saturdays the room is crowded to its utmost capacity, and the sight of two boys on one chair is not an uncommon one.

The demands of children are almost as various as the children themselves, and a sympathy with child nature is needful to understand their wants. As a rule, one attendant is kept in the room to give the children personal attention. Some libraries have an age-limit for borrowers, and the admission of children under twelve to membership is of recent date. Cases of mischief-making are rare, though the temptation to carry off an interesting book is a strong one, and the number reported lost in a year is surprisingly small.

The children's room is open daily and in some cases evenings. It has been thought desirable that children be allowed to have access to the shelves and select their own books. The disadvantage of the use of the general catalogue by children is illustrated by the boy who wanted to read something besides fiction, and walked off with Mrs. Oliphant's "Annals of a Publishing House" under his arm. Happily, he was discovered in time; but the only remedy is a room where the children can examine the books on the shelves. Other requisites for a children's room are plenty of sunshine, plenty of books, and plenty of assistants.

One of the successful features of the work for children in the past six months in the Cleveland Public Library has been the display, in the open rack, from week to week, of books upon various subjects. Among the subjects thus displayed have been Arbor Day, artistic book-making, Christmas, hot-weather dishes, humor, Lenten reading, music, and war. Successful exhibits have also been given of original drawings for book illustration and book-cover design, the work of the Cleveland Art School.

An experiment has been started in the organization of the Children's Library League, which originated in Cleveland. Children in the league are pledged to the loving care of the books

and brought into relationship with the library. Badges are proudly worn by members. A short time ago a mass-meeting was held in the Music Hall of Cleveland, over 5,000 children being present. This league exists in Jamestown, N. Y., Dayton, Ohio, Minneapolis, and other places. Everything possible is done to get children to join, and the following has been issued in the form of a book-mark by the Minneapolis Library:

MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC LIBRARY

Library League Book Mark

No. 1.

Do you belong to the Library League?

We want every boy and girl in the city to become a member. You know we have one of the largest children's libraries in the United States, and it is a great deal of work to keep it in good condition. There are about 12,000 books, all for your use and under your protection. In September we are going to ask you to sign the League pledge, if you have not already done so, and we want you to be thinking about it. Here it is:

We, the undersigned, members of the Minneapolis Library League, agree to do all in our power to help in keeping the Public Library books from theft and injury. We will not ourselves handle any library book roughly, or mark it, or turn down leaves, or expose it to damages from rain or snow. We will do what we can to interest others in the proper care of the library books; we will do what we can to put an end to the destruction of library property, whether books, periodicals or newspapers, by willful tearing or cutting.

The League has now about 10,000 members.

League Motto: Clean hearts, clean hands, clean books.

A new nature book-mark is in preparation by the Minneapolis Library which will contain a list of books suitable for nature work.

Various other book-marks have been adopted.

The one which has been in general use is the children's Maxson book-mark. This was written by the Rev. H. D. Maxson, of Menomonee, Wis., and is used in numerous libraries. Its unique wording attracts a child instantly, and he will mind the precepts where a stupid, moralizing leaflet would obtain no attention. It runs thus :

MAXSON BOOK MARK.

"Once on a time" a Library Book was overheard talking to a little boy who had just borrowed it. It said:

"Please don't handle me with dirty hands. I should feel ashamed to be seen when the next little boy borrowed me.

Or leave me out in the rain. Books can catch cold as well as children.

Or make marks on me with your pen or pencil; it would spoil my looks.

Or lean on me with your elbows when you are reading me. It hurts.

Or open me and lay me face down upon the table. You wouldn't like to be treated so.

Or put in between my leaves a pencil or anything thicker than a single sheet of thin paper. It would strain my back.

Whenever you are through reading me, if you are afraid of losing your place, don't turn down the corner of one of my leaves, but have a neat little Book Mark to put in where you stopped, and then close me and lay me down on my side so that I can have a good, comfortable rest.

Remember that I want to visit a great many other little boys after you are through with me. Besides, I may meet you again some day, and you would be sorry to see me looking old and torn and soiled. Help me to keep fresh and clean, and I will help you to be happy."

The Pratt Institute has a register pledge as follows: "By writing my name in this register I pledge myself to take good care of all the books I draw from the library and pay all fines and damages rightly charged against me." In new books is pasted: "This is a new book. Take good care of it. If you keep it clean and fresh it will last a long time and many other boys and girls will be able to use it." This institute has frequent lectures for the children, exhibits of flowers and birds, and the room is cheery and homelike.

St. Louis takes great interest in its children's room. The department is in charge of a former

teacher, and free access is allowed to the shelves. Since Christmas they have had a collection of Madonnas, surmounted by a fine engraving of the Bodenhause Madonna, a collection of pictures calling attention to some of the best story books, and a unique card calling attention to selections from famous poems, with suitable illustrations.

During the holidays some libraries have advertised children's week, and the number who accepted the invitation to visit the libraries has been astounding. The government of these libraries requires tact and sympathy. No force is needed, and as a rule, the little ones are well behaved. Indeed, a boy or a girl likes the re-



CHILDREN'S DEPARTMENT, KALAMAZOO LIBRARY.

sponsibility. Much can be done in the way of educating children by the use of illustrations, and pictures often appeal where books do not. Boston has a picture club, with folios of photographs for circulation among the children.

The Milwaukee Public Library has one of the finest children's rooms. A large, cheerful room on the third floor is given over to the children. About 8,000 books are shelved here, among which the children are allowed to go and choose their own reading. There are a few good pictures and casts in the room, and on the wall directly opposite the entrance is painted tastefully the following: "This room is under the protection of the boys and girls of Milwaukee;" and this is the spirit of the work. The children feel a proprietary interest in the room, and like to aid in keeping the shelves orderly and to report books that need repair. To encourage familiarity with authors their birthdays are celebrated by dis-



UNIVERSITY SETTLEMENT LIBRARY, NEW YORK.

playing their portraits and pictures illustrative of their works with the books themselves. At Christmas time they had an exhibition of copies of the famous Madonnas. During the spring they had an exhibition of seventy-five pictures of birds, with books, stories, and poems about birds placed in a conspicuous place near them. A talk about birds was also given.

Cincinnati has seen the need of a children's room, and has just opened one capable of shelving 5,000 volumes. They plan to make it a children's library and reading-room, with competent attendants to guide their tastes.

Children as a rule enter a library, and after receiving a card are directed to the children's room. If they wish for any reason they are permitted, but most children are satisfied with the books in their own room. After choosing the book he desires, either with or without the librarian's assistance, the book with card is handed the librarian, the proper charge made, and the child passes out, unless he desires to remain to read. The young people, from little tots who cannot read to young men and women, enjoy these privileges.

Hawthorne, "Tanglewood Tales," and "The Jungle Stories" are not too difficult for children, and there is educational value in many of the stories of *St. Nicholas* and other so-called juvenile magazines.

In many libraries large tables are loaded with maps and pictures, and many a book which otherwise might be dull is found interesting when prettily illustrated.

Detroit has been interested in the work for children since 1887, when books were first sent to the high school for help in class work. It now has

a children's room on the ground floor. All of the best periodicals for children are kept on file, and errand boys, newsboys, bootblacks, and street boys come in the long winter evenings to enjoy them.

Every effort is made in these libraries to attract children, and last summer the Toledo Public Library sent to the scholars in their city, just before the close of the term, lists of books for boys and girls of different ages, with an invitation to make free use of the children's room.



NEW YORK FREE CIRCULATING LIBRARY, CHATHAM SQUARE BRANCH.

The aim in this library, as in the others, is to make the room a source of pleasure to the children and to counteract the evil influences of the street.

Boston has had a separate department for children since May, 1895. The age limit is ten years for pupils' cards and twelve years for ordinary cards. Seventy-five hundred books are shelved, of which 500 are a reference library. The average circulation is about 300. There are four attendants for the room. This library, like others, does organized work with the schools. There is no library league. Solar prints representing architecture and statuary are hung in

the quality of reading, the children are encouraged to ask questions. Underneath a picture of mother bird with nest full of eggs are Mr. Cheney's bird songs and a list of various kinds of birds. The children love their librarian, and come to her with all their joys and griefs, with demands for from "something to cure a sore knee" to a "good book for a widow woman to read."

The children's department in the Buffalo Public Library consists of two rooms, a reading-room and a book-room. Every book is a recommended one. The collection started with 2,000 volumes, to which over 5,000 have been added.



CHILDREN'S ROOM, MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC LIBRARY.

the main room. Howard Pyle's illustrations of Woodrow Wilson's life of Washington are in the reference library. Exhibits which interest children are shown in the fine arts department. Pictures hang in the children's room, and copies of *St. Nicholas*, *Youth's Companion*, *Golden Days*, *Birds and All Nature*, *Young Catholic*, *Journal de la Jeunesse*, *Magasin Illustré*, and *Deutsche Jugendblätter* are to be found on the tables.

Quite as attractive is the room furnished by the Minneapolis Public Library for the children. Exhibits are held from time to time, and last spring the evolution of the American flag was depicted in a series of colored drawings from its beginning to the present. As one of the chief developments of work in this room is to improve

The average circulation for the past year has been 425 daily. The books are on open shelves, so that the children make their own selections, but there is constant supervision and aid to those who desire it. Six regular assistants are in this department, and they receive aid from the main library at very busy times. The circulation has gone as high as 1,325 in a single day.

During the past year they have had a number of special displays of pictures—notably the *Century* pictures of original drawings of war articles in the *Century* and Hobson's book. They have also exhibited the process of making a plate, showing six different stages: the artist's drawing; the screen from which the picture is taken; the negative; the plate before receiving the acid bath; the plate after going through the etching



THE JUVENILE DEPARTMENT OF THE ST. LOUIS PUBLIC LIBRARY.

process; the finishing proof. On the bulletin boards are constantly displayed pictures taken from magazines on special topics—anniversary days, great events, birthdays of famous men, also pictures bearing upon special studies given by the teachers in the public schools. The room is made attractive with flowers, growing plants, pictures, and books. A room is especially provided for the tiniest children with games and scrap-books, and miniature chairs and tables seem adapted to the little ones. This same idea is being carried out in smaller new libraries, that of Providence in particular.

The two old libraries of Denver have recently been consolidated, and they have been in their new building but a few months. The accompanying picture is of their new children's room. It has wall shelving for 4,000 volumes. Their aim is to come in contact with the children and to direct their reading without their knowing it, having always in mind the adage of the twig. The average circulation of the room is 300 books a day.

One notable feature about all these libraries is the liberty given children and the freedom from abuse of that privilege.

A series of questions was sent to the boys and girls who frequented one library. They were pleased to be

consulted, and the answers were naïve and respectful.

Boys seemed to prefer history and books of travel, while girls grew enthusiastic over fairy stories and poetry. Strange as it may seem, the tastes of the boys were more wholesome than those of the girls. "The Swiss Family Robinson," "John Halifax," "Uncle Tom's Cabin," all seemed favorites.

One of the most interesting children's rooms is in the Wylie Avenue Branch of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh. It has a constituency which consists for

the most part of colored children and children of foreign parentage. The chances for work with these children are almost unlimited. The children are of all ages, from babies who look at picture-books to boys and girls of fourteen to fifteen years of age. In the Carnegie Library they have introduced kindergarten principles into the home library work by appointing a supervising visitor, a kindergartner who has had years of experience in the free kindergarten and summer playgrounds of Pittsburgh.

Nor is this laudable work for the little ones entirely confined to the large libraries. All over the country work in this direction is being agi-



CHILDREN'S ROOM, MILWAUKEE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

tated. Michigan City, Ind. had recently an Indian Day at the public library. A screen in the children's room was covered with Indian pictures in black and white. On the blackboard was written in bright chalk a list of new Indian books, and in a case and on tables were placed the Indian books in the library for the inspection of the children.

At Champaign, Ill., the library is so fortunate as to have a series of story hours for the children, conducted every week by a member of the library school of that place.

It is the opinion of the people of Evanston, Ill., that much has been done by the establishment of a children's corner. Finding they could not devote a room, they set aside a corner of the general reading-room for the children, and the good results outweigh any matter of inconvenience. So successful have they been that the attendants feel it is certainly worth while, even at the risk of crowding, to have a children's corner if a separate room cannot be provided.



THE YOUNG FOLKS IN THE CLEVELAND PUBLIC LIBRARY.

Cedar Rapids, Iowa, also has a children's corner. An innovation is the children's club, divided into chapters, which the children join according to age. The Eugene Field Chapter is for the little ones from six to eight years of age, and the Lowell Chapter for those from fourteen to sixteen.

A unique exhibition was given a short time ago at Bloomington, Ill. They had a dog show in the city, in which the children were of course much interested. Desiring a similar attraction at the library, they secured from the manager of the show some of his colored posters, and with a list of books attached they made a sensation among the boys.

Jamestown, N. Y., Everett, Mass., and Dayton, Ohio, each have children's libraries, and Circleville, Ohio, provides the Ohio pupils' reading course, which was introduced into their schools, as well as the best books in the juvenile line.

Cambridge, Mass., has a room with an outside entrance, so that the chil-



CHILDREN'S ROOM, PRATT INSTITUTE, BROOKLYN, N. Y

dren do not disturb people in the other parts of the library.

An interesting method of librarian's work among children originated with Mr. Charles W. Birtwell, secretary of the Boston Children's Aid Society. "I had been connected with the Children's Aid Society but a short time," says Mr. Birtwell, "when many avenues of work opened up before me, and it was quite perplexing to see how to make my relations to the various children I became acquainted with real and vital. Among other things, the children ought to have the benefit of good reading and become lovers of good books. . . . A little bookcase was designed. It was made of white wood, stained cherry, with a glass door and Yale lock. It contained a shelf for fifteen books, and above that another for juvenile periodicals. The whole thing, carefully designed and neatly made, was simple yet pleasing to the eye. I asked my little friends Rosa at the North End, Barbara over in South Boston, and Giovanni at the South End if they would like little libraries in their homes, of which they should be the librarians and from which their playmates or workmates might draw books, the supply to be replenished from time to time. They welcomed the idea heartily, and with me set about choosing the boys and girls of their respective neighborhoods who were to form the library group."

Thus originated what is known as the home library system. Twenty-five dollars purchases

a small bookcase of white wood, stained cherry, with glass doors and a lock, and covers the price of seventeen books and a year's subscription to *St. Nicholas*, *Youth's Companion*, and a child's newspaper. This scheme has been tested in some libraries, and it is to be regretted that it has not been universally adopted. The Carnegie Library has twenty of these small libraries in circulation, and Brooklyn and Chicago report good results along this line.

In its work with schools the "special library system" is sometimes used. In some towns it is the custom for whole classes to visit the library and in company with the teacher examine books which treat of the subjects being studied. This is often done in the children's room.

A glance at the happy faces in the children's room is all that is needed to show that such a place is a step in the right direction. People are gradually beginning to realize this—and to provide a proper room for the young. The librarian must be a person of tact and with a love for children. The very fact that the child voluntarily opens his heart demands sympathy and discrimination. It is a delicate position, and one requiring a ready knowledge of child nature.

The library that does not recognize this work as one of the developments of the future will soon find itself behind the times. The Pratt Institute acknowledges this when it gives in the curriculum for a librarian's second year of study "visits to children's libraries."



THE DENVER PUBLIC LIBRARY'S QUARTERS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE.

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL.

THE foregoing article describes the work now carried on in many American public libraries, with a view to encouraging and guiding the reading of children. The methods described by Miss Smith have been adopted, to a greater or less extent, by the public library administration of nearly every one of our larger cities, and of more than one of the smaller towns and villages. In most instances the initiative has been taken by the libraries; but the factor of active coöperation between the public library and the public school has been an important element in much of this work. For nearly twenty years, Mr. Samuel S. Green, librarian of the Free Public Library at Worcester, Mass., has been an untiring advocate of such coöperation; and in other cities, east and west, the intelligent effort of school superintendents, principals, and teachers to direct the reading of the children under their care has not been lacking. So important has this question become, in the discussions of educators, that a special committee to report on the relations of public libraries to public schools was appointed at the meeting of the National Educational Association held in Washington in 1898. The full report of this committee has recently been published,* and its suggestions are worthy of the closest attention from all officers of schools and libraries, as well as from others concerned in any way with the administration of these important educational agencies.

From that portion of the report which deals with the special function of the school in introducing children to the proper use of books, prepared by Mr. Charles A. McMurry, we gather that a great advance has recently been made in the matter of intelligent discrimination as to suitable reading for young children. Mr. McMurry says:

To teach children *how to read* so that they could make use of books, newspapers, etc., was once looked upon as a chief object of school-work. We now go far beyond this, and ask that teachers lead the children into the fields of choice reading matter, and cultivate in them such a taste and appreciation for a considerable number of the best books ever written that all their lives will be enriched by what they read. This is one of the grand but simple ideals of the schoolroom, and

lends great dignity to every teacher's work in the common schools. The most solid and satisfactory reasons can be given why this should be done in every school-room. These substantial materials of culture belong to every child without exception. They are an indispensable part of that general cultivation which is the birthright of every boy and girl. The child that by the age of fourteen has not read "Robinson Crusoe," "Hiawatha," "Pilgrim's Progress," "The Stories of Greek Heroes," by Kingsley and Hawthorne, "The Lays of Ancient Rome," "Paul Revere's Ride," "Gulliver's Travels," "The Arabian Nights," "Sleepy Hollow," "Rip Van Winkle," "The Tales of the White Hills," "The Courtship of Miles Standish," Scott's "Tales of a Grandfather," "Marmion," and "Lady of the Lake," the story of Ulysses and the Trojan War, of Siegfried, William Tell, Alfred, and John Smith, of Columbus, Washington, and Lincoln—the boy or girl who has grown up to the age of fourteen without a chance to read and thoroughly enjoy these books has been robbed of a great fundamental right; a right which can never be made good by any subsequent privileges or grants. It is not a question of learning how to read—all children who go to school learn that; it is the vastly greater question of appreciating and enjoying the best things which are worth reading.

TRAVELING LIBRARIES.

An application of the traveling-library system, in connection with the public schools, has been successfully operated in several cities. In Milwaukee, for example, library-cards are issued to pupils of the public schools by the teachers, under the general supervision of the librarian and his assistants. Teachers go to the library and select enough books for their pupils, lists of books for young people and for special purposes having been published by the library. The books thus selected are placed in boxes and sent by the library to the school. They are changed after eight weeks. In the year 1897 twenty-three thousand books were thus issued nearly ninety thousand times.

The Public Library of St. Louis has one hundred and twenty-five sets of books, carefully selected with a view to the needs of the first four grades of the public schools, each set consisting of thirty copies of an attractive book, so that all the children in the class may be reading the book at the same time; thus adding to the interest of it, and enabling the teacher to conduct class exercises. The librarian, Mr. Frederick M. Crunden, to whom we are indebted

* Copies of this report, at 15 cents each, may be procured from the secretary of the association, Prof. Irwin Shepard, Winona, Minn.

for these facts, states that this work would have been quintupled if the library had possessed the means.

Thus far we have been unable to supply even the first four grades, while we have done very little work in the higher grades. This has reversed the usual order, but I believe that the sooner you begin in attempts to give children a love for reading the better. In the public schools it is all the more essential to reach the lowest grades first, because so many children leave without going beyond the fourth or fifth grade. Moreover, it is easier to inculcate a love for reading in young children than it is in older ones; and the supplementary reading more directly aids the regular school-work in lower grades. Indeed, since the chief thing taught in the earlier grades is reading, the more practice they get the more rapid will be their progress. The way to learn to read is *to read*; and if reading is made interesting, by giving children attractive books, the teacher will be relieved of all further care. In the school in this city where the greatest amount of this reading is done, the principal tells me that they do not have to give any thought to discipline; that the school

takes care of itself; that the children are so interested in their work and their books that they are perfectly orderly. He tells me, also, that they let the children do all the reading of books in school that they may want to do.

This striking success reported from the St. Louis schools has been essentially duplicated in two Philadelphia schools which have recently had the use of traveling libraries supplied by the efficient free-library system of that city. This has led the *Public Ledger*, in its issue of April 5, to advocate the general adoption of the plan by the city-school system.

Experience seems to have shown that the practical coöperation of the library and the school not only adds greatly to the direct value of the former as an educational agency,—the only function of the free library that justifies its maintenance by taxation,—but at the same time it actually increases the efficiency of the school itself. The librarian makes the teacher's task easier.

A PROFITABLE PHILANTHROPY.

BY HELEN R. ALBEE.

IT seems rather strange, when one considers the broad scope of American philanthropy,—which includes the founding of libraries, museums, and art galleries, the care of the poor, the sick, and the fallen, the endowment of institutions to meet every conceivable need, the millions spent annually on ineffectual attempts to save the souls of the heathen,—that it has almost wholly ignored a most promising field of operation. It has failed to respond to the urgent needs of healthy, able-bodied youth in rural districts. It has overlooked the undeveloped and unused labor of young men and women who, for lack of steady and remunerative employment, leave their homes and add to the increasing throngs that seek the large cities, thereby rendering the problems of overpopulation and the unemployed more and more complicated.

Without this increase the situation is difficult enough, for there ever arises the seemingly unanswerable question, Where shall those already living in cities find employment? Where, for example, shall the trained art student, the designer, and the artist-artisan find a suitable and profitable market for their talents? Few openings for them are to be found in the great cities, and fewer still in the smaller towns; yet what is

to be done with the energies of multitudes having talent, skill, and training who are graduated yearly from the various schools of design?

An answer to this lies in the rural districts. Once emancipated from the idea that he is dependent upon the city manufacturer and upon satisfying the capricious taste of the general public as reflected through the manufacturer, the prospect of the art-worker is infinitely enlarged. He sees that he may become a manufacturer himself, and may mold public taste and not servilely follow it. The true art student represents a certain bent of original talent, and it is for him to ascertain what his gift is. Presuming that it lies in the direction of furniture, he may find in almost any country community in America men who, under careful supervision, could be trained to do fine cabinet-work, who could again produce the beautiful hand-made furniture of colonial and later periods. Such work is well-nigh impossible in cities, where living is high and work is crowded and slighted because of fierce competition; but in country districts where the laborer owns his home and raises his fruit and vegetables on his own bit of land he can afford to put honest, painstaking handwork into a table, a chair, or a chest of drawers. For lack of in-

telligent direction in this single craft an incalculable amount of undeveloped skill has been wasted in America, and this waste has reacted more disastrously upon the general public than upon the unhired worker. The latter, for want



Courtesy of the *Pratt Institute Monthly*.

A NORTH CAROLINA HOUSEWIFE WEAVING COVERLETS.

of regular employment even as a common carpenter, grows accustomed to a precarious living, and drifts into a careless indifference whether he works or not. He lapses into the negligent improvidence so characteristic of the small American farmer when he is not urged to industry.

But, on the other hand, the public has grown so used to machine-made goods that it has lost nearly all sense of beauty and even of utility in furniture. The enormous quantity ground out and the cutting of prices which machinery makes possible have resulted in cheapening the product, which has degenerated into little else than veneer and varnish, in half seasoned wood and glued joinings, in simulated carvings—in everything which vitiates and debases public taste and lowers the standard of public integrity. The rising generation has no standard of value save cheapness and show. It buys an article to-day with the confessed intention of throwing it away to-morrow. This begets an ex-

travagance and wastefulness that threaten to sap more than our purses. There is no article of household furnishing or supplies that is not invaded by the tawdriness, the sham and adulteration of unscrupulous but canny manufacturers who have striven to meet the demand for cheap and cheaper imitations of beauty and luxury. If any one questions the truth of this statement, let him study the bargain advertisements in the daily papers.

This severe indictment cannot be universally applied, for there are multitudes of untainted Americans who value honest workmanship and are willing to pay a living wage for it, and it is to this class the trained designer with his rural workers could appeal with confidence of gaining patronage. In many country districts where selected wood can be obtained at a minimum cost, and in a scattered population of only a few hundred inhabitants, there are at least a dozen men of average intelligence eking out a niggardly living at semi-farming and odd jobs, who if trained would be capable of reproducing Chippendale, Sheraton, or Hepplewhite furniture. They would gladly work for the most moderate wages; and this is but a pin's point on the industrial field of America.

Furniture is merely one department that invites the art worker. Miss Sibyl Carter has demonstrated that lace can be manufactured



Courtesy of the *Pratt Institute Monthly*.

NORTH CAROLINA WEAVING.

("Double Bow-Knot" Pattern.)

profitably in Minnesota by Indian women. How much more by clever Yankee girls! That American women are industrious is witnessed by the indefatigable way they crochet, embroider, and daub paint over all sorts of ridiculous things during their idle moments. Should competent women undertake to turn this misdirected energy into some original and profitable channels of lace-making, embroidery, beadwork, woven splint or rush-work that have intrinsic value, there would be added wealth and comfort to the community. Two women have established a successful village industry at Deerfield, Mass., where orders for embroidery are executed from designs derived from old colonial examples. This furnishes profitable employment to many villagers.

In North Carolina, an effort has been made to restore the hand-weaving which once prevailed among the mountain communities. The chief product at present is a coverlet material which is sold for *portières*, couch-covers, and table-cloths, and a coarse gray linen especially adapted for embroidery purposes. Investigation of such an enterprise shows how far-reaching the benefits are, as it enlists the labors of those who grow the flax and wool, of those who spin and dye the thread and yarn, as well as of those who actually weave the patterns.

Two other designers, one in California and one in Minnesota, have found profitable fields in leather-work, creating a market for the one thing they were best fitted to do.

Still another outlet has been

self the task of elevating the hooked rug, for she saw possibilities of artistic results that their rude methods had not developed. She bought new all-wool materials, furnished original designs, dyed the goods in the warm, neutral tones seen in Oriental rugs, and trained her workers after a method of her own. The result was a complete metamorphosis of the hooked rugs, constituting a distinct departure



AN ABNAKEE RUG.
(German Renaissance.)



AN ABNAKEE WALL-RUG.
(With Coat-of-Arms.)



A JEWELLED WALL-RUG.

found for unemployed energy through the efforts of a young woman at Pequaket, N. H., in establishing the Abnakee rug industry. Urged by a desire to give employment to the women of that remote mountainous district, and finding they could do nothing except make the common hooked rug, which as usually executed is ugly of pattern, crude in color and unpleasant under foot, she set her-

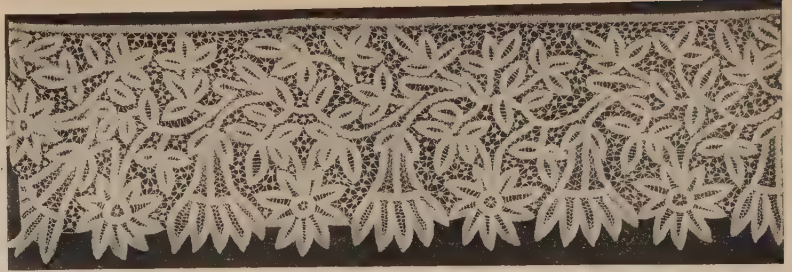
self the task of elevating the hooked rug, for she saw possibilities of artistic results that their rude methods had not developed. She bought new all-wool materials, furnished original designs, dyed the goods in the warm, neutral tones seen in Oriental rugs, and trained her workers after a method of her own. The result was a complete metamorphosis of the hooked rugs, constituting a distinct departure in American industry, as they are unlike any product before offered. In texture they are thick and soft as the heaviest velvet carpets, and have considerable sheen; and as they are hand-made they can be varied in color, pattern, or size to meet any requirement. The work speedily grew beyond the original plan of making rugs for floors. Crests and coats-of-arms upon wall-rugs are executed as well; also wall-rugs with jeweled effects in the borders, *portières*, couch-covers, and chair-covers are made to order. Their beauty and excellence are such that, though the enterprise is carried out in the mountains of New Hampshire, the fame of the Abnakee rug has

gone abroad, and without solicitation well-known houses, one in Boston and another in Philadelphia, asked for the agency of them. This example serves to show what can be done when an experienced designer undertakes to place a primitive handicraft upon an artistic basis.

In almost every community lie germs of profitable crafts if directed by taste. That America needs cultivation in perception of both form and color is painfully evident to those who endeavor to foster these ideas among the lower classes. They not only lack artistic feeling, but they give no evidence of that creative instinct which has furnished beautiful examples of pattern and coloring found among savage and primitive races. However, many of this same class are ingenious and imitative; they are quick and intelligent to learn, and usually eager for self-cultivation. The main thing to be guarded against is imitation on

the part of the art worker. That one individual has been successful in a certain direction and in a given locality where the conditions were favorable is no proof that another would meet with like results elsewhere. Each one should well consider his capabilities, and work along his own lines if he hopes for success. By following his own genius, not only the community where he labors will be benefited, but the chances are that a far better livelihood awaits him than in working in a subordinate position under another's dictation. His work would certainly be freer and more distinctive, and therefore more satisfying.

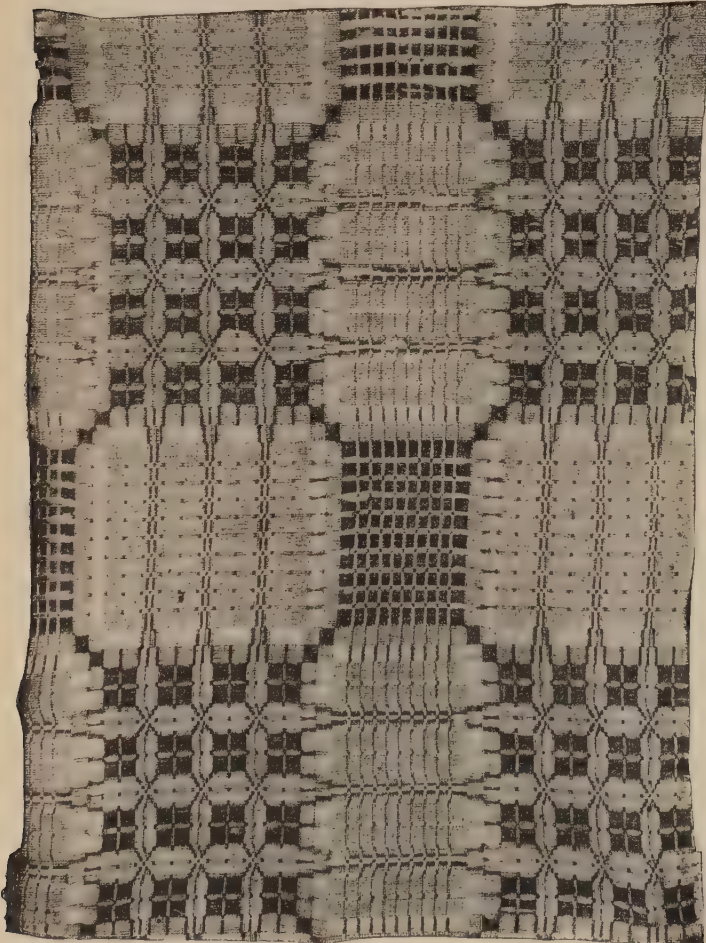
In fostering any branch of handicraft, the



LACE MADE BY MINNESOTA INDIAN GIRLS.

worker would find it advantageous to choose the vicinity of some small but popular summer resort. In this way, by yearly exhibitions, the public becomes acquainted with the work, and the market is extended beyond a local demand. Summer residents manifest considerable sentiment regarding village or farmhouse industries, and being people of means and influence, are able to patronize them liberally and to spread their fame elsewhere.

It takes time and money to place an industry on a paying basis, and here is where philanthropy could have a share in the work by selecting from art students still under training some young man or woman who shows a marked aptitude and courage, and if the student be without means, in furnishing the necessary capital to carry on the work for a year or two while the infant industry is establishing itself. If such opportunities were offered, there would be fewer preparing themselves in a vague way for an ineffectual artistic career, and more who would study the artistic side of handicrafts. An appeal was recently made for the establishment of departments of manual training and general handicraft at universities, thereby giving young men a chance to gain an intimate knowledge of these branches, in the hope that those having tastes in that direction would contribute to the productiveness of America instead of crowding into professional and commercial life. In the meantime a more direct step could be taken in making it possible for those already committed to an artistic career to work out their genius freely, and for the profit of themselves and the community.



Courtesy of the Pratt Institute Monthly.

NORTH CAROLINA HOME-WEAVING.
(A Coverlet, "Seven-Stars" Pattern.)

COTTON-MILLS IN COTTON-FIELDS.

BY LEONORA BECK ELLIS.

OF the three natural staples on which the United States relies for her chief wealth, cotton has been bringing its producers the smallest monetary returns in proportion to the ultimate value of the product. This has not been a normal situation, nor one in which any section of the country whose interests in every part are a unit could take unqualified satisfaction. Rather it has been among the industrial problems that have fretted large-minded statesmen North, East, and West, as well as South; for, in every land, questions of State are daily becoming more entirely questions of economics.

But the solution of the difficulty appears clear at last. Let the South do with her staple what France does with the product of her silkworms, or Ireland with her flax—that is, get the utmost possible value out of it before letting it go. The cotton-growing belt seems to have waked up to the fact that its only salvation lies in becoming the cotton-manufacturing section as well.

Before the war between the States, there were but few cotton-mills in the South—so few, in fact, that they were not taken into account when the markets of the world were weighed. Indeed, there were Southern men foolish enough to look upon these manufacturing efforts as exotic in their nature—alien and out of place in a region whose vast plantations produced sufficient native wealth to need no supplementing. To them it seemed easy and natural to sell the fleecy staple at the best obtainable prices, which averaged very high at that period, and let others spin and weave it and trade in the output of the money-making but vulgar factories! This mental attitude, like the industrial situation itself, was brought about, it is plain to see, by the conditions accompanying slavery. The growth of a servile population, closely approximating in numbers that of the white proprietors had, as in all countries similarly cursed, prevented the development of the sturdy middle classes, and fostered a type of intolerance and narrowness of view among the aristocratic landholders.

Changes came, swiftly and overwhelmingly; and adjustment to the new conditions was, of necessity, slow. It required almost the space of a generation for us of the South Atlantic and Gulf States to arouse and fully grasp the truth that unaided agriculture, with an all-cotton policy, was leaving us poorer and poorer each year;

that, while the cost of raising the staple had been greatly advanced, under our altered and still unsettled system of labor, and with thousands of acres of exhausted land an incubus on our hands, yet the status of the world's markets was such that, by their manipulation, the cotton-grower could be forced to sell his crops at unreasonably low figures, while on the other hand foreign manufacturers could compel him to pay fictitious prices for the fabrics made from his own raw material.

An industry in the northeastern part of our country was thriving apace with its kindred industry in England; but that upon which the New England mills depended wholly, and the English ones largely, kept declining until ruin and starvation stood in the path of the Southern farmer. Yet still the blindness lasted a little longer, for light comes slowly through such darkness as ours. "Overproduction of cotton" was the din in our ears, even when it was easy to see this disproved by the continued high prices of the manufactured goods. But "overproduction" became the watchword of many a Southern economist who bitterly accused his farming neighbor of stupidity, when he continued to plant increasing cotton crops from year to year—always deluded, it seemed, by the hope that the prices of the raw and the manufactured products were just about to be put in more equitable proportion.

The first clear light upon the situation came from the lesson of the few mills that were working and prospering at our very doors. These had been put in operation, in the main, in ante-bellum days, by men so advanced as to be looked upon as something freakish among our conservative and easy-going people. The Converse and



GRANITEVILLE MILL, WATER-POWER DIRECT, AT
GRANITEVILLE, S. C.

(Erected in 1846.)

Graniteville mills of South Carolina, and the Eagle factory of Georgia, are representative of that pioneer movement. Had the forceful preaching and example of William Gregg in 1840-46, of Converse about the same time, and their few far-sighted compeers, been promptly heeded and followed, the South would not have missed its manifest destiny all that long, dark half a century.

Spartanburg, Augusta, Columbus, were looked to; the lesson was drawn, and practical application of it made. Between 1880 and 1890 other mills sprang up in the Carolinas and Georgia—a surprising number, it appeared to the slow-witted, who were unprepared for any progress in this normal direction. Yet when the decade ended, we had only 1,500,000 spindles and something less than 39,000 looms—not 10 per cent., in aggregate, of New England's handsome showing! Besides, we were manufacturing only heavy yarns and coarse goods, and were still without the textile institutions which alone can assure endurance and advancement in a movement like this.

But once let such a tide set through a country inhabited by a hardy, intelligent, and progressive people, there are always vital forces to carry it onward. The few Southern factories of 1880 have now grown to be many, and the many are fast being multiplied into a host, spreading from the three States that felt the original impulse, until all of the ten are reached and revived by it.

In the five years from 1890 to 1895,—and that they were difficult years for the country at large, no one can have forgotten,—the Cotton Belt doubled its number of spindles and looms; in the four years since that time, the maximum of 1895 has been fairly doubled again. To realize this, take Charlotte, N. C., as your center and travel about a circle whose radius is only 100 miles. Within this limited area you will find to-day over 300 mills, operating, in round numbers, 2,500,000 spindles, and nearly twice as many looms as the entire South had when the last census was taken. The major portion of

these mills have been running both day and night since last summer, thus doubling their estimated capacity. This makes it easy to understand how the Old North State will be able to use every bale of her own cotton crop of 1899. Yet it is her sister, South Carolina, that holds the present supremacy in this manufacture in our section, and is pressing Rhode Island close for the next place to Massachusetts out of the entire Union.



ATHERTON MILL, CHARLOTTE, N. C.

It should be remarked, also, that while cotton factories are springing up as if by magic in cotton-fields, there is no growth of the industry in any part of the world remote from the fields—which may be taken to mean that, when so plain a law of fitness once begins to assert itself, it meets no challenge of right. Another point to be noted in this connection is that the section which makes about 75 per cent. of the universal cotton crop has at last claimed the prerogative of setting the price for Lancashire instead of following the reverse but unnatural rule which has prevailed from our first harvest until the present one.

The bare fact that Southern mill men paid 7½ cents for cotton early in the season, when Liverpool and New York were offering 7, speaks very eloquently of a triumph that has the essential elements of an enduring gain.

The situation to-day is full of promise for the future; the long-established paradox has been overthrown; the normal is asserting its sway. An evolution through processes so natural can but proceed to happy consummation. It is estimated that, with American labor and methods, something less than eight times the present number of spindles in the South will be needed to convert our annual harvest into yarn. At the rate of progress now maintained, the next century will still be in its first quarter when it sees every pound of cotton grown in the United States transferred direct from the gins to mills



THE VICTOR STEAM-POWER MILL, CHARLOTTE, N. C.

close at hand. This cannot fail to signify that the price paid the producers for the raw material and the cost imposed upon the consumers for the woven fabrics will be more equably based than under the preceding abnormal conditions.

No obstacle stands in the way of this attainment. No one would stretch a hand to prevent the Cotton States from manufacturing all of their staple and selling only cotton cloths and garments to the outside world; thus increasing the annual \$300,000,000, which the harvest from their fields has been bringing, to the \$1,000,000,000 it is capable of commanding. The sane man does not live who would dispute the right of any section to the richest possible results of its own productive industry.

Casuists ask if we should not hesitate in our advance, because of the disasters we may bring upon manufacturers in distant parts. The question scarcely deserves to be taken seriously. A return to the natural involves no hurt that is difficult of cure. As far as our brethren of the Northeast are concerned, we have only to point to the inexhaustible ingenuity and adaptability of the American for a satisfying answer. He always makes the best of a bad situation; and this he must now do with his New England cotton-mills, all out of place as they are.

But practical men are asking us far other questions. When we assert that the natural conditions in the Cotton Belt cannot be met by the artificial ones elsewhere, they hasten to grant the point of advantage in the proximity of the mills to their source of supply, which eliminates



THE ROBERDEL MILLS, ROCKINGHAM, N. C.

the burdensome costs of transportation to distant parts; they are driven also to concede the superiority of our climate for this work, since, even with the use of direct water-power, the wheels can turn every day in the year. But they tell us that these items, together with those of cheap fuel, cheap building materials and ground-space, and a 20,000,000 horse-power

lying practically idle, count little against the facts that our expensive machinery, constantly to be renewed, too, is shipped great distances to us; that we have not the local capital which would assure permanence to this movement; that we have not water of the peculiar quality required for bleacheries; and, above all, that

we are destitute of the skilled native labor needed for operatives, and the wide experience and liberal training necessary to successful managers of great factories.

We must, for the present, admit their first point, interposing only the fact that a few manufacturing of very fine machinery are beginning to operate among us—as at Charlotte, N. C., and



THE PEE DEE MILLS, ROCKINGHAM, N. C. WATER-POWER DIRECT.



ELECTRIC-POWER HOUSE, PELZER MILLS, PELZER, S. C.

Atlanta, Ga. As to the absence of capital in the South, when did capital ever wait very long to meet favorable combinations of circumstances? A concrete instance will best serve to overthrow this objection. The Pelzer mills, on the Saluda River, S. C., were begun in 1882, the company being organized in Charleston, with a paid-up capital of \$400,000. Mill No. 1 was in operation the following year, and out of its profits soon grew No. 2; by similar evolution came No. 3, No. 4, and No. 5. Nor is it only at Pelzer that three and four mills can be pointed out as offshoots from the parent stock, not a dollar beyond the original capital having been invested except the annual profits. On looking through the records in the Departments of State, both at Columbia and Raleigh, one will be amazed at the number of similar instances.

The charge of lack of water of the proper quality for perfect bleaching has been disposed of by competent official analyses and reports recently published. For instance, it has been indisputably proved that at Huntsville, Ala., there is a practically inexhaustible supply of water as excellent for this purpose as the finest in Europe.

The argument regarding labor bears, on the face of it, a certain value—yet a value which vanishes on closer inspection. One who has a familiarity with sociological and industrial conditions in the South recognizes here the presence, in great abundance, of the cheapest labor in the world in comparison with the industry and skill of which it is capable. This labor is cheap because living is cheap at the South, with fuel a small item, rents low, garden, dairy, and farm produce lavishly plentiful through the eight



THE CARALEIGH MILLS, RALEIGH, N. C.

months of mild weather, and less expensive clothing required than in a cold climate. The laborers are industrious, because they come mainly from the poorer class of farmers—a class that have managed to subsist, during the hard years

since 1865, only by dint of indefatigable industry. They are susceptible of speedy training to the necessary degree of skill, because they are naturally intelligent and self-reliant; free-born Americans, however overwhelmed they may be by the poverty and illiteracy that has fallen upon this section.

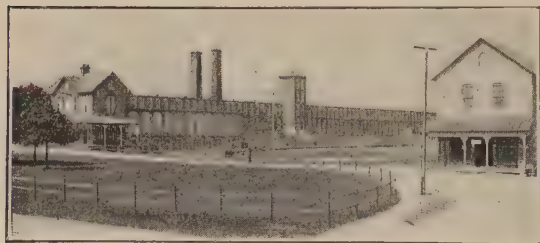
The managers of Southern mills uniformly attest the excellent quality of the native white labor, declaring that they desire no bet-



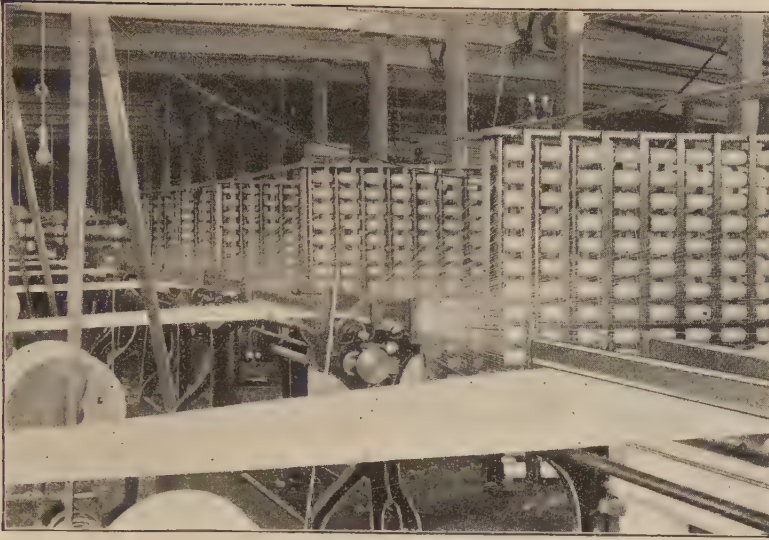
MILL NO. 4, AT PELZER, S. C.

ter. True, in the departments requiring immediate application of the highest mechanical skill, ability in design, and kindred accomplishments, these mills have thus far had to make importations from New England, Great Britain, and Germany. But this phase will soon pass. Technological schools are growing and being freshly endowed in every Southern State, and well-equipped textile institutions or textile departments in other institutions may now be found training great numbers of our youth, where, but a dozen years back, not one such school was known south of Mason and Dixon's line. The textile schools at Clemson, S. C., and Atlanta, Ga., are doing especially excellent work. Through the efforts of these and kindred influences, the "all coarse-goods" policy of Southern mills must shortly be a thing of the past.

The managers of our factories are already found to be nearly invariably Southern-born men, often college-bred; sometimes with only a



THE ERWIN STEAM-POWER MILLS, DURHAM, N. C.



WINDING THE YARN INTO HANKS BEFORE DYEING.

good business training, but always with the wide intelligence and acumen that has led them first to study closely industrial phases in other parts of the world, and later to bring home and put to good use the results of such study.

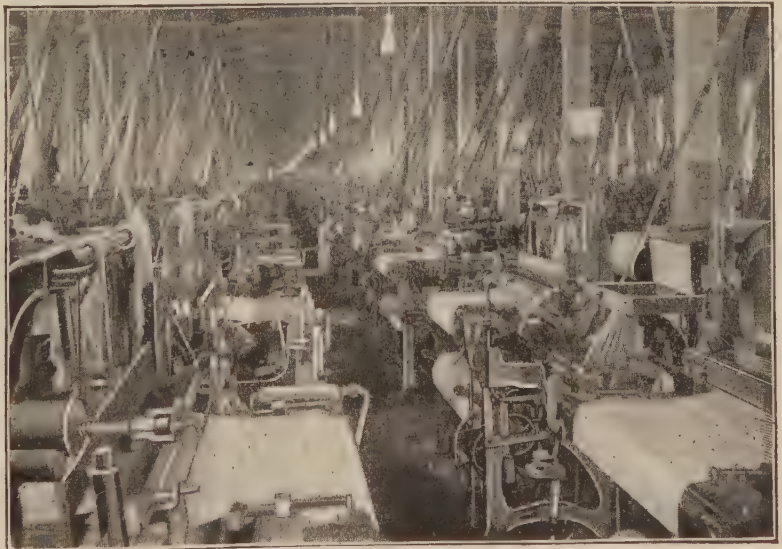
Allusion has been made, elsewhere in this article, to the great profits accruing from the operations of the newly established mills. If any one has good reason for requesting it, conclusive proof can be furnished him that scores of these factories earned from 50 per cent. to 90 per cent. during the past year. While many of the mill-owners are reticent on the question of profits, yet all admit that very few Southern mills have failed to make at least 45 per cent. on their capital in 1899. No one expects such remarkable earnings to prove a permanent feature of this industry; but even when dividends have sunk to their normal level, these will still be large enough for the reasonable investor.

It may be asked, Where will our markets be found when the spindles and looms have again been multiplied by eight? The South Carolina mills publish the fact that they are now engaged almost exclusively in supplying the ports of China. Nearly half of the North Carolina and a third of the Alabama

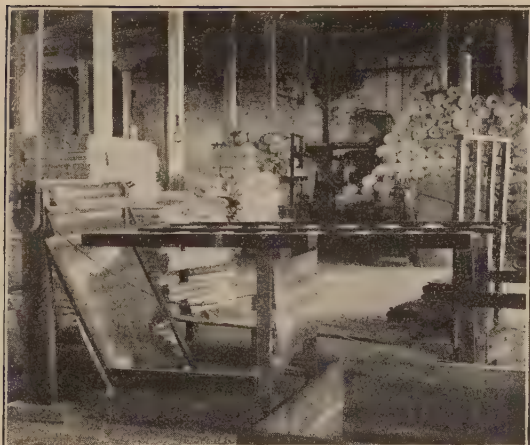
and Georgia goods go to the same country; but the Chinese market, with 400,000,000 of people to be represented by it, is scarcely touched yet. Let those ports remain open, and there can be no overproduction by American mills. The partition of China by the countries of "closed doors" would undoubtedly be a blow to our promising industry; but it would not mean ruin while Japan, Siam, Korea, the Eastern Archipelago, and the immense home expanse are to be supplied. Besides, there is more probability of constantly multiplying channels of trade in China than of its partition; and an inter-

oceanic canal, cheapening transportation from the Cotton States to that great purchaser of cotton fabrics, appears no longer so vague a dream. American economists are not called upon to fret over the future adjustment of supply and demand;—in this case it is an easy question.

One who has found interest in this plain exposition of the present status of cotton-manufacturing in the Gulf and Lower Atlantic States would probably be interested also in the practical processes by which the complicated machinery shut in by brick walls is converting the fiber grown in the fields just outside into fabrics ready for



WEAVING DRESS GINGHAMS.



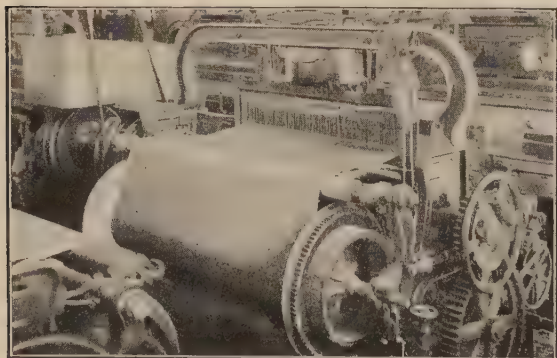
STOREROOM.—WAITING SHIPMENT.

clothing. If it is autumn when he visits us, he will first walk or drive down a road stretching probably through a wide expanse of the tall hibiscus-like plants, loaded with their snowy fleece. At the factory he secures his passport from the manager, or perhaps the manager's personal escort, and starts at the starting-point, the vital center. If it be a steam-power mill, this will be the boiler-room—the source of all the mighty power where the centuried sunshine stored in the coal is transformed into an active energy to be applied to water, which, in its most forceful form, passes on to pulsate the great engine heart. With a note of admiration for the marvelous ar-

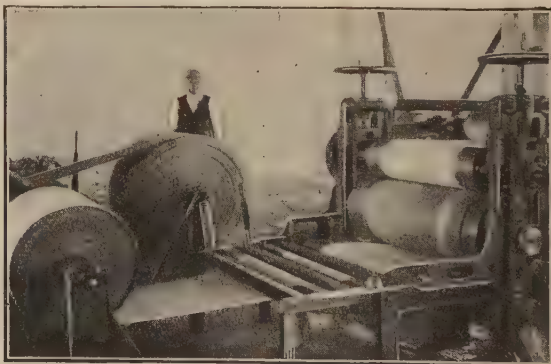
terial system, where belt, shaft, and pulley convey the tremendous force to the members beyond, the visitor moves on to the carding-room, where the lint is torn to pieces by a series of combs and cleaned of all dust and other foreign matter. Next he follows the fiber to the spinning-room, where it is drawn out and twisted into a coarse, loose thread, and then, through successive stages of twisting and combing, into harder, closer, and stronger thread, until the "yarn" is ready for the dye-vats. When duly seasoned into color, the hanks of yarn are passed around heated drums until they are dried. The looms are then ready for them, and the visitor watches in dumb fascination the play of the life-like shuttle through the web, and the steady evolution of daintily patterned gingham or zephyr.

From the weaving-room he still follows the cotton, now a fabric, and the finishing-room is the next department. Here the cloth is passed through vats of "sizing," which is in brief a sort of starch. Drying again around drums succeeds the starching, and finally a process of glazing or polishing, before it is automatically measured, and at the same time folded into bolts.

Last stage of all, the warehouse or shipping-room, whence it will emerge, perhaps to be made into neat shirts and tidy dresses for the very farmer's lads and lasses who cultivated and gathered the cotton or wove it into cloth; perhaps, on the other hand, to be fashioned into the uncouth garments of the far-away Celestial.



ONE OF THE LOOMS.



FINISHING MACHINE.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN TEXTILE SCHOOLS.

BY JANE A. STEWART.

IT is recognized by American manufacturers that, if they are to meet the manifold demands made upon textile art in the creation of novel, beautiful, and attractive fabrics, it must be by brains educated for the special work. America has to go to the Old World for her decorative art. Apropos of this, President Theodore Search, of the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art, says: "With consummate energy and skill we have developed the commercial and trading side of our industries; but there remains a tremendous hiatus between the office and the loom, which has seldom been successfully bridged. We must have designers who not only know how to repeat a design made by somebody else, but who are able to originate designs that are artistic in the highest sense of the term." To which Principal E. W. France, of the same school, adds the weight of his valuable testimony: "It is not, after all, on the side of science that our industrial needs are most important to-day; it is upon the side of art. It is in matters of taste that we need training the most; it is the artistic element that constitutes the charm of textile productions and enables the good goods to hold the market. No amount of cheapening of processes can compensate for the absence of this quality, and no amount of merely technical education or mechanical skill can supply this want. . . . The product of the foreign looms has found and is finding a market in our midst, not because it is cheaper, but because it is more beautiful; and it is more beautiful, not because of the employment of better machinery or more economical methods of production, but because its character is determined by a finer taste."

Systematic textile instruction, consequently, is now considered necessary to improve the manufacture and encourage the production of those goods on which there is the greatest margin of profit, because of the artistic skill necessary for their manufacture. Furthermore, the textile school is now looked upon as essential to provide intelligent management for textile factories, and to apply systematic methods and precision to the textile industrial arts.

Textile education is just at the initial stage in this country. Several institutions have been started, among them the textile schools at Philadelphia and at Lowell, Mass. The latest is that opened in November last at New Bedford, Mass.—

a school which, in its plans and operations, may be taken as typical of the American institution and as embodying in its features the best results of European experience and the best development that the textile school has so far made in this country. This is due very largely to its man-



CHRISTOPHER P. BROOKS.

(Managing Director New Bedford Textile School.)

aging director, Christopher P. Brooks, a member of the Permanent Bureau of the International Congress on Technical Education, of which the headquarters are at Paris. Professor Brooks had previously planned and set in operation the textile school at Lowell. Later he inaugurated the American Correspondence School of Textiles, which has students in every manufacturing State of the Union, in Canada, England, and India, and which he conducts conjointly with the management of the New Bedford school. Professor Brooks' high professional capacity and ripe experience in the superintendence and equipment of mills have constituted him a forceful factor in the development of textile training in America.

The textile world and the yarn market recog-

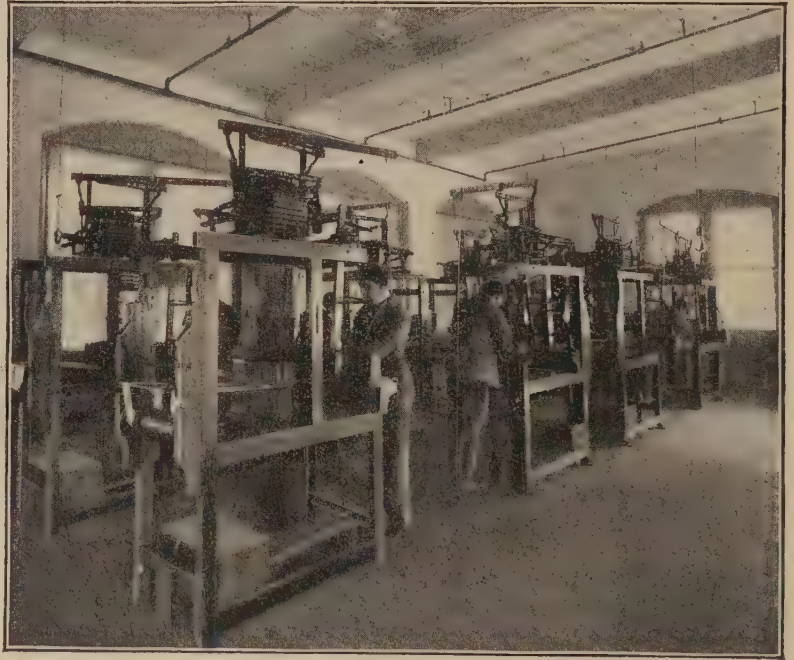
nize New Bedford as the home of fine cotton yarns. With but one exception (Fall River), it is the largest cotton-manufacturing city in the country, its spindles numbering 1,282,332 and its looms 23,610. Both geographically and climatically the natural conditions favor the industry by excelling in that degree of humidity which is essential to fine yarn spinning. The foresight and wisdom of local manufacturers have given textile instruction a great impetus in this fine school. The Massachusetts statute of 1895 provided for the establishment of textile schools under State patronage in any city of the commonwealth whose mayor would certify, before July 1 of that year, that there were 450,000 spindles in operation within its boundaries. Among those who took an active part in securing this legislation were leading New Bedford manufacturers. Immediately upon the passage of the bill the necessary corporation of citizens was formed, including Mayor David L. Parker, Philip Y. De Normandie, N. B. Kerr, Robert Burgess, William J. Kent, Isaac R. Tompkins, William W. Crapo, George R. Stetson, Rufus A. Soule, Charles O. Brightman, Samuel J. Smith, Jonathan Howland, Jr., Lemuel Holmes, Samuel Ross, George W. Hillman, John Wilkinson, and Oliver Prescott, Jr., with George E. Briggs president. The school now stands as a monument to the enterprise and energy of these men. Its highest claim at the present time upon the attention of the American people is that as the first building exclusively designed and erected for a textile school in

America it stands as a model, and that as representative of an educational work of supreme value it is highly significant and suggestive.

In a general way the New Bedford institution has been well characterized as a cotton-mill with a schoolhouse front. Of the old colonial style of architecture carried out in brick and stone, it is dignified, symmetrical, and substantial. The front of the big building for thirty feet is, on all three floors, a school fully equipped. The rear is a cotton-mill on a small but complete scale. Appreciating the advantages of having the future

mill men of New England familiar with their machinery, it was policy on the part of manufacturers to donate and install samples of their machines. Consequently, everything that was required in the way of equipment was contributed, bringing the cost of the fine structure, inclusive of land, well within \$25,000, though representing a value of fully \$75,000. As the corporation had an appropriation of \$25,000 from the State and an equal sum from the city, it still has working capital for future expansion.

The textile school is an educational institution where instruction is given, either in the day or evening, in the spinning, weaving, dyeing, bleaching, and printing of textiles or textile fibers and in the designing of patterns. In its best form it combines theory and practice. The teaching of a thing is made to illustrate the prac-



A CLASS IN HAND-LOOM WEAVING.

tice, and the teaching of the practice is directed to the acquisition of the theory. For such teaching a sufficient supply of apparatus is a first requisite; but the machinery in the textile school, as may be apprehended, is used with different objects and intention from that of the factory. Every machine of consequence to the cotton-spinning industry is to be found here, so that the New Bedford institution stands as a sort of museum of appliances pertaining to textile art. The problem of equipment which Professor Brooks had to overcome is understood when it is



A DESIGNING CLASS IN SESSION.

known that in a space about one-twentieth of the area of a regular cotton-mill is given opportunity for practicing every process and studying every type of machine for cotton manufacturing that the student is apt to meet in after life. Every machine had to be made especially for this building, that it might contain all the essential features, yet in smaller space than a mill. The completeness and compactness of the plant are noteworthy.

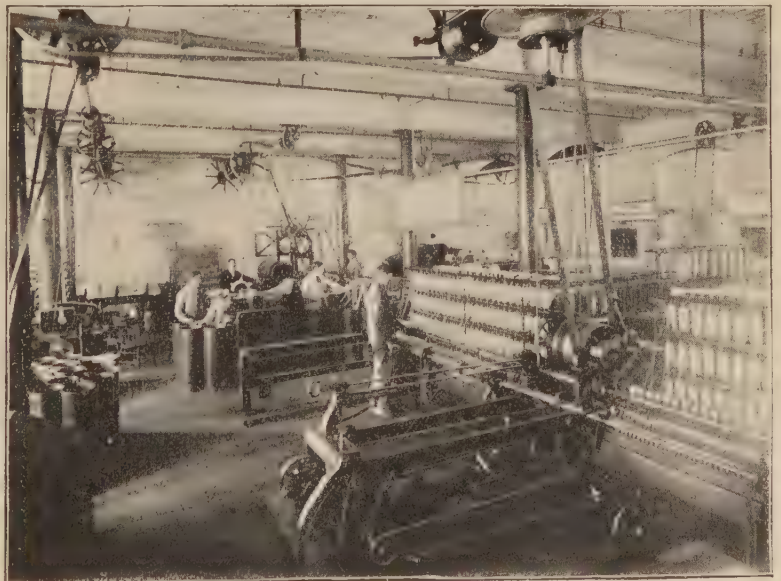
The New Bedford institution carries on systematic textile training in six courses. It offers two-year courses in cotton manufacturing, in designing, and in mill engineering. It also offers one-year courses for weaving-mill and yarn-mill superintendents and for dry-goods commission men. The only requirements besides good character are the equivalent of a grammar or high school education, and that the candidate be not less than fourteen years of age. It has been found necessary to impose a fee on non-residents of the State, which is materially decreased for residents, in the day classes. In order that the advantages of the school may be made available by local mill operatives, evening sessions, duplicating the day courses, and in sections, are held four evenings each week with nominal fees. The evening department also provides facilities for practically free education to those who cannot be expected to defray the whole cost of their textile education.

In the textile school the pupil, having qualified in the ordinary school branches, studies everything pertaining to the manufacture of woven fabrics. In his first year he devotes his attention to mechanism and machine drawing, warp preparation, plain and fancy weaving, and hand-loom work. The second year's study embraces cotton-picking, carding, combing and spinning, and mill engineering. In addition, for reasons already made clear,

the two-year course is taken up largely with design and its applications.

A visit to the weaving-room holds most fascination to the art lover and to him who believes that the true province of any technical school should never be subordinated to the teaching of a trade. Apropos of this, the director of one of the most famous textile schools abroad once said to visitors: "Pray do not call this a weaving-school; it is a school of art applied to weaving." The element of beauty which is required for the finer products of the loom means training in art for the men and women workers in the textile industries of the future.

At the New Bedford school, consequently, original designing is given every possible stimulus. The process of application follows, for the



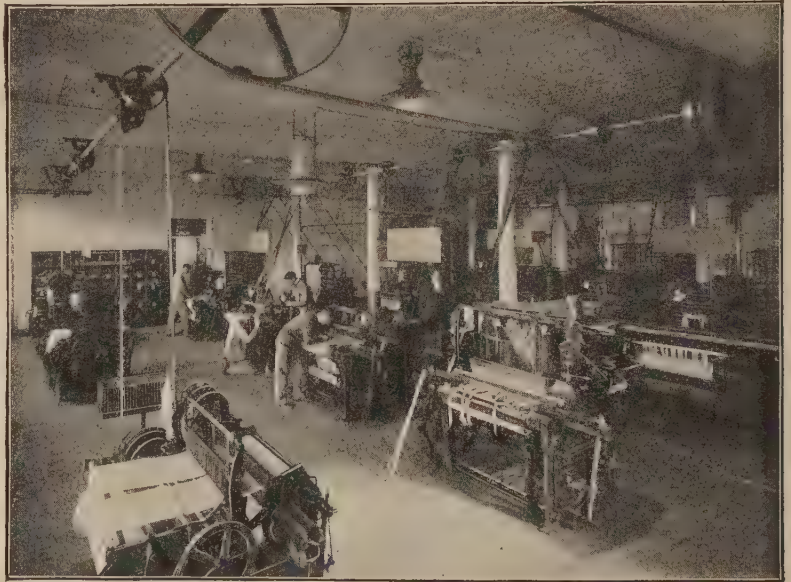
THE NEW BEDFORD SCHOOL. COTTON-SPINNING ROOM.

designs are then woven by their inventors at individual looms. In the interesting work of producing the pattern in the woven fabric the freehand sketch is first redrawn on squared paper adjusted to the possibilities of weaving, each square representing a thread. A skillful workman prepares cards according to the design by punching in them definite sets of holes. These perforated cards afterward suppress or release the individual wires of the Jacquard loom, very much as the perforated disk in a music-box produces the desired air.

Most people have only a vague idea of the workings of the loom. One watches with fascination the movement of the "harnesses" as they dexterously raise one set of threads and lower the alternate set, thus opening a V-shaped shed through which the shuttle shoots. The shuttle in its passage pays out the "filling," which with the threads at right angles to it form the warp and woof of the fabric. The harnesses govern the rise and fall of the warp threads, so that these appear on the surface in the prearranged pattern. In the primitive loom the warp threads are controlled in gangs by their harnesses. In the Jacquard loom each thread is lowered or raised individually by a wire corresponding in action to a harness, the possibilities of the loom being limited only by the skill of the weaver and the excellence of the design. About fifteen types of looms, all different, but arranged for convenience in practice to use warps of the same width, are part of the installation of the New Bedford school. Among them are the Whitin, Mason, Crompton & Knowles, Kilburn & Lincoln, Draper, English, and Jacquard looms. They are hung up to weave sateens, dimities, lawns, plain sheetings, box welt, table-cloth, Bedford cord, satin stripes, gingham, print cloths, worsted dress goods, and towelings.

The earlier processes of carding and spinning are taught the second year. The card-room has a section for spinning. More properly this apartment might be called a yarn-mill; for in this one room, less than 70 feet square, the cotton is brought from its raw state up to a finished yarn, ready for weaving. A knowledge of the

delicate, intricate, and fascinating operation of cotton manufacturing is acquired in the carding and spinning processes, by which the cotton fibers, after being "picked," are laid out all in one direction, absolutely parallel, into a thin film, and that film twisted into a thread ready to be woven—all done with such nicety by the varied machinery that in perfect yarn every yard of yarn, or roving, or thread will weigh exactly the same number of grains with every other yard in a given lot and number. The pupil here learns to manipulate three processes of picking, three types of cards (all English style, but of American manufacture), three kinds of drawing-frames, the ribbon lapper, the comber, the rail-



A LESSON IN POWER-LOOM WEAVING.

way head, four processes of fly frames, the spinning-mules, two types of ring spinning-frames, and the wet and dry twister. The instruction is directed largely to an elucidation of the principles of construction and operation characteristic of each machine. The second year's course also includes the science of mill construction and management, with every practical detail of textile statistics, cost, methods, markets, and varieties of goods, and advanced mechanism, or machine drawing, and designing, covering the art of color as applied to fabrics, the contrast and harmony of colors, and jacquard designing. Opportunity is afforded for advanced academic studies concurrently with those in the textile school and for the study of chemistry and dyeing at a neighboring free institute.

The textile school is representative of the true

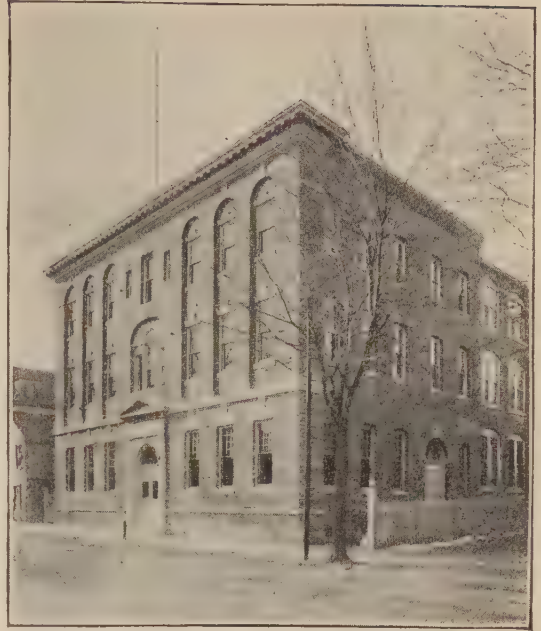
republican ideal in that it affords the opportunity to the worthy untrained workman to make the most of himself. The operative in the mill may here have the privilege of acquiring any branch of the textile industry and studying any particular machine in which he is interested or any special process at nominal cost.

Too much, however, must not be expected of the textile school. The school practice is not intended to give that complete mastery and rapidity of execution which can only be acquired in the factory. It must be held in mind that the textile school is an institution for trade-teaching, where efficient workers of intelligent self-activity and high initiative may be produced—workers who can at once find employment and satisfactorily fill responsible positions, owing to the skill and knowledge there acquired. The time may be anticipated when every important manufacturing center of America will have these supplementary technical schools for purposes of special culture in the manual professions.

The New Bedford Textile School is the outcome largely of the development of the cotton-manufacturing interests in the South, as well as of European example and enterprise in textile education. The far-seeing manufacturers of New England foresee the time when the manufacture of the cheaper and coarser goods must from economic advantages be preempted by the South, and have seized the opportunity to take an advance step. The whole trend of the textile industry in New England to-day is toward the production of finer and more artistic material, for which is required skillful and intelligent workmanship of the highest grade, such as special textile training in a well-equipped institution may be expected to provide.

Though competition with the South in cotton-manufacturing is a comparatively new feature in the textile industry, it is not feared, but rather hailed, by the wise manufacturer for its bearing on national prosperity. The advance of the South in this direction involves a broadening of the whole industry, an expansion of foreign commerce, and a growth in our exports of manufactured goods. It is a fact that only one-third of the raw cotton now produced remains in this country; the other two-thirds go to Great Britain and other European countries, to be manufactured and by them exported in various directions. With Southern mills for coarser products and Northern mills for finer grades, the United States may be expected to take its place beside the larger exporting countries of the world.

Neither is there any serious apprehension



THE NEW BEDFORD TEXTILE SCHOOL.

among New England manufacturers over the prophecy that the South will soon be using all its raw-cotton product, and have none for Northern mills. This is on a par with the dread of coal exhaustion. When there is a demand for more cotton, more cotton will be grown. And there is no doubt in the North that the South could as well produce 20,000,000 bales of cotton where it now produces 10,000,000 bales.

Atmospheric conditions are strong and governing motives in the textile manufactures. In this regard New England will always have a peculiar and telling advantage over the South, where artificial apparatus for humidifying must be largely employed. New Bedford especially is exceedingly well located to receive the influence of the Gulf Stream.

It is fully realized by New England manufacturers and legislators that industrial progress must keep pace with the constantly growing call for products of higher excellence in design and finish. This involves a trained body of workers, and more especially educated superintendence. Native ingenuity is not sufficient. Hence the existence of the textile school, out of which is to come trained craftsmen and educated experts. Systematic instruction in school and shop, furnishing an inspiration for original and inventive ideas, is a necessity to the modern textile industry.

THE NEW AUSTRALIAN CONSTITUTION.

HOW IT RESEMBLES AND HOW IT DIFFERS FROM OUR OWN.

BY HUGH H LUSK.

(Formerly a Member of the New Zealand Legislature.)

THE constitution of the new commonwealth of Australia naturally claims attention and challenges criticism as the latest development in federal constitution-making among people of Anglo-Saxon race. Its authors had before them the experience of this country and of Canada; and they have evidently used that experience freely, both in what they have imitated and in what they have rejected. Their task was not an easy one, in spite of this wealth of material—partly, it may be, from something of an embarrassment of riches, but even more because the circumstances of Australia made agreement between its component parts unusually difficult. A people for the most part of strongly democratic instincts, they had freely exercised their untrammelled powers of self-government, and were generally reluctant to give up any part of the control of their own affairs which could be retained consistently with any scheme of federation whatever. When to this is added the fact that in the case of Australia there was not even the suspicion of any external pressure rendering union imperative, it is not difficult to understand why the process of Australian constitution-making was the slowest on record.

THE PROBLEM OF FEDERATION.

In approaching the examination of what has been done, it is therefore necessary not only to remember the experiences of other countries which the authors of the Australian constitution had before them, but the circumstances of the island continent itself, which in some respects complicated the undertaking. It is necessary to remember that the object was to consolidate into one six nearly sovereign states, varying in population from 150,000, to nearly 1,500,000, and occupying territories the area of which varied from 1,000,000 to 26,000 square miles; and, above all, that there was no very pressing reason to be alleged why they must federate at all. As a matter of fact, the constitution as it exists is very largely made of compromises. It represents, not the conceivable best, but only the best possible, under conditions which taxed to the utmost the mutual forbearance of the delegates to the federal convention. The result is that the constitution of the new commonwealth has

many things in common with our own; others that bear more resemblance to that of the Dominion of Canada, and still a third class which very materially differs from both. For the sake of clearness, it may be well to consider it shortly under three heads: What the federal government is to deal with; how its legislative powers are distributed; and in what way the executive force of the commonwealth is to be exercised. It may be said generally that, as to the first head, the new constitution most resembles that of the United States; as to the second, that it departs largely from all existing precedents; and as to the third, that,—as might have been expected from its position as a part of the British Empire, it resembles the constitution of Canada.

POWERS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

The federal government of Australia will have large powers. In its hands will be vested exclusive control of customs taxation, together with power to impose all such other taxes as may be required for the public service, with the sole limitation that they shall be so imposed as in no case to discriminate between states, or parts of states; the sole control of all matters of defense; the management and control of the postal, telegraph, and telephone services of the country; questions of immigration, naturalization, and interstate trade and commerce; the maintenance of light-houses, beacons, and buoys; all external affairs, including the influx and extradition of criminals, and all questions of conciliation and arbitration extending beyond the limits of any single state. Banking and insurance, coinage and currency, weights and measures, laws relating to bills of exchange and promissory notes, bankruptcy, patents, copyrights, and companies, are also vested solely in the commonwealth. In addition to these questions, which are, for the most part, familiar to Americans as subjects of federal legislation, there will vest in the federal parliament the sole right to deal with the law of marriage, divorce, and matrimonial causes, and all questions relating to parental rights and the custody and guardianship of infants, and also all public provisions for old age and invalid pensions. To the commonwealth is reserved the right to make use of all the railroads belong-

ing to any state (in Australia practically all railroads do belong to the states) for defense purposes, and also, with the consent of any state, to take over and operate the state railroad or railroads on terms to be arranged; and, with the like consent, to construct other railroads. The power to control and regulate the navigation of rivers flowing through more than one state is also reserved to the federal parliament, but only so far as interstate interests are directly affected.

These are the principal powers reserved to the commonwealth—so far, at least, as its internal affairs are concerned; and it will be observed that they embrace only such questions as are necessarily important to the commonwealth and its citizens as a whole. They include, therefore, all matters of commerce extending beyond the states; matters of social order, such as the entire armed force of the country, with the legal control of the means of its removal and concentration; of social morals, including the conservation of marriage and the protection of the young; of social stability and equality, as affected by trade disputes, and by provisions for the aged and infirm. It will be seen at once that these provisions extend the powers of the federal government in several respects considerably beyond anything yet attempted by the Constitution of the United States, though it may be questioned whether they any where go beyond the limits which experience in this country has suggested as very desirable extensions of the central authority.

THE LIMITATION OF FEDERAL POWERS.

All powers of borrowing money on the security of the revenue of the commonwealth are, of course, reserved exclusively to the federal government, as well as every question involving the external relations of the country, such as the laws affecting external trade, commerce, and navigation. On the other hand, the management of harbors, and of internal though navigable rivers and waterways, and the management and control of the lands of the country, at present by far the largest and most important asset of Australia, are left to the states. The present state debts are to be taken over by the commonwealth, and the interest provided for out of the customs taxation, with the further proviso that for a fixed period of five years the balance of revenue thus raised, after payment of the expenses of the federal establishment, shall be repaid to the states in proportion to population. These latter provisions, it will be observed, confine the federal government within narrower limits in some material respects than those of our own Constitution, and represent compromises insisted on by the states as the sole conditions on which they would give up

their present complete autonomy. The circumstances of the country are accountable, as will readily be seen, for most of them. As a matter of fact, very few Australian rivers run through or between different states; and the question of the land and mining laws already in force is that on which more diversity prevails than any other—a diversity which is held by the people to be essentially necessary, owing to widely different conditions.

It is only necessary to allude to the essential difference in principle which pervades this constitution and that of the Canadian Dominion. In Australia, as in the United States, it is the contracting colonies that are the substantial basis of the scheme. It is they who give up certain definite rights and powers for the sake of union; and only such as they give up can be assumed by the commonwealth. In the case of Canada it is the provinces that are limited to the exercise of such powers and rights as are specifically reserved; and therefore, in the very nature of things, the march of events must tend more and more to the consolidation of all real power in the hands of the Dominion government, and the gradual degradation of the provinces to the level of municipal governments on a large scale. No such scheme of federation would ever have been listened to in Australia, where the widely separated state populations have always been strongly attached to the independent exercise of all the functions of government that most immediately affect themselves.

THE LEGISLATURE.

The legislative powers of the Australian Commonwealth will be exercised by a federal parliament, consisting, like our own Congress and the Dominion Parliament of Canada, of two chambers. At this point, however, any close imitation of either existing constitution may be said to cease. In the case of Australia, it was at this point that the constitution ran its greatest risk of rejection. The less populous colonies insisted upon the security which a senate on the principle of equal state representation, on the model of this country, would give; the more populous states insisted upon such a preponderating influence on behalf of population as should make it impossible for a conceivably small minority of the whole people to dictate legislation. The ultimate compromise arrived at was that of giving equal state representation in the Senate, and providing that the House of Representatives should never contain more than twice as many members as the Senate; but, on the other hand, providing that the Senate should not only have no initiative power in respect of money appropriations, but

should not be at liberty to amend a money bill at all. With respect to other laws, also, it is provided that, in case of a deadlock between the chambers continuing after a dissolution and re-election, held expressly to ascertain public opinion on the subject, both chambers shall sit together, and the vote of a simple majority shall prevail.

SENATORS CHOSEN BY POPULAR VOTE.

These provisions bring into strong relief the conditions under which the new constitution was arrived at. The Senators—in the first instance six from each state—will be elected by the vote of the electors of each state, and not through the medium of state legislatures—differing, in this respect, both from the United States and from Canada. Every adult male will have the right to vote for Senators, as for Representatives; and in states where the women already have votes, they also will have votes, and it is left to the state legislatures to determine whether the state shall be divided or vote as a single electorate. This arrangement represents the strong democratic feeling of the Australian people, which would consent neither to a senate of cabinet nominees nor to one that might be made the subject of party bargains in state legislatures. The House of Representatives will consist of twice as many members as the Senate—the number being, from time to time, allotted to the various states in proportion to population. It will have supreme control of the finance of the federation, and the confidence and support of a majority of its members will be the essential condition of any cabinet remaining in power. The members of the representative chamber will be elected for three years; those of the Senate for six, with the condition in both cases that their chamber may be dissolved by proclamation of the governor-general, on the advice of the cabinet, at any earlier date. The divergence between this provision and that of this country for keeping the Representatives in touch with public feeling need hardly be pointed out; nor, of course, its still greater contrast with that of Canada in respect of the Senate.

AN EXECUTIVE WITHOUT PATRONAGE.

The executive of the Australian Commonwealth will, like that of Canada, vest nominally in a governor-general, appointed by the British

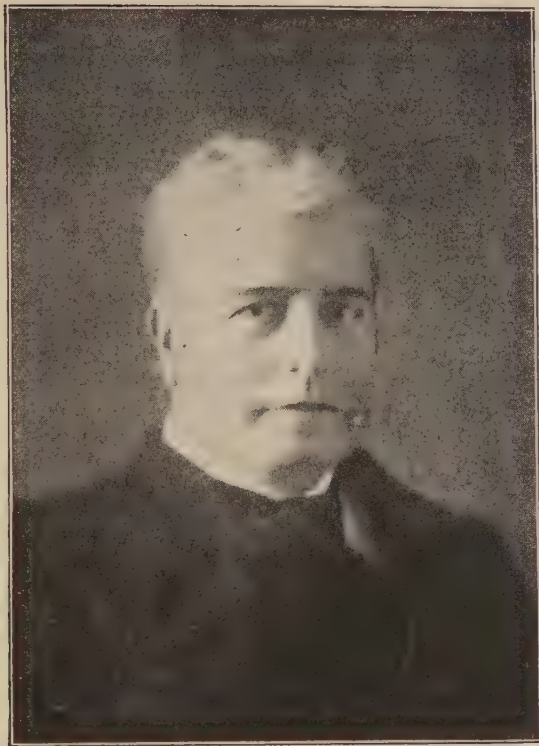
Government, but really—except in a very few exceptional cases—in the hands of the federal cabinet, appointed, like that of Britain herself, from among the members of the Parliament, and possessing the confidence and support of a majority of its members, or at least of the members of the representative chamber. A certain vagueness exists as to the precise powers of the governor-general, exactly as in the case of the English sovereign; but custom, now well established by usage in the Australian colonies, has decided that in practice the governor must act on the advice of his cabinet in every case, unless the measure which he is called upon to sanction is one which manifestly affects the interests of other parts of the empire, or may affect the treaty rights of foreign nations. In either of these cases, he may reserve an act passed by the legislature for the assent of the crown—which means, of course, of the imperial cabinet. The governor-general will enjoy a salary of \$50,000, but will have absolutely no patronage in Australia.

A SUPREME COURT LIKE THAT OF THE UNITED STATES.

The only point in the new constitution that has met with opposition from the British cabinet is that which provides for the federal court, to which is assigned the position of a practically final court of appeal on all questions involving the interpretation of the constitution, and all questions arising between different states, or between the commonwealth and a state, or between residents of different states. The provisions are such as to render so difficult as to be nearly impossible the exercise of the long-established right of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, still preserved in Canada. After long negotiation, the representatives of the colonies in London have prevailed, in fact, by consenting to a change in the language of the act, which leaves it in the power of the federal legislature so to curtail the subjects of possible appeal to the crown as to make the High Federal Court's decisions really final. It is hardly likely that, for the present, full effect will be given to this provision; but there can be little doubt that there will be an increasing tendency to render the autonomy of Australia absolutely complete by shutting out the idea of any reference to an external authority upon questions that are specially its own.



LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.



HON. EDMUND BARTON.
(Federal Delegate from New South Wales.)

AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION.

IN the *North American Review* for June, the Australian statesman, Edmund Barton, writes on the newly established federation of the Australian colonies. In the course of his article, he brings out some interesting points of comparison between the constitution of the new commonwealth and that of the United States. The arrangement provided for a federal capital, for example, is similar to that which located our national seat of government in the District of Columbia.

THE CAPITAL OF THE NEW COMMONWEALTH.

"The seat of government of the commonwealth is to be determined by the Parliament. It must be within territory granted to or acquired by the commonwealth, in which it is to be vested. In short, it will be federal territory, and the federal Parliament will have the exclusive power to make laws for its government, and to determine the extent of its representation in either house of that Parliament. It is to be within the state of New South Wales; and, in

return for that concession, it is to be distant not less than one hundred miles from Sydney, the state capital. The area is not to be less than one hundred square miles. Any crown lands which it may contain—probably a considerable area—are to be granted by the state to the commonwealth without payment. The Parliament is to sit at Melbourne, until it meets at the seat of government. It will be seen that the law as to the seat of government will follow that of the United States rather than that of Canada, inasmuch as the area containing the capital will be exclusively under the federation and not under the jurisdiction of any state. There can be very little doubt that the representatives of New South Wales in the federation will lose little time in urging the early choice of this territory. As the legislatures of the several states sit generally in the winter, and as a member of a state legislature is not excluded from sitting in the federal Parliament, if elected, it is probable that convenience will be on the side of summer sessions. In that prospect, it is likely that the area chosen will be at a sufficient altitude to give the advantage of a good summer climate; and, happily, several such areas are open for choice in New South Wales."

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The constitution may be altered much more easily than that of the United States.

"A bill for the purpose must first, in ordinary cases, be passed by an absolute majority in each house. It is afterward to be submitted in each state to the electors qualified to vote for the election of members in the House of Representatives. This is to be done not less than two nor more than six months after the passage of the bill through both houses. If, however, an amendment passed by an absolute majority of one house fails to pass the other, or is passed with an amendment as to which the two houses differ, and if, after an interval of three months, a similar difference occurs, the amendment may be submitted to the popular vote, just as if it had secured an absolute majority in both houses. In order to become law, the amendment must, at the referendum, secure a majority of the electors, who vote, and it must also secure majorities in a majority of the states. The difficulty which will exist because in South Australia women as well as men have a vote is met by prescribing that, until there is a uniform suffrage throughout the commonwealth, only half the electors voting for and against the amendment may be counted in any state in

which adult suffrage prevails. If an amendment would lessen the proportionate representation of any state in either house, or would alter the limits of a state directly or indirectly, it is not to become law until it receives the approval of a majority of the electors voting in the state affected."

CHINA UNDER THE DOWAGER EMPRESS.

MR. R. S. GUNDRY contributes to the *Fortnightly Review* for June a very interesting and elaborate account of "The Last Palace Intrigue at Peking," which culminated in the seizure of power by the Dowager Empress and the virtual deposition of the Emperor.

THE TWO PARTIES.

The struggle between the Chinese parties—the reactionary, or, more accurately speaking, the stagnation, and reform parties—was really a contest between the capital and the provinces. The Empress was supported by the palace and the older government officials, who saw their sinecures in danger; the Emperor by thousands of the younger *literati*, mandarins, and merchants of the provinces. But as the struggle must be decided in Peking, the reactionaries held the field; and the actual deposition of the Emperor would have followed.

PUBLIC OPINION AT WORK.

But the intervention of public opinion, generally believed not to exist in China, prevented the completion of the scheme. The anticipation evoked an outburst of loyalty to Kwang Su which surprised those who had doubted the existence of any public opinion among the Chinese. Kin Lienshan, district manager of the imperial telegraphs—whose name seems destined to come into notoriety along with that of Kang Yuwei—promptly dispatched, on behalf of 1,231 *literati* and gentry of Shanghai and the neighborhood, a telegram to the princes and ministers of the Tsungli-Yamen, imploring the Emperor not to abdicate. Chinese subjects abroad sent petitions to the same effect. The Empress Dowager was frightened, and instead of deposing her son, she set about celebrating his birthday, and acquiesced in the demand of the foreign ministers to pay him their compliments. Her rage, however, turned with redoubled force against the reformers, who were executed or proscribed and banished.

CHINA'S PRESENT CONDITION.

The consequences of these acts are defined by Mr. Gundry as follows:

"The reactionary policy of the clique with

which she is identified seems rather to have been accentuated, and the spirit of enmity towards all who were associated with the reform movement embittered. An evident consequence has been to widen the rift between the capital and the provinces that was caused by the Emperor's suppersession. The Empress thinks, evidently, that she can crush opposition; but experience has shown that movements of the kind are like rivers—which may be guided, as Yü is declared, in Chinese legend, to have guided the great rivers of China, by removing obstacles and deepening their channels 'till the waters flowed peacefully into the Eastern Sea,' but which are apt to burst through injudiciously constructed barriers and overwhelm everything in their course. The pressure to which the Imperial Government had been subjected from without is somewhat relaxed. Having ear-marked their respective spheres of interest, and obtained concessions of various privileges, the great European powers chiefly interested have been content to await developments and events. But the autonomy of the eighteen provinces appears to be in less danger from unprovoked aggression than from the ignorance, corruption, and incapacity of the Chinese Government itself. The removal of the Emperor from power, the reversal of his decrees, and the envenomed persecution of his advisers have caused widespread dissatisfaction, which is only restrained from dangerous expression by want of cohesion and leadership. There is unrest, from Shantung in the north to the great Kwang Vice-royalty in the south. The risk that some new freak of the reactionaries may consolidate this fluent matter is, at least, not negligible; nor can the risk that certain foreign powers might be led to step in to maintain order, and gradually, perhaps, to assume administrative responsibility in certain districts, in given contingencies, be ignored."

A POSSIBLE REFORMER.

The Empress is not, however, hopelessly opposed to reform. Her object is to strengthen the dynasty; and "if it could be brought home to her that the present reactionary policy constitutes a danger for the dynasty and the empire, she might be induced yet to change her course and support the Emperor in a policy of reform. Her halt on the threshold of what was intended, clearly, to be a fresh *coup d'état*, two months ago, goes to prove that she is not impervious to manifestations of popular sentiment; but many well qualified to form an opinion are persuaded that she is kept in ignorance of the real import and magnitude of the crisis by which the empire is assailed."

BUILDING RAILWAYS IN CHINA.

IN the July *McClure's*, Mr. William Barclay Parsons, the chief engineer of the American China Development Company, has an article on "Railway Development in China," in which he describes the readiness of the country for development, the lines of railway that are already built or in prospect, and the rivalry of the great powers. The empire proper of China alone is half as large as the United States, and the country has to-day only 516 miles of railway all told. Japan, about as large as one Chinese province, began its railway building as late as 1871, and has now a well-built system ramifying all over the main island, aggregating 3,500 miles in length, and almost exclusively under the management of native officials.

In China the junk and the coolie are still the chief means of transport. The waterways are the great highways of traffic. In the interior, there are almost no roads; for people do not use horses where they can get men at five cents a day. The nearest approach to roads are paths on which the coolies can trudge, carrying a burden suspended in two packages from the ends of a bamboo stick that rests over either one or both shoulders. The higher classes go about in sedan-chairs; the lower classes walk, and when their wives go with them, they wheel the women in wheelbarrows.

In 1881 the first tramway was begun in China to transport coal, and since that time has been built the 508.7 miles of railway in the north, and 8 miles of railway in the south, for a country containing 380,000,000 of people.

EUROPEAN CONCESSIONS.

Recently important concessions have been granted to foreigners. The first is for a railway from Peking to Hankow to a Belgian syndicate, which will get a railway into the heart of the Yang-tze Valley. The next concession was for a continuation of this road from Hankow to Canton. This was given

to the American syndicate. Each of these concessions is for about 700 miles of road, and the 1,400 miles of the two will connect North and South China, and divide the country into approximately two parts, east and west. A third concession is for a line from Shanghai, by way of Su-chau, to Ching-kiang, and so on to Nanking, with an extension crossing the river to Sin-yang. This is an English concession, and has a great value in that it controls the approaches to Shanghai. An Anglo-German syndicate owns a concession for a line from Tientsin, through Shan-tung, along the line of the old Grand Canal to the Yang-tze River; so that a summary of the present railway situation in China shows, besides the 516 miles built, 600 miles of the Belgian concession under construction, and five other lines either surveyed or under survey—the whole amounting to about 3,000 miles.

Besides these there are projects emanating from England for a line from Hongkong to Canton (120 miles), and for a branch from Hang-chau westward into Kiang-si (about 200 miles); while the Japanese are planning a line in the province of Fu-kien, opposite the Japanese island of Formosa.



Courtesy of *McClure's Magazine*.

A MAP OF CHINA, SHOWING THE VARIOUS RAILWAY CONCESSIONS.

In style of construction, Chinese railways are a compromise between European and American lines. The only double-track line is that between Tientsin and Peking. The track is of the American type; the locomotives are partly American and partly English; and the cars, both passenger and freight, are an adaptation of both American and English patterns. A Chinaman hates to be separated from his baggage, and so the second-class passengers are carried in open cars resembling an American coal-car, with all the baggage of the passengers distributed around them. Mr. Parsons says that whatever opposition has come to railway construction in China has been largely from the official class, who, fearing that the new order of things might reduce their own power, have either been apathetic or have prejudiced the ignorant people against innovations. Mr. Parsons thinks there is no doubt that when the Chinaman gets his railroads he will use them. He cites the statistics of travel between Hongkong and Canton by steamer as nearly 1,000,000 passengers annually, besides the large travel by junk. He thinks there is no doubt that the Oriental will patronize liberally the better mode of conveyance.

America's Part in China's Railroad Development.

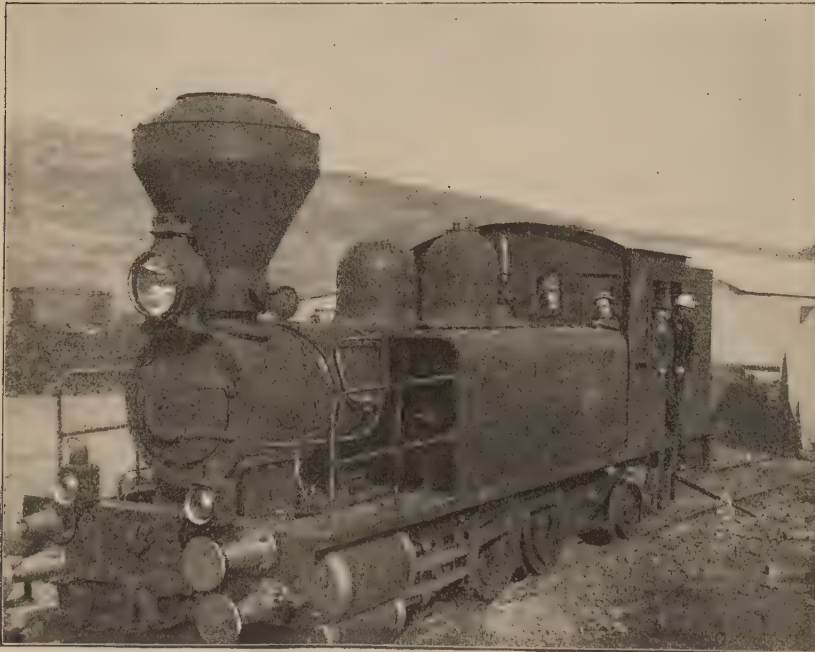
The building of the Chinese Eastern Railway is commonly regarded as a distinctively Rus-

sian enterprise, but the important share which American and British engineers and manufacturers have had in the work should not be overlooked. Mr. Alexander H. Ford, writing in the *Engineering Magazine* for June on "Anglo-Saxon Enterprise in Asia," describes the operations in Manchuria incident to Russia's acquisition of Port Arthur, and the announcement of her purpose to extend the Trans-Siberian Railway to that harbor.

AMERICAN RAILROAD EQUIPMENT.

"It did not take the news of the opening of this great territory long to reach America. Soon the finest business house in Vladivostok was erected by an American, the most spacious Chinese structure in Port Arthur was secured as an agency, and the introduction of American tools and American locomotives was begun. American activity was abroad in the land, and while the Russian engineers at first laughed at the idea of American manufacturers competing with Europe, they were induced to give a few orders. To their astonishment, the goods arrived in less than three months, and proved the most durable and efficient tools up to that time imported into Manchuria. The Russian officials suddenly realized that just across the Pacific pond, not five thousand miles away, they could supply all the needs of the new railway, and all hurry orders were promptly cabled to America, whose markets were some fifteen thousand miles nearer

Eastern Siberia than those of Europe. American engineers who could speak the Russian language fluently enough to converse in technical railway terms with the Russian officials of the railway found that a golden stream flowed through their hands to the manufacturers in America. Last summer the Chinese Eastern Railway went so far as to send over two of its engineers, as a committee, to visit and report on the outlook in the United States of procuring every kind of railway appliance. They reported that more than three-fourths of the material and equipment still needed for the completion of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, as well as



FIRST AMERICAN LOCOMOTIVE ON THE CHINESE EASTERN RAILWAY.

the steel bridges, could be procured in America, of a better quality and more cheaply than in any European country."

AN AMERICAN-BUILT CITY.

"Since then Russia's railway projects in the far East have been greatly augmented, and recently cablegrams were sent over for material for a branch line on to Peking, so that now Russia is building with all speed from four Pacific Ocean ports (Tientsin [Peking], New Chwang, Port Arthur, and Vladivostok) toward her great Trans-Siberian system, and tons upon tons of machinery from the United States lie stacked upon the wharves of these cities, so adjacent to the western seaboard of the United States. Already the railroads extend for many miles into the interior from these ports; and in fact, before spring navigation is opened, it is expected that they will all be connected with Harbin, on the Sungari River, which is the central point of meeting for the lines in Manchuria.

"This city is not yet a year old, but it contains many thousands of inhabitants, spacious office buildings, splendid machine-shops, asphalted pavements laid down by American steam-rollers, and a Yankee electric-lighting plant. Harbin is also the winter-quarters and general terminus for the line of English steamers and barges."

SHOULD THE MONROE DOCTRINE TAKE IN ASIA?

A SUGGESTION that it may be time for the United States to extend the Monroe Doctrine to Asia is offered by Wu Ting Fang, the Chinese minister at Washington, in an article on "America in the Orient," appearing in *Ainslee's* for June. The arguments for such a course, as they appeal to this astute diplomat, are set forth at the end of his article, as follows:

"There are those who say that this is too rapid. But is it not logical? The possession of the Philippines brings the United States within 600 miles of Asia—nearer by far than some portions of South America to which the Monroe Doctrine is now held to apply. It is a measure of self-protection, founded on justice; and if the United States is to be an Asiatic power, I cannot see why logically it will not find itself in time compelled to guard against the encroachments of European powers in that part of the world. It is true that the Monroe Doctrine was intended originally to apply to the American Continent alone, but the principle is the same wherever foreign encroachments might interfere with American interests. It will not be necessary to interfere with existing conditions. When Presi-

dent Monroe issued his *caveat*, he intended it to apply to the future, not to that which already was. He did not go so far as to undertake to drive from the American Continent those European nations which were already there.

"KEEPING THINGS AS THEY ARE."

"To apply the same doctrine to Asia means simply that things are to be left as they are; and this will be for the interest of the United States as well as for the whole Asiatic Continent. I may be a little ahead of time, but by and by the United States will come to this. The possession of the Philippines is a new thing; but after a while, perhaps in ten years, it will be seen that, for



Photo by Clinedinst.

MR. WU TING FANG.

(Chinese Minister to the United States.)

self-protection and for the maintenance of peace, it will be necessary to have all nations understand that no further encroachments on the Asiatic Continent will be allowed. When that time comes, there will be no more war. After the United States gets a firm hold on the Philippines, and begins to establish American commerce and to branch out in every direction, they will become more and more impressed with the necessity of keeping things as they are. No man can tell how long the 'open door' can be maintained in the East, unless further aggressions are prevented."

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CHINESE.

IN the June *Forum*, Mr. Ho Yow, the Chinese consul-general at San Francisco, discusses the attitude of the United States towards his countrymen, as shown in the Chinese exclusion laws passed by Congress. He says :

"The laws of the United States prohibiting Chinese immigration are without parallel in the codes of the world, and can only be compared to the regulations of the Chinese nation itself in a period of its history to which we would under no consideration revert.

"Moreover, in addition to its inherent injustice, the statute is based on a misconception of conditions and a mistake in facts. It had its origin with the rabble. Its promoters were speakers from the tops of soap-boxes and the tail-skids of drays. It was caught up by politicians when the clamor had gathered strength with the mob, and when appearances indicated that the latter could poll votes enough to elect its ring-leaders to office. Whenever a calm and dispassionate inquiry into the conditions was held, the verdict was sure to be in favor of the Chinese ; and it was on this account that the friends of justice in Congress held out so long against the demands upon that body for measures of exclusion.

THE CHINESE AS RAILROAD BUILDERS.

"Nevertheless, the situation here as regards the Chinese was remarkable, and, in the nature of things, could not occur again. The Chinese were brought here to grade and build the Central Pacific Railroad. A thousand miles of railroad had to be laid across deserts and over mountains—perhaps the most difficult feat of railway construction which, up to that time, had been attempted in the United States. The road was to be built, too, in a part of the continent that was practically without inhabitants, and therefore in advance of settlement. White workmen could not be had. Three thousand miles yawned between the reservoirs of population, and the journey was tedious and slow ; so the building of the railroad had to be pushed at once. Ten thousand men were needed, and rake and scrape as the builders would, only 800 whites could be gathered to engage in the work.

"In this exigency the experiment with Chinese laborers was tried. At first it was thought that they would prove inefficient—that they were too light of body to stand the heavy work ; that they could not endure the fatigues of the occupation. A few were put upon the lightest parts of the work ; and since these proved their ability to perform well all they were set to do, the experiment was extended, and before long Chinese were doing all the unskilled labor which

the work required. They received but thirty-one dollars per month and boarded themselves, while the whites were paid forty-five dollars per month and found. Yet, according to the testimony of James Strobridge, superintendent of construction, and Charles Crocker, one of the five proprietors of the road, who had charge of the construction, the Chinese were more reliable and more efficient laborers than the whites. They could excel the whites in any branch of the work, whether light shoveling or the heaviest rock-drilling ; and a body of Chinese even excelled in results an equal number of picked Cornish miners who were set to drill one end of a tunnel through a mountain. The Chinese were put upon the other end, and the two gangs started from a shaft at the center.

"In order to supply the thousands of Chinese required for this great work, the coolie-ships were kept running to and from China, bringing their loads of immigrants from Kwangtung Province. There was no trouble concerning the Chinese so long as the road was building. Hittell's 'History of California' recites how the white laborers and the 'China Boys' marched together in parade, and how the former made speeches to the latter, extending their hands in comradeship.

"Suddenly, however, the road was finished ; and this army of 15,000 laborers was idle and at large. In a strange land, among a strange people, with no capital but their ability and willingness to work, they flocked to San Francisco. Here they swarmed upon the streets, and, conspicuous from their racial characteristics, gave the impression that there was an immensely large number of them in the district.

HOW TRADE RELATIONS ARE AFFECTED.

"But with all the harshness of the exclusion laws, they were never designed to affect any but the laboring classes. They were not intended to be used as an instrument to exclude educated men traveling in pursuit of knowledge, merchants coming from China to this country to buy goods or to start an industry here, or those going from this country to China and returning. Such are the men on whose shoulders trade rests, and it was never for an instant proposed that the statute should act as a sword to sever the trade relations of the countries. Yet we recognize that this very thing is now being done ;—though, I believe, unwittingly.

"Since the law denies to Chinese laborers the right to enter the country, there should be, as an offset, a liberal policy regarding the classes allowed to enter. Yet this is not the case. The utmost rigor is exercised towards the merchants and travelers coming to the United States ; and

no mechanism which ingenuity can devise could more effectually operate to keep these classes away. Scarcely two months have elapsed since sixty-three merchants from Southern China, coming to the United States for commercial purposes, were prevented from landing at San Francisco, because their certificates disclosed that a word had not been translated from the Chinese original into the English—a lack which may have been as much the fault of the American representative in China who *viséd* the papers as of the Chinese official who issued them. The English version recited that they were merchants, but did not state what kind of merchants.

"The Chinese official representatives in the United States tried hard to secure the landing of these people upon some kind of an arrangement whereby they would not be put to the loss and inconvenience of returning to China merely to have such a small defect corrected. But the department was inexorable, ignoring all former decisions and precedents. No regard was paid as to how much these intending purchasers in American markets lost by the delay, nor was there any doubt expressed as to whether or not they had come to this country to buy their goods. They were compelled to return to China, and the reports received from them state that they will make their purchases in England.

"Nor is this harshness confined to the visitors from China. It is extended with even more severity to resident Chinese merchants who go to China intending to return to their business in this country. Many of the Chinese merchants of the United States are exporters to China, and find it necessary to go there once in a few years to look after their affairs. Under a recent ruling of the department this trade promises to be entirely broken up; for it cannot be imagined that henceforth any merchant will attempt to go to China with any serious hopes of ever getting back to his business in this country."

IS THE "OPEN DOOR" GUARANTEED?

IN the *National Review* for June, Mr. R. Yerburgh, M.P., has a paper entitled "Count Muravieff's Triumph," in which he quotes from the correspondence of our State Department with the European powers in the matter of the "open door" in China, and seems to show that Russia has given no definite assurance as to equal treatment at all. The following is an extract from Count Muravieff's letter of December 18:

"In so far as the territory leased by China to Russia is concerned, the Imperial Government has already demonstrated its firm intention to follow the policy of the 'open door' by creating

Dalny (Talienwan) a free port; and if at some future time that port, although remaining free itself, should be separated by a customs limit from other portions of the territory in question, the customs duties would be levied, in the zone subject to the tariff, upon all foreign merchants without distinction as to nationality."

WHAT THE UNITED STATES PROPOSED.

Mr. Yerburgh interprets this to mean that Russia only guarantees that foreign merchants will obtain equal treatment, but that Russian merchants, not being foreign, may obtain preferential treatment. The exact proposals made by the United States were that each power should guarantee—

"1. That it will in nowise interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called 'sphere of interest' or leased territory it may have in China.

"2. That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within such 'sphere of interest' (unless they be 'free ports'), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

"3. That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such 'sphere' than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality—and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within its 'sphere' on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such 'spheres' than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationality transported over equal distances."

WERE THE PROPOSALS ACCEPTED?

All the powers, with the exception of Russia, agreed to make the declaration asked for on the condition that a similar declaration was made by the other powers concerned. But only Great Britain and Italy have expressly agreed to make it. Mr. White, the American *chargé d'affaires*, sent Lord Salisbury copies of the replies received from the powers, adding that, as all the powers had complied with the United States' proposals, he would consider Lord Salisbury's consent final and definitive. Lord Salisbury consented to this; and Mr. Yerburgh naturally wants to know how Lord Salisbury, with Russia's reply before him, could have admitted that the United States was justified in asserting that her proposals had been accepted. "It is another triumph of the astute Muscovite over the confiding Anglo-Saxon," says Mr. Yerburgh, philosophically.

THE PROBLEM OF CENTRAL ASIA.

IN the *Fortnightly Review* for June, Mr. Demetrius C. Boulger makes a plea for a definite agreement on England's part with the Afghan Ameer as to the defense of his country, and at the same time for a definite declaration to Russia of England's determination to uphold its integrity. The article is a very reasonable one, and is interesting just now as recalling the fact that the far East is not the only spot over which Great Britain may at any moment find herself in acute antagonism to Russia.

THE TWO POLICIES.

Practically there are only two policies which England can adopt with regard to Afghanistan. The first is the maintenance of its integrity, and the second the division of the country with Russia. It is the former policy which Mr. Boulger advocates; and the further purpose of his article is to show how to make this policy definite and effective. England should, he says, first give a definite pledge to the Ameer to uphold his sovereignty under all circumstances. The present pledge is merely a qualified one. She should then make a definite statement that she should regard a Russian advance as a *casus belli*. She should pacify the Ameer by receiving a diplomatic agent in London.

NO DIVISION.

The advantage of this policy is that it would conciliate the Ameer and remove his doubts as to England's reliability; thus drawing him probably to England's side, and making him her ally. Russia could not resent this step, as she has often declared Afghanistan to be outside her sphere of interest.

For the alternative policy of dividing the country with Russia there is nothing to be said. The most difficult and intractable part of the population would fall to England's share. If the Russians were to seize Herat, the Afghans would not regard it as a serious blow to their independence; whereas if England, acquiescing in the Russian advance, were to seize Kabul and Kandahar as compensation, they would look on their independence as destroyed. Such a step would alienate the Afghans and assist the Russians. England's prudent course would be to keep within her present frontiers and allow Russia to advance, leaving it to the Ameer to decide when the Anglo-Indian army should advance to his support. Any other policy might result in throwing the Afghans into Russia's arms, and there would be no reason why they should not act as Russia's advance-guard of invasion, as they did for Asiatic invaders in the past.

A CLAIM FOR TELEGRAPHS.

In return for a definite guarantee against invasion, England might ask the Ameer to allow the construction of telegraphs and the establishment of agents along the frontiers she had undertaken to defend, at the same time leaving the defense of the frontier primarily to the Afghans themselves.

JAPAN AND KOREA.

IN the *United Service Magazine* for June, Capt. R. J. Byford Mair, of the Royal Engineers, gives a brief exposition of the Korean question as it appears to the Japanese "man in the street." He says:

"The independence of the Korean kingdom has always been looked upon by Japan, before and since it entered the arena of the great nations, as essential to its welfare, if not to its very existence. The Japanese have fought to preserve it; and in 1894, when they entered upon the war with China, they fully believed that they were about to settle the question one way or the other—if not forever, at least for many generations to come. Unfortunately for them, as we now know, they were reckoning without all their hosts. At the conclusion of the war, three European powers, at the instigation of one of them, stepped in to deprive them of the fruits of victory; and, as it turned out, a permanent solution of the question was farther off than ever, owing to the 'come-to-stay' appearance on the scene of a great power which claimed a voice in any settlement which might be proposed. Since the Treaty of Shimonoseki was ratified, there has been a perpetual struggle—checked for a time, perhaps, by the convention of April, 1898, but since renewed with redoubled vigor on both sides—between Russia and Japan to obtain a predominating influence in Korea. The pendulum swings first to one side and then to the other; at one moment Russia seems to have at length obtained the firm footing in the peninsula for which she is incessantly striving, but at the next it becomes evident that this is more apparent than real. The pendulum then swings in favor of Japan, who ousts her rival from the premier position only to be herself ousted in turn. This has happened so often, and the struggle is so persistent and continuous, that shrewd observers on the spot declare that there can be only one end to it all, and that hostilities alone can settle the question as to who is to permanently obtain a predominant influence. Japan, with her formidable fleet and highly trained army, will not lightly consent to be overridden by Russia or anybody else on a question which she considers

of vital importance to her future welfare ; and Russia has apparently made up her mind that she is destined to absorb Korea, as she has absorbed so much other territory. Some day, therefore, one side will have to give way to the other. Which will it be ? It will be then that the people of Japan, as Lord Salisbury has told us, will step in and decide whether they are prepared to again have recourse to the *ultima ratio*, the strength of their own right arm, to decide the question at issue."

MR. BRYAN ON THE ISSUE IN THE CAMPAIGN.

MR. BRYAN'S article in the *North American Review* for June is a notable deliverance. Presidential candidates in this country have usually preserved a discreet silence respecting campaign issues until their parties have made formal declarations of principles. Mr. Bryan has chosen not to wait for the Democratic platform of 1900 to be adopted and promulgated, but has framed and announced his own platform through the medium of this *North American* article. No letter of acceptance of a nomination, the candidate's time-honored and recognized channel of communication with the members of his party, could give a more explicit statement of views as to the questions of the hour in American politics than is embodied in this article, published with no semblance of official party sanction.

The very title of the paper is significant—"The Issue in the Presidential Campaign." Mr. Bryan believes that the various questions now agitating the public mind in this country are but different aspects of the one dominant issue—"the issue between plutocracy and democracy. All the questions under discussion will, in their last analysis, disclose the conflict between the dollar and the man—a conflict as old as the human race, and one which will continue as long as the human race endures."

SIXTEEN TO ONE AGAIN.

Mr. Bryan leaves no doubt as to his position on the question of free silver *versus* the gold standard. After speaking of the demonetization of the silver dollar in 1873, he declares that for 23 years after that action the dominant party was controlled by the financiers and the gold standard maintained in spite of popular protest, although every party was pledged to restore the double standard.

"In 1896 the Democrats refused to be any longer parties to the duplicity, and took an open and unequivocal position in favor of the immediate restoration of bimetalism by the independent action of this country at the present legal

ratio. This positive and definite platform was necessary because of the cunningly devised evasions and ambiguities which had been written into the platforms of the two leading parties. The Republican leaders, on the other hand, continued their policy of deception, and held out to the Republican bimetalists of the West the delusive hope of an international agreement, while they openly promised the Eastern believers in monometallism that the gold standard would be maintained *until an international agreement could be secured*, and secretly assured them that that meant forever.

"After the election, the administration adopted a double-standard method of dealing with the subject. A commission was sent to Europe to plead for international bimetalism, while a gold-standard Secretary of the Treasury was openly at work in this country defending monometallism. In 1896 the money question occupied by far the greater portion of public attention. Since 1896 the same sordid doctrine that manifested itself in the gold standard has manifested itself in several new ways, and to-day three questions contest for primacy—the money question, the trust question, and imperialism. There are several other questions of scarcely less importance, but the lines of division upon these run practically parallel with the lines which separate the people upon the three greater ones. If a man opposes the gold standard, trusts, and imperialism,—all three,—the chances are a hundred to one that he is in favor of arbitration, the income tax, and the election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people, and is opposed to government by injunction and the blacklist. If a man favors the gold standard, the trusts, and imperialism,—all three,—the chances are equally great that he regards the demand for arbitration as an impertinence, defends government by injunction and the blacklist, views the income tax as a discouragement to thrift, and will oppose the election of Senators by the people as soon as he learns that it will lessen the influence of corporations in the Senate. When a person is with the Democrats on one or two of these questions, but not on all, his position on the subordinate questions is not so easily calculated. The human mind is consistent, but time is required for the application of fundamental principles to all these questions."

In Mr. Bryan's opinion the contest between monometallism and bimetalism is a world-wide contest, and must go on until silver is once more a money metal equal with gold, or until the gold standard becomes universal.

Admitting that we have largely increased our supply of gold in the last three years, the action

of England in placing India upon the gold standard is likely to cause a drain on that supply. The fall of prices will be temporarily retarded by the increased production of gold, but silver will still be required as a standard money in the long run.

"It is needless to discuss the ratio, since there is no division of sentiment among those who are actually trying to secure bimetallism. There is a positive, earnest, and active force behind the present legal ratio of sixteen to one; there is no positive, earnest, or active force behind any other ratio. Neither is it any longer necessary to discuss international bimetallism. The contest upon this question must be between those who believe in the gold standard on the one side and, on the other side, those who believe in a financial policy made by the American people for themselves."

THE TRUST QUESTION.

On the trust, as on the money question, says Mr. Bryan, the line is drawn between those who believe that money is the only thing to be considered and those who believe that the people have rights that should be respected.

Mr. Bryan demands legislation against private monopoly in every form. "The power to control the price of anything which the people need cannot safely be trusted to any private individual or association of individuals, because selfishness is universal, and the temptation to use such a power for personal advantage is too great."

"While State legislatures can do much, Congressional action is necessary to complete the destruction of the trusts. A State can prevent the creation of a monopoly within its borders, and can also exclude a foreign monopoly. But this remedy is not sufficient; for, if a monopoly really exists and is prevented from doing business in any State, the people of that State will be deprived of the use of that particular article until it can be produced within the State. Instead of shutting a monopoly out of one State and leaving it forty-four States to do business in, we should shut it up in the State of its origin and take the other forty-four away from it. This can be done by an act of Congress making it necessary for a corporation, organized in any State, to take out a license from the Federal Government before doing business outside of that State; the license not to interfere, however, with regulations imposed by other States. Such a license, granted only upon evidence that there is no water in the stock of the corporation, and that it has not attempted and is not attempting to monopolize any branch of business or the production of any article of merchandise, would

compel the dissolution of existing monopolies and prevent the creation of new ones."

"IMPERIALISM."

On the subject of our policy in the Philippines Mr. Bryan is distinctly and unequivocally "agin the Government." The following paragraphs from his article embody some of his more striking thoughts regarding the "imperialism" of President McKinley's administration:

"The theory that our race is divinely appointed to seize by force or purchase at auction groups of 'inferior people,' and govern them, with benevolent purposes avowed and with trade advantages on the side, carries us back to the creed of kings and to the gospel of force."

"There are degrees of intelligence; some people can and do govern themselves better than others, and it is possible that the people living near the equator will never, owing to climatic conditions, reach the governmental standards of the temperate zone. But it is absurd to say that God would create the Filipinos and then leave them for thousands of years helpless, until Spain found them and threw her protecting arms around them; and it is equally absurd to say that Spain could sell to us the right to act as guardians of a people whom she governed by force."

"One of the great objections to imperialism is that it destroys our proud preëminence among the nations. When the doctrine of self-government is abandoned, the United States will cease to be a moral factor in the world's progress. We cannot preach the doctrine that governments come up from the people, and at the same time practice the doctrine that governments rest upon brute force. We cannot set a high and honorable example for the emulation of mankind while we roam the world like beasts of prey seeking whom we may devour."

THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION CITY.

IN the July *Cosmopolitan*, Mr. Charles S. Gleed gives an account of Kansas City, the town in which the Democratic National Convention is about to meet as this magazine appears. Mr. Gleed assures his readers that the theaters and hotels of Kansas City are in advance of those of any other city of like size in the country, and that there will be no danger of failure in the entertainment of the great company to assemble July 4th for the nomination of Democratic candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States. The great hall in which the Democratic National Convention will be held has just been reconstructed. It was originally built less than two years ago by popular subscription,

and was destroyed by fire about three months ago. Before the fire had been subdued, a new subscription had been started and the whole structure built anew. It will hold 22,500 people, and is said by critics to be the most perfect building of its kind in the United States—if not in the world. The new building has been made almost fireproof.

THE GREAT BOOM OF 1875.

Kansas City has, in Mr. Gleed's words, "had to work for a living." She has come into her present vigor and prosperity by the sweat of her brow. She had her notable "boom, beginning about 1875." For ten years or more, it was difficult to make any real-estate investment in the city that did not yield a profit—or offer to yield one. It is doubtful if any such carnival of city real-estate speculation ever occurred anywhere else in this country. The platted land about the city extended out and out until, if the lots had been well occupied, the city would have been almost as large as London. "Prices went up and up. Every profit made the speculators bolder, and this boldness stiffened prices. Year after year this reciprocal stimulation of the real-estate market was kept up, and the ultimate victims multiplied accordingly. The end came, and values fell with a crash. Scarcely a man escaped. Banks broke, and thousands who thought themselves rich were proved to be bankrupt or permanently crippled. . . . But the bad dream passed, and courage returned to those who survived the wreck; and at this time little remains to tell the tale of the great debauch, except an unusual proportion of vacant lots in the business part of the city. In the long run this may be a good thing, as it will likely influence the erection of ampler buildings with larger ground-space, and not so much invasion of the upper air."

THE STRATEGIC POSITION OF THE CITY.

Kansas City is surrounded by an ocean of fat land studded with mines and garnished with forests—both of fabulous extent and value. From the wheat-loaded plains of the far north to the cotton-covered leagues of the south, there is scarcely an acre that is not fruitful beyond any like area elsewhere in the world.

"All the people of the earth could be fed from

the land within a circle of a 1,000-mile radius around Kansas City. Not only could they be fed, but all their other necessities could be supplied. Iron, oil, lumber, gold, silver, coal, salt—everything which men must use, or may well use, comes out of this magic circle of which Kansas City is the center. Thus it is not strange that we see wonderful figures made by Kansas City's business institutions. Last year in her packing-houses 2,646,073 swine ran down a steep place into hot water. Nearly a million



Courtesy of the *Cosmopolitan*.

UNION DEPOT AND WHOLESALE DISTRICT, KANSAS CITY.

head of cattle rendered unto the packers the things that are the packers'. The stockyards handled over 6,000,000 head of live-stock, worth \$121,706,632. Three hundred and fifty thousand barrels of flour were turned out of her mills. The horse and mule merchants handled 31,677 horses and mules. She received bushels of grain as follows: wheat, 20,341,100; corn, 8,682,750; oats, 2,388,000; rye, 183,300; barley, 17,600. Kansas City sells more agricultural implements than any other town; she has the largest horse and mule stables in the world, and the largest live-stock market in the Union except Chicago. She is second to Chicago only as a railroad center. Last year her bank-clearings were \$648,270,711, and on December 2 of last year her bank deposits were \$49,018,130. Her wholesale business amounted to \$225,000,000."

THE CITY FROM A SCENIC POINT OF VIEW.

In the early days, Kansas City was a town of unexampled roughness and disorder. "The day of decoration in time arrived. Streets were well paved. Unsightly bluffs were dumped into hideous gulches. Palaces were built. Engineers and gardeners scattered gentle slopes and pleasing curves in liberal profusion. Trees and flowers

gladdened the eye, and blue grass carpeted the hills. Then the park idea took possession of the people, and a park system really entitled to be called magnificent was brought into existence. Nearly two thousand acres of well-chosen and well-distributed park land is justly the pride of the people. The roughest part of the area is the steep bluff-side which overlooks the Union Station. It is now covered with squatters' cabins, and is as unlovely as neglect and disfiguration can make it. Soon it will blossom as the rose, and furnish a sweet retreat from the dust and heat of the great yards below. A part of the park system will overlook the Kansas Valley, a part the Missouri Valley, and other parts will be in the middle and on the circumference of the city. From the beautiful Country Club on the south to the stately bluffs overlooking the Missouri Valley on the north, there will be a chain of charming parks and boulevards."

HUNTING IN THE INDIAN GHAUTS.

MR. CASPAR WHITNEY, the editor of *Outing* under its new proprietorship, and indeed one of the proprietors himself, has already strikingly improved the contents and appearance of this magazine. Mr. Whitney believes with earnestness and enthusiasm that there is a real and extensive literature of sport, and certainly no man is better fitted to prove this than he. In the July number of *Outing*, there are many attractive features, not only to the sportsman proper, but to every one who has a mind for outdoor recreation. Among these is a description by Mr. Herbert Hudson of hunting "In the Jungles of the Ghauts." The Ghauts, as Mr. Kipling has taught a great many Americans, are a range of mountains in Mysore, running down the west coast. The hills are from 2,000 to 6,000 feet high, and the district is one of the most productive in India, especially for coffee-growing. Yet there are very few Europeans, and the natives believe in a life of aboriginal simplicity, and vary their farming with the hunting of wild animals in the yet undisturbed jungle. Mr. Hudson describes the methods of the beat, in which the sportsmen may be armed with guns or native bow and arrows. The bow is made of seasoned bamboo, and the string is made of a strip of the same wood. The arrows are formidable-looking shafts, furnished with sharp steel points.

"A likely bit of cover having been fixed on, the shooters are ranged around it in horseshoe form, while a party of from ten to twenty beaters walk through in line shouting and yelling, so as to drive out the quarry.

"There are few things more exciting than a

beat in the jungle. Though one may have to wait drive after drive without seeing anything, yet one can never be certain that something will not come out, even at the last moment; for though animals as a rule start off at the slightest sound, deer will very often lie very close, and come out immediately in front of the beaters. Then, again, we never know what is going to come out; it may be a barking deer or it may be a tiger.

"When the first sound is heard of an animal knocking against the hollow bamboos, one is raised to a great pitch of expectancy; the noise comes in waves, which echo and reverberate through the forest. Every now and then it ceases as the animal stops to listen; then it recommences, gradually coming nearer and nearer, yet its direction is very difficult to locate, and one requires a practiced ear to judge where the animal will come out."

The most extraordinary method of hunting is that of the hillman in capturing deer:

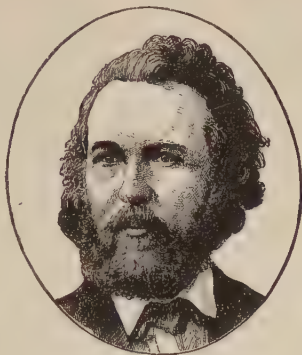
"Patient observation discovers a favorite deer-haunt, where the animals, after grazing their fill, lie down and chew the cud at ease. This spot is carefully surrounded by a considerable number of men, each provided with a tiny tom-tom. The object is not to frighten the herd to any great degree, as that would probably end in their breaking through the cordon and escaping; so, by a gentle tapping of the drum and an occasional gleam of a torch, they keep the hemmed-in animals in a state of alarm, sufficiently prolonged to prevent the frightened creatures chewing the cud.

"The consequence is that after a few hours the herbage consumed by the deer remains undigested, their stomachs swell, and they are prevented from running as fast as they originally could. When the men see that the deer are in this state they let slip their pariah dogs, and arming themselves with bows and arrows, knives, clubs, and whatever comes handy, go for the well-nigh helpless deer, and invariably make a good bag."

ERNST HAECKEL AND THE NEW ZOOLOGY.

DR. HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS contributes to the July number of *Harper's* one of his excellent articles on the scientific achievements of the nineteenth century, occupying himself in this essay with "Prof. Ernst Haeckel and the New Zoology." Professor Haeckel is at the University of Jena. He is Germany's greatest naturalist, and "one of the most philosophical zoologists of any country or any age." Haeckel has trained his attention to the study of animal life rather than vegetable life. He is an artist

as well as a great scientist, and, aside from numberless technical drawings, he has made hundreds of paintings which show esthetic feeling as well as scientific accuracy. It is astonishing that Haeckel should have such a wide range of mind when one considers what his initial work in the furtherance of scientific knowledge has been. Dr. Williams says there is probably no man living whose mind contains a larger store of technical scientific facts; nor a man who has enriched zoology with a larger number of new data.



PROF. ERNST HAECKEL.

"Thus the text alone of the monograph on the radiolarians, a form of microscopic sea animalcule, is a work of three gigantic volumes, weighing, as Professor Haeckel laughingly remarks, some thirty pounds, and representing twelve years of hard labor. This particular monograph, by the bye, is written in English (of which, as of several other languages, Professor Haeckel is perfect master), and has a history of more than ordinary interest. It appears that the radiolarians were discovered, about a half-century ago, by Johannes Müller, who made an especial study of them, which was uncompleted at the time of his death, in 1858. His monograph, describing the fifty species then known, was published posthumously. Haeckel, on whom the mantle of the great teacher was to fall, and who had been Müller's last pupil, took up the work his revered master had left unfinished as his own first great original 'Arbeit.'"

Within a short time Haeckel had discovered, at Messina, 150 new species of radiolarians, trebling the whole number previously known; and when Professor Murray brought back from the expedition of the ship *Challenger* samples of mud dredged from the bottom of the ocean, it was found that every particle of this ocean slime was the shell of a radiolarian, and Haeckel spent twelve years separating these into no less than 4,000 new species, all of which he figured, described, and christened.

The genius of the great naturalist transforms this deadly mass of fact into a certain message of world history by showing that the radiolarians, insignificant as they seem, have really taken an extraordinary share in building up the

crust of the earth. For the ooze at the bottom of the sea, which finally becomes metamorphosed into chalk or stone, is but the aggregation of the shells of dead radiolarians.

Haeckel became famous to the world at large when he published a popular abridgment of the great technical work on morphology, under the title, "The Natural History of Creation," in which Haeckel at once made the logical application of the Darwinian theory to man himself, and became the great Continental champion of Darwinism.

HAECKEL AT HOME.

Dr. Williams describes his visit to Professor Haeckel in his workshop at the University of Jena: "To reach his laboratory, you walk down a narrow lane, past Schiller's house and the garden where Schiller and Goethe used to sit, and where now the new observatory stands. Haeckel's laboratory itself is a simple oblong building of yellowish brick, standing on a jutting point of land high above the street-level. Entering it, your eye is first caught by a set of simple panels in the wall opposite the door, bearing six illustrious names: Aristotle, Linné, Lamarck, Cuvier, Müller, Darwin—a Greek, a Swede, two Frenchmen, a German, and an Englishman. Such a list is significant." It tells of the cosmopolitan spirit that here holds sway.

THE PERSONALITY OF THE GREAT NATURALIST.

"Haeckel himself is domiciled, when not instructing his classes, in a comfortable but plain room across the hall—a room whose windows look out across the valley of the Saale on an exquisite mountain landscape, with the clean-cut mountain that Schiller's lines made famous at its focus. As you enter the room, a big, robust man steps quickly forward to grasp your hand. Six feet or more in height, compactly built without corpulence, erect, vigorous, even athletic; with florid complexion and clear, laughing, light-blue eyes that belie the white hair and whitening beard; the *ensemble* personifying at once kindness and virility, simplicity and depth—above all, frank, fearless honesty, without a trace of pose or affectation—such is Ernst Haeckel. There is something about his simple, frank, earnest, sympathetic yet robust, masculine personality that reminds one instantly, as does his facial contour also, of Walt Whitman."

HOW A GERMAN SCIENTIST WORKS.

Dr. Williams shows that Professor Haeckel is the personification of orderliness and initiative energy. He at one time worked as Englishmen do, but went back to the German method.

"Thus I, who am an early riser, begin work at five in summer and six in winter, after the customary light breakfast of coffee and rolls. I do not take a second breakfast at ten or eleven, as many Germans do, but work continuously until one o'clock, when I have dinner. This with me, as with all Germans, is the hearty meal of the day. After dinner I take a half-hour's nap; then read the newspaper or chat with my family for an hour, and perhaps go for a long walk. At about four, like all Germans, I take my cup of coffee, but without cake or other food. Then at four, having had three full hours of brain rest and diversion, I am ready to go to work again, and can accomplish four hours more of work without undue fatigue. At eight I have my rather light supper, and after that I attempt no further work, giving the evening to reading, conversation, or other recreation. I do not retire till rather late, as I require only five or six hours' sleep."

In consequence of these regular hours, and in spite of this enormous labor, Haeckel looks, at sixty-five, according to Dr. Williams, as if he were good for at least a score of years of further effort.

THE THYROID GLAND.

AMONG the recent important discoveries in medicine are the possibilities the doctors have found stored up in the thyroid gland. The *Revue de Médecine* for May 10 contains the fourth paper in a series on "Fonctions du corps thyroïde," in which Dr. Gabriel Gauthier reports the results of his experiments.

This gland lies in the throat, in the neighborhood of the larynx. As a gland, it would naturally be expected to secrete something to be used in the system, yet it has no duct as an outlet for any secretion. Its *raison d'être*, if it really had one, was a puzzle to physicians for a long time, and various unimportant functions were attributed to it. Within a few years a relation was found to exist between this gland and the disease known as goiter. Patients afflicted with the disease had abnormal thyroids, and this observation was followed by the unexpected discovery that they could be successfully treated by administering a preparation of the gland, preferably the thyroid of a young sheep. We are familiar with the much-advertised correcting of too prominent noses, the treatment of eyelids to secure any desired expression, and other triumphs of surgery in the cause of beauty; but it was a surprise to learn, from sources beyond question of reliability, that thyroid was a cure for arrested development, and that persons who, from some cause, had not grown to their natural size had been

successfully treated with this remedy, even when they had passed the period of growth and had reached the mature age of twenty or twenty-seven years. In contrast to this, victims of obesity might find surcease from their trouble by using the same remedy, which is the best one known, except for cases that require dieting. Gauthier is of the opinion that many cases of obesity are due to insufficient development of the thyroid, and abnormal thinness to a too great development of it.

Further, the discovery gave a new ray of hope for feeble-minded children; for since idiocy in many instances is due to the arrested growth of the brain, it follows that thyroid may often be used with good results for these pitifully afflicted members of our communities. Examination of a large number of imbecile and half-witted individuals showed more or less degeneration of the gland. Thyroid administered to children suffering from myxedemic idiocy produced growth in the whole bony system, including the cranium.

A very striking case cited is that of a child showing symptoms of mental perversion, including kleptomania, upon whom excellent results were produced by stimulation of the thyroid. When we consider that all of our activities are controlled by the nervous system, this is not difficult to understand. Thyroid is effective in many nervous troubles, and in general may be said to first influence the nervous system in its development, and later to affect its nutrition.

THE THYROID TREATMENT FOR DISEASES.

The gland apparently plays a very important rôle in all nutritive processes, and is concerned in a number of diseases. Several skin diseases, diseases of the bone, unstable nerves, cardiac excitability, rachitis, and many other pathological conditions, as well as many natural developmental processes, are attended with changes in this gland. Cases of fracture that did not heal properly were quickly cured by the thyroid treatment. In fact, any pathological condition that results from an error in nutrition may be traced to a disturbance of the activity of this gland, and may be alleviated by treatment with it.

The disease known as acromegaly, or gigantism, in which the bones become abnormally enlarged and a giant is formed, is caused by disease in the pituitary body—a small body on the lower side of the brain, which has one lobe identical in structure with the thyroid.

There is apparently a series of glands that preside over growth processes; the thymus, which regulates pre-natal growth and degenerates early in life, the thyroid, the amygdalæ and the pituitary body.

RADIOCULTURE.

THIS is the name which the astronomer, M. Camille Flammarion, has given to the branch of physical research suggested by his experiments with plant-growing in colored light. Mr. G. C. Nuttall furnishes a most interesting account of these experiments in *Pearson's* (London) for June. The astronomer erected four small greenhouses in the grounds of the Observatory of Juvisy—glazed-red, green, blue, white, respectively. In these he put seedlings of uniform age and development of the sensitive plant (*mimosa*), and left them to grow for three months, with these results:

"The plants in the ordinary conservatory had grown in a normal manner, and had attained a height of nearly four inches.

UNDER BLUE GLASS.

"Those in the blue glasshouse had not made the slightest improvement; they were precisely as they had been planted three months before; in fact, they can best be described as plants in a trance. They were alive and seemingly quite healthy, but absolutely undeveloped. As they had been planted so they remained; to all appearance they might have fallen asleep on the day of their entry into blueness, and never have awakened to set about growing.

UNDER GREEN.

"In the green glasshouse, the plants had shown a large amount of energy, and had pushed up to a height half as great again as that attained by those in the ordinary conservatory. There was no doubt that the atmosphere of green had stimulated their growth upwards, though, on the other hand, they were not so well developed or so bushy as the others.

UNDER RED.

"But it was in the red glasshouse that the most striking results were apparent. In this the seedlings had simply leaped into stature; they were four times as tall as their contemporaries of normal growth, and they were actually more than fifteen times the size of the little plants which had slept in the blue light. Moreover, they alone of all the seedlings had flowered."

Their sensitiveness had under the red rays become hyper-sensitiveness, while under the blue rays it had passed into complete insensitiveness. These differences might, it was thought, be due to the differences in luminosity and temperature: so all four houses were made identical in temperature and intensity of light, and the results were practically the same. Similar experiments with other plants produced differences as remarkable.

UTILITY OF RED GLASSHOUSES.

The writer naturally concludes that radioculture has a future before it, and that we are only on the threshold of the transformations which it may effect. He proceeds:

"As far as real practical use is concerned, it is early yet to predict; but it certainly seems as though red glasshouses might, with great advantage, become part of the stock-in-trade of the florist and gardener as an additional and most useful adjunct to his present forcing arrangements. Such a remarkable stimulant to plant life as red light proves to be cannot be overlooked long."

EFFECT OF COLOR ON SILKWORMS.

An even more tempting glimpse into further knowledge is offered by experiments with animal organisms:

"Silkworms were kept under variously colored glasses, and their development carefully watched. It was found that the quantity of silk produced, the number of eggs, even the actual proportion of the sexes, were largely affected by the color of the light in which they lived."

ON THE LANGUAGE OF BIRDS.

IN the *Revue des Revues*, there is a curious article on "The Language of Birds." At the end of last century a distinguished political economist, M. Dupont de Nemours, sallied forth into the fields to learn the languages of the crow and the nightingale. After two winters' shivering about the highways and hedges, he had made out twenty-five words of crow-language. It must not be supposed, however, that crow-language is poor because its words number but twenty-five. "The crows have only to combine them by twos, by threes, by fours, or by fives, and they will get a number of combinations surpassing the number of words contained by the richest language in the universe." M. Nemours does not think, however, that the crows do actually make so many, or even any, combinations of the words in their dictionary. Their twenty-five words are quite enough to express "here," "there," "hot," "cold," "take care," "armed man," "a nest," and a score or more of expressions which crows might naturally be supposed to need. "After which crows have not much left to say." M. Nemours' dictionary was not a crow-French or a French-crow dictionary; rather, he translated his crow words into verse. M. Nemours made many other discoveries while with the birds. The goldfinch, linnet, and garden warbler he found sang of nothing but their loves; but the chaffinch sang also of its *amour*.

propre—conceited bird; while the male lark pours out its soul in a hymn on the beauties of nature, and the vigor with which it soars aloft, rising higher and higher before the eyes of its admiring mate. The nightingale was very communicative; it told the French naturalist three of its songs.

SPARROW-TALK.

But German naturalists, always *gründlich*, have pursued their researches into comparative bird-philology even farther. One of their celebrated ornithologists tells us that the language of the sparrow may be used as a standard of comparison for that of several species:

“‘Dieb’ is the cry which they utter when on the wing, ‘schilp’ when perching; and these are their two cries for attracting attention. When they are eating or at rest, they may be continually heard repeating ‘dieb,’ ‘bilp,’ or ‘bioum.’ Their cries of tenderness are ‘durr and die, die;’ ‘terr,’ pronounced with force and rolling of the ‘r,’ means the approach of danger;—it is a signal of warning. Should the peril increase, or an enemy have suddenly appeared, they utter another cry, which may be distinguished: ‘tellerelltelletell.’ If the sparrow is safe, the bird of prey or the cat having disappeared, he repeats gently, several times over, ‘durr.’ When the male birds are disputing the possession of a female, ‘tell, tell, silp, den, dell, dieb, schilk,’ etc., comes from every throat, producing the deafening noise heard especially in spring”—all simple words enough, except one, which will probably be found peculiar to sparrows of German origin.

Mr. Barington, vice-president of the Royal Society of London, also an acute bird observer, is quoted as saying that hardly two birds of the same kind have a song exactly similar. Locality also influences their songs, the same bird singing differently in the mountains and in the plains. Tracing back the language of man to its most primitive beginnings, is it so very different in nature or in origin from the language of the crows and nightingales?

HYPNOTISM IN EDUCATION.

IN the July *Harper's*, Dr. John D. Quackenbos writes on “The Educational Use of Hypnotism,” and claims some very important uses of the hypnotic power in quickening the mental grasp of various subjects of study. Dr. Quackenbos has applied hypnotism profitably in cases of backward and erratic children, voice-culture, development of musical talent, and the inspiration of writers and actresses, and he believes suggestion is a legitimate and thoroughly scientific tool in the hands of a careful and well-trained hypnotist.

HYPNOTISM IN TRAINING CHILDREN.

“A troubled mother writes to inquire whether a child of six years can be satisfactorily influenced by hypnotic suggestion—‘a sensitive, nervous, high-strung, exceedingly affectionate boy, but cursed with a painful lack of courage in his contact with other boys. This leads to a perpetual persecution by his companions, besides being in itself deplorable, inasmuch as it is a trait indicating lack of manliness. By nature he is exceptionally truthful, but at times I suspect this supreme timidity may lead to deception through fear of consequences. Do you think this defect can be successfully overcome by hypnotic suggestion?’

“My reply to such an inquiry is that the child as pictured is a perfect subject for hypnotic treatment, which will convert the cry-baby into a resolute, manly boy; the unhappy, cringing coward into a model of bravery and truth.

“There are children who are unnaturally stupid, of sluggish intellect, born without the ordinary ability to concentrate thought or rivet attention, with defective memories, easily confused, embarrassingly self-conscious, so that the mind becomes a blank under the pressure of a necessity for reflection; or, if thoughts are there, the vocal mechanism refuses to express them. For these conditions, as well as for habitual indolence, disinclination to exertion and cowardice, hypnotism is the philosophical treatment. Where medication, moral influences, institutional discipline, change of scene and companionships, are of no avail, carefully directed suggestion in the hypnotic state, if confidently persevered in, is, humanly speaking, sure to awaken intellectual perception, impart mental alertness, improve the memory conditions, and substitute self-reliance for diffidence and timidity.”

HYPNOTIC AIDS IN MUSIC-TEACHING.

Dr. Quackenbos describes various instances of the pathological order, and then a class of cases which differ in kind from these—such as the use of hypnotism with intelligent people who understand the philosophy of suggestion, and apply for assistance in their musical work.

“Here the suggestions are framed to meet the special needs of each individual. The subject is hypnotized, and told that the subliminal self is now in the ascendancy; that it has demanded and secured an outlet of expression through the physical organism and the mortal mind; that it will utter itself fearlessly, without diffidence, without thought of extraneous criticism, unerringly, feelingly, triumphantly; that, in order to do this, it has induced the objective self with power to read music, to interpret the

contents, and to render the thought or feeling through the medium of piano-tones evoked by dexterous fingers. An improvement is at once noticed, marked by facility in interpreting new and difficult music, by a sureness and delicacy of touch, and, above all, by the acquisition of perfect confidence before an audience. Proficiency in piano-playing on the part of those who understand the technic is assured in a comparatively short time by suggestive instruction of this nature."

HYPNOTISM TO STRENGTHEN NOVEL WRITERS.

Dr. Quackenbos has had under his own treatment recently a number of persons who use this aid in studying music, and also several ladies who are making a profession of fiction-writing. To the latter were imparted, under hypnotic influences—first, a knowledge of the canons of narration; secondly, of the laws of construction in the case of the novel, its functions and technic, and its legitimate material. This philosophy is readily grasped, assimilated, and utilized in post-hypnotic creation; and the mode of instruction puts out of countenance the conventional wrestling with the precepts of a text-book. In the light of instantaneous apprehension, barrenness gives place to richness of association, the earnest thought and honest toil of the old method to a surprising facility, disinclination to select details to zest in appropriating whatever is available. Opportunity and mood are thus made to coincide, and the subject spontaneously conforms to the eternal principles of style. Under the influence of such inspiration, rapid progress has been made in the chosen field of authorship.

"THE QUARTERLY" ON TOLSTOI.

THE article in the *Quarterly Review* for April on Tolstoi's view of art is chiefly remarkable for two things—for the theory of art advanced in opposition to Tolstoi, and for the writer's outspoken approval of Tolstoi's social criticism. He begins with a fairly comprehensive censure of the great Russian:

"Destitute of all historic sense, impervious to any form of science, and accepting the Gospel only as the nominal text for a religion of his own making, he has become incapable of admitting more than one side to any question, more than one solution to any difficulty, more than one factor in any phenomenon. He has lost all sense of cause and effect, all acquiescence in necessity, and all real trustfulness in the ways of the universe. Most things are wrong—wholly, utterly wrong; their wrongness has never originated in any right, and never will be transformed into

right until—well, until mankind be converted to Tolstoi's theory and practice. Economic and domestic arrangements, laws, politics, religion, all wrong; and now art also."

"THE INSTINCT FOR BEAUTY."

The reviewer meets Tolstoi's scornful exposure of the endless contradictions apparent in the his-



COUNT LEO TOLSTOI.

tory of the philosophy of art with an apology for the backward state of esthetic science—dependent, as it is, on the as yet only partially developed sciences of psychology, sociology, and anthropology. But, he argues, the modern treatment of esthetics is "beginning to put order and lucidity into the subject." His positive theory is put forward by the writer in these sentences:

"The quality called *beauty*, recognized in the most various kinds and styles of art, marks the awakening of a specific sort of pleasure, at present neither analyzable nor explicable, but which, like all the other varieties of pleasure, can be instantly identified, though not described by any one who has experienced it. . . . It is this quality of *beauty*, this specific pleasurable emotion connected with the word *beautiful*, which practically decides the eventual acceptance or rejection of a work of art.

A CATEGORICAL IMPERATIVE.

"The instinct for beauty is not, in all probability, one of the creative faculties of man. It

does not set people working ; it does not drive them to construct, to imitate, or to express, any more than the moral instinct sets people wishing and acting, or the logical instinct sets them reasoning. It is, even more typically than the moral and logical instincts, a *categorical imperative*, which imperiously decides whether given forms are to be tolerated, cherished, or avoided.

"In thus recognizing that the instinct for beauty is not a creative, but a regulative impulse of mankind, modern psychology, so far from diminishing its importance, increases it enormously, and explains it. . . . In a world of life the most complex, overflowing, and organic, not merely negative moral virtue, but physical beauty, as much as intellectual lucidity, is required, and, by the nature of things, will eternally be required and produced."

TOLSTOI "HARDLY EXAGGERATES."

But while emphatically at variance with Tolstoi in asserting the independent authority of the artistic instincts, the reviewer is no less emphatically at one with his author in admitting the present divorce of art from labor and life. The following paragraph is significant, appearing as it does, not in any wild socialistic print, but in the soberest and sedatest organ of British conservatism :

"Nowadays objects of utility, machine-made, and no longer expressive of any preferences, are either totally without esthetic quality, or embody, in a perfunctory and imperfect manner, the superficial and changing esthetic fashions of a very small minority. Nor is this all. The extreme rapidity of scientific discovery and mechanical invention, the growing desire for technical education and hygienic advantage, the race for material comfort, and the struggles for intellectual and social equality—in fact, the whole immense movement of our times, both for good and for evil—have steadily tended to make art less and less a reality even in the lives of the leisured classes, and have resulted in virtually effacing all vestige of it from the lives of working-men. Art, therefore, we may concede to Tolstoi, is in our days largely artificial, often unwholesome, always difficult of appreciation, and, above all, a luxury. Violent and even fanatical as are Tolstoi's words on this subject, they hardly exaggerate the present wrongness of things."

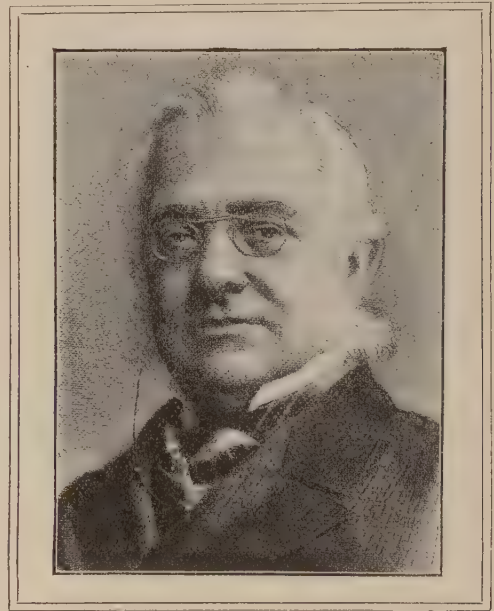
What may be termed the social conviction of sin is certainly ripening when a *Quarterly* reviewer contritely confesses that even Tolstoi "hardly exaggerates the present wrongness of things."

PROF. MAX MÜLLER AT HOME.

IN the *Temple Magazine* for June, Mr. Hugh W. Strong gives us a little picture of Prof. Max Müller in his workshop. He writes:

"Books everywhere! Not a square foot of wall space but is occupied with the varieties among the writings in every language, and out of every nation and people, which have gone to increase Prof. Max Müller's mastery of that profoundly interesting subject, 'The Religions of the World.'

"Of Max Müller it is peculiarly true that the study reveals the student. This 'German Workshop,' from whence the 'Chips' were wont to come with a regularity and sustained interest which



PROF. MAX MÜLLER.

bespoke the concentration and enthusiasm of the worker, is distinguished in all its details by practicality and purposefulness. Everything in its place and a place for everything. The arrangement of the works of reference with which the tall bookcases are packed and piled to the very ceiling is directly designed to facilitate methodical writing."

In reply to various questions, Professor Müller told his interviewer :

"My work is done. There is the 'Rig-Veda' in six large volumes, and the 'Sacred Books of the East' in fifty volumes of translations—my commission from the Oxford University. These really form my life's work. Beyond them are numerous other books and translations, my 'His-

tory of Sanskrit Literature,' my 'Science of Language,' 'Science of Religion,' 'Science of Mythology,' 'History of Indian Philosophy,' etc., while most of my shorter writings are collected in 'Chips from a German Workshop.' Now I feel it high time that I drew in my sails.

"I shall probably go on with my 'Recollections'—'Auld Lang Syne,' you know. But I shall abstain from any great effort. I am asked to contribute to both English and American publications, but can only occasionally comply.

"My methods of work are very simple. 'When I have nothing to do, I work.' Story? I have none to tell you. I was always at work. Here were my pen and paper and books daily, hourly awaiting me. These and my thoughts were sufficient inspiration and incentive. I didn't want recreations. As soon as I felt exhausted I gave up and rested."

HINDOO PRAYERS FOR PROFESSOR MÜLLER'S RECOVERY.

In connection with the professor's recent illness, the following communication from an old and learned Brahmin at Madras has a special interest. The Brahmin writes :

"When I saw the professor was seriously ill, tears trickled down my cheeks unconsciously. When I told my friends who are spending the last days of their life with me, and read with me the 'Bhagavad-gita,' and similar religious books, they were all very much overpowered with grief. Last night, when we were all going to our temple as usual, it was suggested to me that we should have some special service performed by the temple priest for his complete restoration. All my friends followed me to the temple ; but when we told the priest our wish, he raised various objections. He could not, he said, offer prayers and chant hymns in the name of one who is not a Hindoo by birth ; and, if he did so, he would be dismissed from the service and excommunicated by his caste.

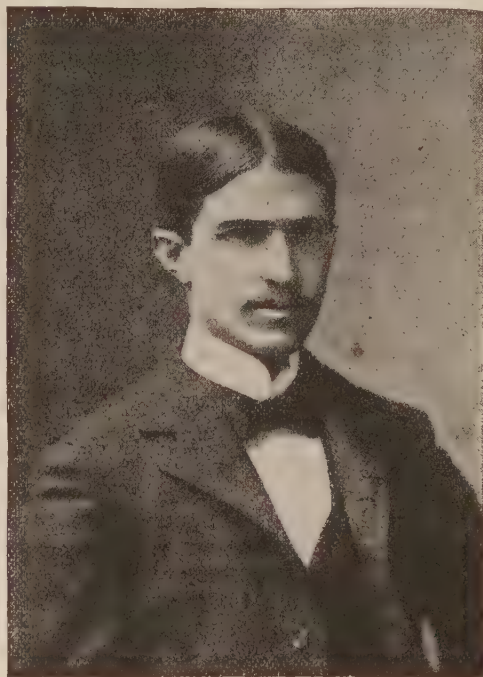
"We discussed the subject with him at length, and told him that Prof. Max Müller, though a European by birth and in garb, was virtually more than a Hindoo. When some of my friends offered to pay him ample remuneration, he at last consented ; and when, the next day, at 11 o'clock at night, we came to the temple with cocoanuts, flowers, betel-leaves, nuts, and camphor, which we handed to the priest, he began to chant the Mantras, and offer prayers to God for about an hour or so. After everything was done, the priest returned to us some of our gifts, and requested that we should send them to Professor Müller."

To this Professor Müller adds :

"It is perfectly true that I was well after that prayer, and, what is more to be remarked,—you may say it is mere coincidence if you will,—after five months of miserable nausea there was a complete change in my constitution within twenty-four hours, when the great German specialists had unanimously anticipated a fatal termination to my illness. I hear that these prayers are continued even now, week after week."

THE LATE STEPHEN CRANE.

THE July *Bookman* has some notes on the life and work of Stephen Crane, who died last month at Baden, after a protracted illness. Mr. Crane was not quite thirty years of age, yet



STEPHEN CRANE.

he had been famous as a writer in England and America for some years, and many discriminating people thought that no one had a greater share of literary prominence among the writers of America. Crane was a New Jersey boy, born in Newark in 1870. He went to school at Lafayette College and Syracuse University, and had already in his undergraduate days developed a yearning for the atmosphere of printer's ink. In 1892 he came to New York and went through the routine discouragements of refusals from newspaper and book publishing sanctums. He had already written a book, "Maggie: A Child of the Streets," but it could not be published except at the author's expense, and young

Crane lived on bread and water to make the necessary money. Mr. Howells and others had, however, remarked a note of genius in the boy's writing. In 1893, at the age of twenty-three, Crane wrote "The Red Badge of Courage." It was published very modestly first in a Philadelphia paper, and was afterward issued in book form by the Appletons, and made the youth famous in England and America. The whole world was astonished that probably the best description of war written in this generation should come from a young man born five years after the termination of the struggle that he described. The universal popularity of Mr. Crane's books in England led him to take up a residence in that country, and he was petted by the most exclusive London literary circles. In the last few years his most important work has been newspaper correspondence, notably in his reporting of the Greco-Turkish war in 1897, and the Cuban filibusters.

THE LATE ARCHIBALD FORBES.

MR. H. W. MASSINGHAM contributes a sketch of Archibald Forbes to the *Leisure Hour* for June. Thus dramatically he describes Forbes' entry upon London daily journalism:

" 'Archibald Forbes from Metz.' In these words, scribbled on a bit of writing-paper, Archibald Forbes made his entry into the great world of war journalism. Fortunately, they were addressed to an excellent judge of men. Sir John Robinson, the manager of the *Daily News*, was—in common with the rest of the world—deeply concerned to know what was happening in the great Prussian *laager* round the French stronghold. So the traveler was promptly shown up to the managerial room. He came in with his dragoon's swagger, his big mustache, his rather fierce gray eyes alight with anger and impatience, a shabby, travel-stained figure. He had been to more than one great newspaper office, and had been repulsed, notwithstanding the obvious value of his work. 'Nice place, London—no one will see you!' he grumbled. Smoothing down the ruffled man, Sir John in a few minutes had his story in plain, abrupt phrases. It was a windfall indeed. Forbes had come straight from the Prussian lines. Though he did not speak German, and represented no paper of first-rate importance, he appeared to have the complete confidence of the authorities. He had passed right through their lines. But he was bothered about a little paper which he owned,—the *London Scotsman*,—long since dead. 'I'll take it over,' cried Sir John, and he did. Forbes was fasting; food and tobacco were found him, and he was set to work in an adjoining room, Sir John watching

anxiously over his new-found treasure. Hour after hour, he wrote, a clear, masterly account of the entire military situation. When he finished, he proposed another task. The Germans were being wrongly accused of ill-treatment of the French, and, full of his subject, he wished to convince the English public of the truth. Sir John shook his head, and Forbes stared fiercely at the refusal. 'You will not do that,' continued Sir John; 'you will do something much better. You will go straight back to Metz as our correspondent.' Forbes asked for £100 in five-franc pieces. In the evening they were found for him. Of his own capacity, he made one modest remark: 'I've one pull over the other fellows,—no compliments, please,—and that is that when the day's work is over I can walk forty miles without tiring; and when your horse is requisitioned by the military, as it often is, that is always a help.' Thus began the career of the most brilliant of war correspondents."

Mr. Massingham thus estimates Forbes' genius:

"Brilliancy was indeed Forbes' special quality. His work had the fine flash and go, the power of instant observation, the gift of easy, adroit expression, the spirit and feeling both of the battle and of the larger task of campaigning, which make the ideal correspondent. Politics troubled him little. He had the soldier's eye for the objective fact; what lay behind it was less important."

A THEATER FOR THE PEOPLE.

ONE of the most interesting articles in the *Contemporary Review* for June is that in which Miss Edith Sellers describes the Schiller People's Theater in Berlin, which was founded by Dr. Lowenfeld in 1893. The object of the founding of the theater was to remove the reproach from the Berliners that their lives were all work and no play, and to give them at the same time recreation and instruction at a price within the means of all.

ITS FOUNDATION.

About nine years ago, Dr. Lowenfeld, then a young journalist and biographer of Tolstoi, started in Berlin a propaganda against too much work and too little amusement. At that time Berlin was occupied with a plethora of schemes for the education of the masses; and when the doctor organized on paper his scheme for a people's theater, he met at first with little sympathy. The difficulties were considerable. The theater had to be self-supporting, and Dr. Lowenfeld had concluded that 12½ cents was as much as the average working-man could pay. But he succeeded in obtaining the assistance of

some influential Berliners, and after making application to some thousands of people, managed to get together a capital of \$25,000. A company was formed and the Schiller Theater rented, Sudermann, the dramatist, being among the members of the committee. The theater, he found, could not be worked for less than \$81,000 a year, and to get such a revenue from low-priced seats seemed impossible. To get over the difficulty, Dr. Lowenfeld started the Theater Union, every member of which pledged himself to go the Schiller Theater at least once a fortnight, or else to pay for tickets.

A GREAT SUCCESS.

With such resources, the highest salary the theater could pay was \$2,000 a year, and first-rate artists were out of the question. The first performance was given in 1894, all Berlin being interested in the experiment—which, however, it was believed must turn out a failure. The result was a complete triumph, and after a year's trial the Schiller Theater took a chief place among the Berlin theaters. It covered its expenses from the first, and at the present time pays its shareholders 5 per cent., all further profits going toward improvements. Its financial position is now so satisfactory that the directors are able to give entirely free entertainments from time to time.

ITS REPERTOIRE.

The repertoire of the theater contains at the present time 136 plays, and it produces dramas of all classes, from Sophocles and Shakespeare to the lightest modern comedies. Though the scenery is less elaborate and the actors less known than in the other theaters, Dr. Lowenfeld has succeeded in compensating himself by training his company in the best traditions. The cost of producing the plays has varied from \$3,000, which was the cost of "Wallenstein," to \$5,200, which was expended on bringing out "Brand."

A THEATER FOR ALL.

People of all classes, from university professors to cab-drivers, are now found among the patrons of the People's Theater. Formerly the theater was open for 360 days of the year. It is now closed in July and August; but, in spite of this, it continues to pay its way. The charge for tickets has also been altered since the first success of the experiment, and ranges from 8 cents to 62½ cents. People who buy six tickets at a time receive them about a fourth cheaper. In view of the success of the Berlin venture, it would be interesting to see if a similar experiment would not succeed in London or New York.

OLD-AGE PENSION SYSTEMS.

PROF. LUIGI RAVA, of the University of Bologna, Italy, makes, in *Nuova Antologia* for May 1, a summary of the present state of legislation for providing working people with an income in their old age.

Mirabeau proposed, in the French National Assembly, the founding of a national savings-bank for receiving and investing the small savings of working people. The project was approved by the Assembly, and a national savings-bank was founded. But there was too little experience for the right management of such an institution, and too much political meddling. The bank was not successful. Meanwhile, mutual-aid societies were founding in France and Italy, and trades-unions in England. As time went on, associations for mutual coöperation and help, under various names and with various modifications, became numerous in Europe and America. Their history covers a wide range of success and failure.

For many years efforts have been made to provide by national legislation for working people old-age pensions, which, though very small, shall be more certain than the allowances supplied by mutual-aid societies and similar associations.

FRENCH AND BELGIAN SAVINGS INSTITUTIONS.

In 1850 there was founded, by the French Government, a national savings institution for providing pensions for aged operatives and others. One of the questions considered was whether the deposits should be free or obligatory. After long deliberation and debate, it was decided that deposits should be free, not less than five francs each, and that the pensions should be liquidated on the basis of the laws of mortality,—different pensions to different ages,—and there was assured to depositors interest at the rate of 5 per cent. on deposits. A crop of disillusion followed. The bank was free for all. Deposits by people in comfortable circumstances, who wanted to get the 5 per cent. interest, poured in; but the working people, for whom the bank was primarily instituted, did not avail themselves of its advantages. A deficit grew from year to year, because authorized investments brought only 4½, 4, or 3½ per cent. interest. The minister of finance was obliged, in 1853, to reduce the interest allowed by the savings institution to 4½ per cent. In 1856 the government fixed the maximum pension at 750 francs, and in 1872 raised the interest again to 5 per cent. Fourteen years later (1886), after various changes of rules, 1,200 francs as the maximum pension was established by law, and a fixed rate of interest was abolished. Authority for determining the rate

of interest year by year was vested in the president of the republic. Availing themselves of a favorable law, the French societies deposited their funds in the national institution. The aggregate of funds at the end of 1895 was 125,000,000 francs—the larger part having been turned in by the societies. Thirty-one thousand pensioners at the age of 64 received, on the average, less than 100 francs per annum. Since 1880 the government's budget has contributed 1,000,000 francs a year to the institution for the benefit of the societies that deposited in it their pension funds.

Belgium has kept close to France in efforts to establish savings institutions for supplying the aged poor with pensions. An institution of this kind was founded by law in 1850, but operatives did not use it. Since then a national savings-bank and an institution for pensions have been combined; but this establishment also lacks the support of working people.

THE GERMAN PLAN.

The most notable feature of the German project organized under Prince Bismarck is that registration for pensions is obligatory. All who receive wages or stipends, aggregating for each less than 2,000 marks a year, are required by law to subscribe for pensions. Subsidies for disability are available after paying the assessments during five years; age pensions are available after 30 years of payments, if the beneficiary is 70 years old. A pension consists of three elements: 50 marks a year paid by the empire, 60 marks a year paid by the bank of the district where the beneficiary's weekly assessments were deposited, and a percentage of the aggregate of the assessments that he has paid. The minimum pension, then, cannot be less than 110 marks a year. The maximum pension, which was a trifle above 250 marks, and the intermediate grades have been enlarged somewhat by the law of 1899, which introduced some changes of detail. If the severity of the regulations, especially in certain particulars, is considered, there will not be much surprise at the suspicion that one of the purposes of the German law for the relief of disabled and aged operatives was surveillance—that, in part, the law was a device for keeping track of operatives, and knowing what they were doing; a very ingenious device, if the suspicion was well founded.

THE DANISH LAW.

Denmark, in 1891, adopted a law for the pensioning of the old and destitute. "Denmark has thought that a man who has labored for 25 or 30 years, who has done his duty as a citizen, who has kept himself honest, . . . merits a tranquil

repose. . . . When he has completed his sixtieth year he has the right to a pension of 240 francs if he cannot provide for himself and his own." It will be noted that the pension does not come from a fund of accumulated savings paid in by working people and guarded by the state, but is a public disbursement. The expense is borne by the parish or district where the pensioner lives. If a pensioner ceases from good conduct, he is taken to an asylum. "The system," says Professor Rava, "is evidently a perfecting of other principles of traditional charity; it is a new tendency that introduces a subsidy without a resort to asylums, and juridically destroys the character of the subsidy, because it is founded on a public right. And the new right is based on the necessity of the social coexistence, and recognizes, in the worker who has kept himself honest during long years of labor, a title to repose."

THE NEW ZEALAND SCHEME.

On January 1, 1900, a pension system like that in Denmark, somewhat modified, went into effect in New Zealand. The pension age is fixed at sixty five, and the pension is £18. The pensioner must be a citizen, have resided 25 years in New Zealand, and by good conduct have "shown himself worthy of it." If the pensioner has some income of his own, the pension is reduced proportionately. Before the passage of the present law, it was proposed, in the New Zealand Parliament, that *all* citizens who reached the age of 65 years should be entitled to a pension. The law now in operation was published in the *Annuaire de la législation du travail publié, par l'Office du travail, de Belgique, Bruxelles, 1899.*

A similar law is under consideration in Victoria.

In England, as far back as 1864, Gladstone gave attention to the assurance of pensions by state aid, and under his administration an institution for pensions was founded. It still exists, but operatives have not been drawn to its use. Pensions for working people have lately become again a subject for consideration and discussion.

ITALY'S SYSTEM.

The Italian law of July 18, 1898, went into effect in 1900. The principle adopted is the union of government aid with the savings of the beneficiaries. Registry is not compulsory. Aid is available for disability at any time apparently after registration, and for an age pension at 60 and 65 years. It is supposed that the aid supplied by the state, as compared with the payments by the beneficiaries, will be in the ratio of about 8 to 6 or 7. The management of the in-

stitution through which the law operates is intended to be "apart from the state and parties," and in the hands of skilled financiers. Summing up the anticipated results, Professor Rava says: "In general, calculating the [yearly] contribution of the institution at only 8 lire [francs], and calculating the interest at only 3.75 per cent., an operative enrolled at 25 years of age will have [at 60 years of age a yearly] pension of 62 lire for half a lira a month paid in, and will have 73 lire for the quota contributed by the institution. [Total yearly pension, 135 lire.]

"In order to assure a pension of 360 lire at 65 years of age, there must be the following [monthly] contributions [by the beneficiary] in the mutual register: At 20 years, 60 centesimi [11½ cents] per month; at 25 years, one lira [one franc per month]; at 30 years, 1.55 lire; at 35 years, 2.30 lire; at 40 years, 3 lire. To assure [the same pension] at 60, the contributions are greater. . . . The institution does not guarantee *a priori* the amount of the pensions."

If the future proves that the natural increment of its funds has not been overrated, the National Institution of Assurance may become an instrument of wide beneficence. Its pensions are not to be measured by the needs of American living and American expenses. In frugal Italy, an Italian with a franc a day can keep the wolf from the door and enjoy himself.

WHY EUROPE HATES ENGLAND.

THE editor of the *Quarterly Review* admits, in his April issue, "that our neighbors on the Continent see us at present in an extremely disagreeable light. In no previous epoch of our history, it may probably be said, has there occurred so general an outburst of animosity against this country." In order to supply some explanation of this unpleasant fact, he has adopted the wise course of securing two papers by eminent foreign publicists.

"Violent Irritation" in Germany.

The first is by Herr Julius Rodenberg, editor of the *Deutsche Rundschau*. He cannot, he says, conceal "the fact that the German people, as a whole, is in a condition of violent irritation against England." With this feeling he contrasts the "Belle Alliance" between the English and Prussian peoples signalized at Waterloo, and the admiration for England which in subsequent decades pervaded German professors and people.

BRITAIN'S UNFRIENDLY ACTS.

Yet, in the days before the Crimean War, England showed the coolest ignorance of Germany

judging the nation by the specimens resident in Leicester Square. And "no sooner did we take the first step toward realizing our political aspirations than we encountered the jealous opposition of Great Britain." The first unfriendly act specified by the writer was the humiliation experienced by Germany, and "largely due to the attitude of England," when Denmark seized Schleswig-Holstein in 1848. The movement toward Italian unity won enthusiastic plaudits from England, which yet showed little liking for German unification. "The war of 1866 was the outcome and conclusion of the war of 1864; it laid the foundation of the new German empire. But what reproaches, what abuse, had we to bear, especially from England, during those critical years! . . . Again, it was England whose veiled opposition we encountered, a year later, in the Luxembourg question." So early as 1866, "Mr. Gladstone had used all his influence to hurl Bismarck, 'the peace-destroyer,' from his place." When the Franco-German War broke out, "the same statesman did not scruple to declare the war to be the most abominable of the century." The British Government refused to prohibit, during that war, the export of coal, arms, and ammunition to France, and thus enabled France to prolong the war at the expense of Germany. Public opinion, with few exceptions, was hostile to Prussia. After 1871, when German and English commercial interests came into collision, British contempt was transformed into dislike, jealousy, and hatred.

THE GERMAN HEART WITH THE BOERS!

On this soreness came the resentment roused by the present war:

"The movement in Germany against the policy which England has followed in South Africa arises almost exclusively from ethical grounds, from indignation at the proceedings of a great power against a handful of men fighting for their freedom and independence, and from the suspicions which the mixture of financial with political questions has aroused. But in the leading circles of Germany, even during the period of English defeats, there was not a moment when it was thought possible that the general position of England could be endangered by the struggle. The heart of the German people—of this there can be no kind of doubt—was, and is, with the Boers. But even in the time of our greatest irritation . . . in our own interest we could not desire the downfall of England."

The Antipathy of French-Speaking Europe.

M. Brunetière declares that without doubt public opinion in France, as in Switzerland and as

in Belgium, to speak only of French-speaking lands, has taken sides against the English. The first reason he assigns is this :

"At the end of a century which will be called in history the century of the awakening, or the rebirth of nationalities, and in which, consequently, the great political crime, the great international crime, is the destroying of a nationality,—that is just what the English have not feared to undertake."

The writer grants that men are not angels, and the extension of English power and wealth has undoubtedly excited the jealousy of other peoples. Their ears have of late been fairly deafened with the "superiority of the Anglo-Saxons," and the *amour-propre* of the nations has been consequently exasperated. Success, after all, is not always a proof of superiority. A millionaire may be an imbecile. Another reason for English unpopularity is the attitude assumed by almost the whole of the English press in the Dreyfus case.

The writer complains that, while the English are the most liberal of peoples, their liberalism is only for themselves ;—it is "not for exportation." English interests alone are considered. They constitute a veritable "national religion," with one article instead of thirty-nine—which is, that no regard be paid to the allowed or the forbidden, to good or evil, just or unjust, human or inhuman, but only to English interests. And these interests are, alas! only economic.

The writer admits freely that the individual conscience is nowhere more tender, more restless, more afraid than in England; and then ventures on the paradox that the personal morality of the English and the immorality of their foreign policy come from the same source—viz., a consciousness and a conviction of the superiority of their race :

"Brachycephalic or dolichocephalic, light or dark, Celt or Saxon, Norman or German, manufacturer of Manchester or city merchant, minister of the Cape or peer of England, the contemporary Englishman is in his own eyes a sort of man apart,—the product of a unique selection,—and, so to speak, the aristocratic variety of the human species. This is what we have sometimes called his 'insolence'—but the word is only half just. The insolence of other men is intentional; that of the Englishman seems to be involuntary and even unconscious. One cannot precisely say that he despises the rest of mankind: he ignores them. But from that ignorance or that insolence one consequence results. The Englishman does not apply the same measure to his actions as he does to those of other men. He does not allow in himself things he would

tolerate in other men—and there is the principle of the respect he has for himself !—but he allows himself to do to others what he would never tolerate them doing to him; and there is the principle of his foreign policy !"

So convinced are the English of the superiority of their civilization that they are prepared, in the name of that civilization, to annihilate a small kindred people. The Anglicization of the world has become in their minds a condition of its future progress. M. Brunetière refuses to allow the superiority of the British to the German or to the French civilization. On the contrary :

"Strictly economic, Manchesterian and Liberal, Darwinian and individualist, English civilization suits England alone; and because the world at last begins to feel that, because the importations of English habits threaten the European nations in the feeling they have for their own personality, because that 'superiority' often consists only in the facilities which these habits offer for the development of egoism, England has seen let loose against her the almost unanimous opinion of Europe."

THE DYING CENTURY.

UNDER the title "Il Secolo che Muore," the Italian review, *La Rassegna Nazionale* (Florence, April 16), prints many and long passages from a pastoral letter recently communicated to his diocese by Monsignor Bonomelli, Bishop of Cremona. The pastoral reviews briefly the human situation as it finds itself now at the end of the nineteenth century, compared with such situation in preceding ages. Has the nineteenth century made for good or evil? is the question which the bishop set before himself to answer. It would be matter for surprise to many Americans, if they should read this letter from an Italian Catholic prelate, that it breathes the purest spirit of modern liberality. Whatever a man's opinions may be on Church questions; whatever they may be on questions of philosophy, science, politics, and social problems,—if he should read this letter with an open mind he would find that in broadening his sympathies, stimulating his affections, and clarifying his vision he had been benefited by its perusal.

MATERIAL PROGRESS.

Glancing first, naturally, at the arts which conduce to the comfort of living, Monsignor Bonomelli notes briefly their extraordinary progress in this century, as in the applications of steam, electricity, and mechanical appliances. Turning to the sciences, he finds nothing to fear in their advancement, whether the fields traversed are old or new. As to the fears of timid

believers, they may be dismissed. The faith of such believers is "not sufficiently illuminated. . . . Alas for us, if by our fault there should penetrate into modern society the conviction that we are enemies of science and progress—that we try to obstruct their road! Our apostasy from the Church would be irreparable." And, firm in the faith that all roads, even scientific roads, lead to Rome, the bishop exclaims, "We augur for you [men of science] new triumphs, secure that, after having finished a long journey by diverse ways, you will find yourselves some day united to us at the feet of that Christ who said, 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.'"

DEMOCRACY.

Considering the political tendencies of the present time, Monsignor Bonomelli regards them as unmistakably democratic. "All society marches with long strides toward democracy." But is the movement for good or for evil? "This so profound evolution of political power, considered from the point of view of the public welfare and of religion, ought it to be saluted as a true progress, a benefit; or, to be deplored as retrogression and damage? The answer cannot be doubtful: it is a true progress, a true and great benefit, as, by its very nature, it is knowledge and instruction laid within reach of the people." After citing in support of his view the opinion of a French prelate, Monsignor Bonomelli points out that the democracy of which the French archbishop spoke is a sane democracy, not a foment of anarchy and destruction.

THE LABOR QUESTION.

And this brings the bishop to the great problem of an industrial and commercial age—the relations of capital and labor. Monsignore di Cremona regards the aggregation of capital into large masses as a result to be anticipated from "the cruel, implacable struggle of competition." But for the profitable employment of large masses of capital, there must be employed under the same direction large numbers of workmen. "And so arise the great companies for spinning, navigation, labor in iron and steel, mining, transportation, railroads, tramways, manufactures of every kind. . . . The work of the individual is absorbed by the little company; that of the little company sooner or later will be absorbed by the larger company, and the larger companies themselves will have to capitulate to others still more powerful; and so capital and labor go on, rapidly agglomerating, and there will be a terrible monopoly. And some day, perhaps not far off, what will remain of individual liberties, of the little companies, of the little work?" The

bishop's prescience is unequal to the answer. He can only say, "the future will tell." And here, for a moment, the optimism of the amiable and learned prelate seems to weaken.

"This state of things, which perhaps in other times would have been endured, offends now the conscience of our modern men, and produces a movement of reaction and resistance in the name of justice: it is *Socialism*. We note, first of all, that *socialism* has found a prepared soil. Because, . . . the people that labor reason in this way: . . . How is it that, with this perfect equality of civil and political rights, there is so great inequality of welfare? Some men swim in abundance and do not labor, or very little, and the others labor and suffer want. The remedy, say the army of laborers, is in our hands. We are electors of the legislators. Very well; we will elect legislators who will change this intolerable state of things and will give us economic equality, after having given us civil and political equality. Of what good is one without the other? It is necessary to admit that the reasoning is seducing and terrible."

But Monsignor Bonomelli's faith in the ameliorating tendencies of human affairs does not permit him to believe that the opposing forces, capital and labor, will come into actual and general conflict. There will be adjustments and readjustments. Exactly in what way the problem will be solved, the bishop does not know; only he believes that amelioration will be reached "by the ways of reason and justice, and little by little, as has happened in the case of all the great and durable reforms recorded by history."

MORAL IMPROVEMENT.

Passing to the question of comparative morality, Monsignor Bonomelli expresses opinions and cites evidences which are distinctly noteworthy. He has no hesitation in affirming that our age is morally better than those which preceded it. After running over a large class of crimes which certainly were formerly more frequent than they are now, he says: "And how often, in past ages, the most horrible crimes remained unpunished, on account of the weakness or connivance of the authorities! . . . I could cite, for example, a province next to ours in which every year in times past there were perpetrated about a thousand homicides, and now there will not be at the most a dozen, and the population has more than doubled." And here follows a remark especially worthy of attention. "In those times passed, there was certainly not the religious indifference or, what is worse, the misbelief which we see in our times. Then religion, or rather religious practices, were observed by

nearly all; but with religious practices there were joined without difficulty scandals and public moral disorders of every kind, and the moral sense had descended so low that no account at all was taken of the manifest contradiction of professing a religion which condemned so strongly their own conduct. Religion, too often, was a species of formality, . . . a decoration which a man ornamented himself with on certain occasions, and laid aside when he felt like it."

The clergy, too, Monsignore di Cremona declares, are better than they used to be,—more instructed, more active, more exemplary, more attentive to their duties,—and recognized as being so even by their adversaries.

Looking into the future where the present signs point, Monsignore finds reasons for anticipating a continuation of the progress already made, and with more rapid advancement. To some it may seem strange; but of all the signs of the future, the one which the Bishop of Cremona regards as disclosing the most hopeful promise for humanity is the growth of liberty and its correlative—toleration.

ALSACE AND LORRAINE.

IT is growing more and more likely that France will become reconciled, before long, to the loss of Alsace and Lorraine as something irreversible. One of the most noteworthy evidences is that a number of writers of late have discussed in the French press the separation of Alsace and Lorraine from France in a very temperate and reasonable spirit, as if secure of an audience that would give attention to the discussion in a like state of mind.

M. Maurice Wolff is one of these writers. In moderation of view and temperance of expression, his article on "The Alsace-Lorraine Question," in the French *Revue des Revues* for May 1, is admirable. But one may doubt whether it does not mark the last stage in the gradual relinquishment of the lost provinces. M. Wolff wrote in the *Revue des Revues* for October 15, 1899, on the same subject as viewed in Germany.

In the present paper, M. Wolff, while disclaiming emphatically "the pretension of resolving the Alsace-Lorraine question by a stroke of the pen," sets forth what he believes will be the outcome of the situation. All the evidences, he thinks, point toward autonomy. But here he uses "autonomy" in a peculiar sense—a sense that would be misleading, did he not carefully advise the reader in a footnote. M. Wolff has in mind, not "a political autonomy and the recognition of an Alsatian state, to which public sentiment in Germany (we have proved it last year) would

not be disposed to consent, but the autonomy, properly so called—autonomy of sentiments, of thoughts, of domestic life, both literary and social." Various things suggest this view to M. Wolff. There are tendencies drawing Alsace away from France and nearer to Germany, especially the economic advantages which, it is admitted, the Alsatians have found under the German Government—as in the stimulation of trade and production by the lowering of railroad rates and the shutting out of competition by protective tariffs. But these material advantages, while clearly recognized by the Alsatians, will not, M. Wolff thinks, alienate their affections from France. Their interests draw them one way, their affections another; so they will find, and are finding, M. Wolff's autonomy of thought and sentiment.

ALSATIAN LOVE OF FATHERLAND.

Without sharing fully M. Wolff's anticipations, one may admit that his reasons point in the direction of his views. One of the strongest is that a noticeable tendency is showing itself among the well-to-do Alsatians toward making the Alsatian dialect, heretofore despised as barbaric, a literary language for the drama, romance, and poetry. Certainly there is no more emphatic way of asserting social and domestic separatism than by persistently using a dialect that is unfamiliar to one's neighbors. M. Wolff does not attribute such a tendency on the part of the Alsatians to sullenness, but to love of the native soil. The emigration from Alsace to France, at first so large, has fallen off year by year, so that it is doubtful now if it equals the return current. Many Alsatians return to pass the remnant of their lives near the ancestral home, so as not to die "in a land quite foreign." Rather oddly, but perhaps correctly, M. Wolff refers to this return current as showing an Alsatian characteristic which seems "to contradict the famous ethnic argument so often invoked by the Germans," because this characteristic "differentiates essentially the Alsatian from the German, always ready, on the contrary, to go to seek his fortune far from his country, without even the desire to return there some day to end his life."

INCREASING UNITY.

The Alsatians, then, in M. Wolff's opinion, are drawing closer together. They have passed the stage where they wanted to emigrate to France, and, on the other hand, are not disposed to regard themselves as Germans. While not daring to hope for political independence, they aspire to thoughts, sentiments, and a language of their own. Almost all M. Wolff's paper re-

lates to Alsace. It says but little about Lorraine, except that it must be distinguished clearly from Alsace. What the state of feeling is in Lorraine is not set forth.

HOW SMALL STATES BECOME RECONCILED TO ABSORPTION.

M. Wolff's discussion of the Alsace-Lorraine question, as we have said before, is excellent in its temper; and excellent it is, too, in its reasoning, so far as the reasoning goes. But nevertheless, one element of the situation, and the most important one of all, is ignored or forgotten. If a conquered province finds that it is not worse off than before the conquest as regards its material condition and the freedom of its sentiments, it easily becomes reconciled to absorption by a great power. Small states, when they have become used to the change, find a reason for pride and happiness in being part of such a power. That was the secret of the Roman Empire; that was the secret of the greatness of France, and of the attachment of Alsace itself to France; that is the secret of the United States of America; and, if Germany continues to be a greater power than France, the attachment of Alsace and Lorraine to France will dissolve away in a stronger attachment to Germany.

NOTES ON MODERN TRIPOLI.

A CURSORY glance at Deputy Guicciardini's "Impressions of Tripolitania," in *Nuova Antologia* for April 1, might suggest the idea that the impressions are merely the hasty jottings of a vacation run in that country. So far as the article is a description of scenes and places, this is probably the case; but in its main stuff and body, it is not a recital of a flying tourist's impressions: it has a much more serious purpose. The deputy's contribution to *Nuova Antologia* is another of the many evidences showing how industriously Italian officials are stimulating Italian commerce and colonization.

In September, 1899, Deputy Guicciardini sailed from Valletta, the capital of Malta, in the steamship *Africa* for Tripoli. The *Africa* was making the initial voyage of a subsidized line of Italian steamships about to ply between Malta and the Barbary coast. The details of the journey may be passed without comment, but some of Guicciardini's statements about Tripolitania and its inhabitants are noteworthy. The deputy says that vast, treeless regions there, which look like desert and are so called, are not infertile; that they are uncultivated because of the scant population of the country. For proofs of this statement he cites a report made by Captain

Camperio, published in the *Esploratore*, of Milan, in 1880 and 1881. He himself saw a plantation of the Franciscan Mission in "land neither irrigated nor irrigable there in the desert," which now is "a magnificent fruit-farm, full of vigorous and fruitful vines, of magnificent olives, of palms, and other fruits, cultivated by the establishment for making wine and oil."

A CHRISTIAN GOVERNMENT WOULD BE WELCOMED.

Quite as noteworthy is Deputy Guicciardini's assertion that the Arabs and other Mohammedan inhabitants of the country, except the Turks, expect, and will welcome when it comes, the establishment of a government by some Christian European power. "The Arabs," Guicciardini tells us, "have a very lively sense of justice; and nothing offends them so much as acts opposed to that sentiment. Now the Turkish dominion, which is manifested almost exclusively as a dominion of exaction of imposts levied in every arbitrary way, and destined not for the benefit of the country, but for the exclusive benefit of its masters—the Turkish dominion is for them the personification of despotism, a continual offense to that sense of justice which in them is not less lively than the religious sense.

"Moreover, the Arabs of Tripolitania are not ignorant of the benefits which the French have brought to their brethren of Tunis, and those, even more obvious, brought by the English to the indigenes of Egypt; and knowing that a civil government, while it does not offend customs and religion at all, assures justice as to person and property, they have come almost unconsciously into a state of mind which regards the cessation of the Turkish government and the substitution of a Christian government as something not so much for resignation as desire."

ITALY'S COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGE.

Almost all the spun and woven fabrics used in Tripolitania are brought from England, its flour mostly comes from France; but Deputy Guicciardini thinks that these trade relations need not always remain. Two things especially give Italy an advantage—(1) nearness; (2) the commerce with Europe is almost wholly in the hands of Israelites. Why the latter circumstance is an advantage for Italy is explained by the fact that most of the Jews in Tripolitania are either subjects of, or protected by, the Italian Government; furthermore, the Jews there avail themselves of the Italian schools maintained in the country, because the schools are not confessional. He attaches great importance to the influence of Italian foreign schools, and thinks they ought to be carefully nurtured.

SEPARATISM IN SPAIN.

THE separatist movement in Spain has attracted the attention of other countries. In Spain, what will be its outcome is the problem of the hour. As yet separatism masquerades under an advocacy of autonomy, and there may be some sincerity in the pretense; for those who engage in a revolutionary political movement seldom foresee where they will be carried by it. But in the present disaffection in Spain, the masses, "the plain people," in the disaffected provinces are separatists; it is their leaders, or a part of them, who profess to aim merely at autonomy. The thinness of the demarcation between autonomy and separation is shown plainly in an article in *Revista Contemporánea* (Madrid, April 15) by the Sr. Juan Ortega Rubio, lecturer in the Central University. The article is called "Changes and Revolutions in Catalonia." Catalonia is the very important department of which the progressive city of Barcelona is the capital. Three insurrectionary wars waged by the Catalans, or a part of them, are described by the writer. These recitals, however, are merely preliminary. Evidently they were set down as admonition. They have no bearing on the present situation, except in showing that the Catalans have had for centuries a separatist tendency, and that for things which they regard as important they are ready to fight obstinately. After disposing of these three insurrectionary wars, two of which turned out favorably for the Catalans, the writer comes to the real matter in hand, and says:

"We have come to the most important point of this article; that is, to the movement in Catalonia going on now. In the year 1898, there was published in Paris, in the French language, by the 'Catalan Nationalist Committee,' a pamphlet called 'The Catalan Question.' Contrasting a son of Catalonia and of Castile, it says: 'The one, positivist and realist—the other, capricious and a charlatan; the one, full of prevision—the other, faithful type of improvidence; the one, drawn along by the industrial current of modern people—the other, nourished by the prejudices of the *hidalgo*, staggering under debt, and full of pride.' And farther on: 'The universities do not teach, the government does not govern, the officials do not administer, our squadrons go to the bottom of their own accord before our adversaries; and our armies serve, not to conquer our outer enemies, but to impose despotism within. Such is the Spanish state.'"

Other quotations from the pamphlet cited in *Revista Contemporánea* assert that the outcome of

the present situation must be either a reorganization of the state "on the basis of the federation and autonomy of the different regions which possess a well-defined personality," or it will depend on France to make predominate the annexation party or that of independence. In 1892 the Catalan General Assembly adopted a resolution recommending autonomy and federation. But no doubt the feeling which such resolutions voiced at the time has become much more intense since the war with the United States, and it is reasonable to believe that now separation would be better liked by the Catalans than federation. To the great majority of the people of the United States, disruption seems a poor remedy for national faults and disagreements. Compromise and government by the majority sum up the American idea of national politics. But in Spain the prevalent feeling has always been far different. Local independence suppressed by a national army is the Spanish idea of national unity. In Spain, separation has been fostered in all periods by the permanence of dialects. There is no Spanish language in the sense that there is an English language, or a French language, or even an Italian language. In Spain there is hardly a pretense of such a language. One speaks there Castellano, Andalúz, Catalán, Gallego, etc., as the case may be. Spanish is a figment of the imagination. The discourse of the president of the Catalan League, September, 1898, cited by the Sr. Rubio in the present article, was "printed in Catalán, Castilian, and French." Two other pamphlets mentioned by him were printed in Catalán, and we have seen that the propagandist pamphlet previously quoted, issued by the "Catalan Nationalist Committee," was printed in French. Communities divided by impassable barriers of language are kept in coöperation only by external pressure.

The sympathies of the writer of the article in *Revista Contemporánea* are plainly with the Catalans; but the writer does not confess that he is a separatist. To those who say that the separatists are few, he replies: "But the people of Barcelona do not cease chanting revolutionary hymns." His nearest approach to defining his own position is in a declaration of faith in the profound knowledge of politics and of life that has been evinced by the President of the Council of Ministers, the Sr. Silvela. "I believe it is difficult, but not impossible, to unite in one idea, in one sentiment, and in one aspiration Vasconavarros and Castilians; I believe, it is difficult, but not impossible, to unite in the same manner these and the Catalans."

THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

THE CENTURY MAGAZINE.

IN the *Century* for July, Prof. William M. Sloane draws a fine picture of Miss Sarah Porter and her unique educational work in her private school at Farmington, Conn. Miss Porter had the most remarkable strength and charm of character, a physical constitution scarcely less remarkable than Gladstone's, and a capacity for concentration on the business in hand which, together with promptness of decision and execution, made her wonderfully successful. Yet she never allowed her school to grow very large. For a long time not more than fifty pupils were received, and the numbers were never allowed much to exceed a hundred. Professor Sloane lays stress on Miss Porter's deep distrust of mechanism and fixed organization in educational matters, and her conviction that these things tend to be regarded as in some sort a substitute for the essential.

THE ESTHETIC SIDE OF PARADES.

In Mr. Barr Ferree's discussion of the "Elements of a Successful Parade," he takes the ground that a procession is, properly speaking, a work of art, to be arranged with as much beauty in itself and in its surroundings as can be commanded. The effect may be one of grandeur, as in the ceremonial triumphs of previous times; or solemnity, as in the great ecclesiastical function; or gayety, or of mass. Mr. Ferree thinks that we have somewhat lost the true conception of a public procession; that they were better understood in earlier days. He says the Renaissance period seems to have offered the world the last of the great artistic parades. Now, however, he thinks the tide has turned, and that the modern spectator is beginning to demand real art in his public festival and parade, just as he is beginning to demand art in his public and private life. He cites the great popular interest in the peace festivals in Philadelphia and Washington, the Dewey receptions in New York and Boston, and the Chicago festival of 1899 as proofs that the public is becoming educated in this matter.

DR. MASON'S MUSICAL MEMORIES.

In the July number of the *Century*, a very promising series of papers begin in "Memories of a Musical Life," by William Mason. Dr. Mason has lived through practically the entire development of organized musical culture in America, and no man has a larger acquaintance with the famous members of his profession throughout the world, which gives him a very entertaining and valuable fund of significant anecdote.

THE FRENCH ACADEMY'S DEADENING INFLUENCE.

In an essay on "Artistic Paris," by Richard Whiteing, he says that the influence of the Academy has brought a solicitude for form pure and simple so far that some who live by its laws have hardly a word to bless themselves with. They are like those masters of fence who are afflicted with a sort of paralysis of the power to attack. "With the everlasting refinement of style, the writing of Academic French has become the labor of a lifetime. You had better say nothing than say anything less than perfectly well;—hence a misunderstanding between the Academy and the world that is very much like the misunderstanding between the Church and the world."

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

WE quote, in another department, from two articles in the July number of *Harper's Magazine*: Dr. Henry Smith Williams' on "Prof. Ernst Haeckel and the New Zoology," and Dr. John D. Quackenbos' on "The Educational Use of Hypnotism."

"INSIDE THE BOER LINES."

Mr. E. E. Easton's third contribution under the title, "Inside the Boer Lines," gives an exceptionally clear insight into the methods of the Boer soldiers. Mr. Easton says the older Boers, the so-called "Doppers," although relatively very ignorant of the resources of Great Britain and the general conditions of modern warfare, retain their ascendancy over the younger members—their college-bred or office-trained sons. Notwithstanding the fuller knowledge of the younger generation of Boers, it was they who were most hopeful of final success and of establishing a United States of South Africa, independent of any foreign control.

WAR CORRESPONDENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. Frederick A. McKenzie writes on "English War Correspondents in South Africa." He says the correspondent in England like Mr. Melton Prior has two outfits always ready at home, which he calls his "hot" and his "cold" outfits. If his editor asks him to take the afternoon boat express to St. Petersburg and go from there to Nova Zembla, he has only to wire for his "cold" bag, while if Timbuctoo is his destination he simply substitutes "hot" for "cold." Concerning the salaries paid to the more noted war correspondents, Mr. McKenzie says one of the best-known of the specials receives £1,000 a year in times of peace, and £2,000 during war. In addition to this, of course, enormous expenses have to be paid for the active correspondent. Mr. McKenzie says one newspaper's bills for telegrams alone, during a quiet month of the present South African campaign, came to £3,000. Mr. McKenzie has a great deal of complaint of the censors—not for carrying out their orders so much as for their lack of order, and their passing of messages without respect to time or precedence. Many messages are suppressed altogether; and, of those that were passed, he gives this as a sample:

The correspondent writes: "Heavy Boer attack. Guns rain shell-fire on position. Severe losses, both yesterday and to-day."

The message reaches the foreign editor in London thus: "Heavy rain yesterday and to-day."

THE KING OF ABYSSINIA.

Under the title of "At the Court of the King of Kings," Capt. M. S. Wellby describes a visit to King Menelek, of Abyssinia, in his court. Captain Wellby put on evening clothes, and then rode a mule at 7 o'clock in the morning through the business portions of the city, through an outer stockade of the palace, across an untidy, rough, stony court. He was received by the King in a squatting position, which made him look like a very small man, although he is five feet ten inches high. He says that, in spite of Menelek's faults, he has achieved wonders for the well-being of his country. He is far in advance of any previous Abyssinian monarch, and under his peaceful reign the population and prosperity of the Abyssinians have greatly increased.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

IN the July *Scribner's*, Mr. Richard Harding Davis maintains his reputation as a capital descriptive writer in his pen-picture of "The Relief of Ladysmith." Mr. Davis thinks that the wonder was not only that Ladysmith was ever relieved, but that it was ever defended. He describes the strategic position of the garrison at Ladysmith as not unlike that of a bear in a bear-pit, at which the Boers around the top of the pit were throwing shells instead of buns.

THE BOER SOLDIER INSUBORDINATE.

Mr. Thomas F. Millard, writing from Pretoria, March 24, describes "The Boer as a Soldier," and says some very striking things concerning the military weaknesses of the Republican armies. A special weakness which we have not seen emphasized to such an extent anywhere else is the failure to obey the generals. If Mr. Millard is entirely accurate, it would seem exceedingly astonishing that the Boers should have won any battles. He says that in all the terrible fighting around Ladysmith and the Tugela, not more than one-third of the burghers were ever at any time engaged, and that in none of the assaults was the whole Boer force actively employed, simply because when the Boer private soldiers thought that the position which they were ordered to capture was too dangerous, they simply said so and sat still. Mr. Millard says: "I have seen General Botha tear his hair and curse the day when he ever undertook to defend fifteen miles of treacherous river-front against an enemy ten times his strength, with another powerful foe in his rear, with a couple of thousand burghers, who could not be induced to obey orders." He says plainly that the Boer must be wheedled into fighting, and he shows the absurdity of the theory that it has been the foreign officers who were responsible for the Boer successes by the fact that none but native officers can persuade their soldiers to fight. Yet notable Boer commanders have attained a great ascendancy over their men—Krüger, Joubert, Cronje, and more recently Gen. Louis Botha.

SUBJECTIVE AIDS TO HEALTH.

Mr. Daniel G. Mason, writing on "The Tendency to Health," lays great stress on the command of the attention in attaining health. He thinks that a vast deal might be done in aiding nature's trend to health by confining attention to more pleasant themes than one's unpleasant symptoms, by dwelling on the inevitable tendency of nature to become normal, and by making capital of one's pleasures.

EARLY DAYS OF AMERICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

The opening article in the number is a finely illustrated account by John R. Spears of "The Slave-Trade in America," from the first American descent on the coast of Guinea by a Boston ship in 1645. Previous to 1750, Mr. Spears says, the harvesting of slaves on the coast of Africa was conducted with about as great a regard for honesty as was any other trade with uncivilized peoples. The old slaver embarked a cargo of rum, and headed for the African coast. After two or three months he arrived at some West African port, and invited the chiefs on board to get drunk free of charge and receive presents. Then the slave-ship swung at anchor, waiting for the natives to grow thirsty and bring slaves to exchange for more rum. With the growing price of slaves, however, the methods gradually became more brutal.

THE COSMOPOLITAN MAGAZINE.

IN his article entitled "Is Russia to Control All of Asia?" in the July *Cosmopolitan*, Mr. Alexander Hume Ford seems to show an affirmative answer. He gives a bird's-eye view of the military dispositions and diplomatic advantages which seem to favor Russia's control of the entire continent. North of India Russia has now in camp, within forty miles of Herat, the key to India, a force of the best soldiers larger than our entire army of invasion of Cuba and Porto Rico, while 300 miles back there is a fighting force outnumbering our entire standing army at home and abroad, which can be mobilized within a few hours. An advance-guard of Cossacks is within hailing distance of the gates of Peking, and within short call behind them is an army even greater than that on the borders of Afghanistan. Mr. Ford gives credit to the report that on the British frontier are now stationed more than 100,000 Cossacks, while in Eastern Siberia and Manchuria there are stationed over 120,000 troops. Altogether, along the line of her Asiatic frontier Russia has stretched an army of over 500,000, with fully 10,000,000 horses and camels to mount them and supply pack-trains for carrying provisions and forage across the desert. Mr. Ford thinks that even if plucky little Japan should begin war on Russia with the aid of England's fleet and an invading army of 169,000, which she is ready to mobilize within a week, there would be little hope of her securing permanent possession of the soil of a country whose army on a war footing amounts to 8,000,000 men. Mr. Ford thinks the following is the significant keynote of the present situation: "The 'open-door' policy is far more welcome to Russia now than the 'sphere of influence,' which would mean her exclusion from parts of Asia. Once Russia has brought the people of China under her sway, she will have a standing army greater than all the other combined forces of the world, and with but one vast cohesive country, without a single detached colony to defend."

THE TREND OF MODERN COLLEGE EDUCATION.

President David Starr Jordan, of Leland Stanford University, writing on "Modern College Education," thinks that the keynote to the education of the future must be "instructive individualism," by which he means that the teachers must come close to the students and find out with them what knowledge each of them most needs.

A FRENCH PROFIT-SHARING EXPERIMENT.

Under the title "Organized Thrift," Mr. Vance Thompson gives an account of the interesting experiment of a Frenchman, M. Godin, a manufacturer of stoves and cooking utensils, in profit-sharing. In 1880 M. Godin turned over his entire large plant, of the value of about \$1,000,000, to a company, reserving for himself 5 per cent. per year, as "the wage of the capital," the second charge being the cost of running the shop, the wages of employees, the expenses of the communal school, and care of the sick and young, after these expenditures all profits being distributed *pro rata* between the wage-earners and the capital. In place, however, of distributing the surplus each year to the workers, the sum due each man was given him in shares, so that little by little he became a proprietor. To-day, after twenty years, the entire capital has been repaid to M. Godin's heirs, with the exception of a few

thousand francs, and the working-men are the proprietors of the shops and the "Family House," are their own masters, and choose by election their chiefs and directors.

M'CLURE'S MAGAZINE.

IN the July *McClure's*, we have quoted at length in another department from Mr. William Barclay Parsons' account of "Railway Development in China."

THE BIRTH OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN ENTENTE.

Mr. A. Maurice Low, the American correspondent of the *London Chronicle*, in his "Unwritten Chapter in American Diplomacy," says that, contrary to the general opinion of the people of the United States, the present Anglo-American *entente* was not born in the stress of the Spanish War. He says it came into being three years earlier, in the travail of the Venezuelan affair. Mr. Low says that when Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Olney were sending the famous message which made such a critical moment in the Anglo-American situation the Cleveland Administration, owing to the humble attitude of Secretary Gresham and of Minister Bayard, made John Hay an unofficial ambassador of the United States to the Court of St. James. Mr. Hay had an immensely delicate mission in this position, but he succeeded in urging on Lord Salisbury's Government that it was necessary to close the dispute. The success of the diplomacy in the Venezuela incident, therefore, Mr. Low thinks, should go largely to the credit of John Hay, and he calls this incident the germ of the *entente* which was continued in England's attitude during the negotiations which led to the Spanish War.

THE UNITED STATES LIGHTHOUSE SERVICE.

The number opens with an article by Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, "The Sea-Builders," in which he gives typical instances of the boldness, skill, and endurance of the men who erect danger-signals on rocks and shoals. He tells us that the United States Government maintains more than 1,100 lighthouses and lighted beacons; 88 light-vessels and lantern-buoys; nearly 1,800 post-lights, most of which mark the shores of navigable rivers; 354 siren-signals, besides other hundreds operated in connection with the regular lighthouse service, blow a deep bass warning at the rising of a fog. Whistling-buoys, bell-buoys, and shoal-buoys, to the number of nearly 5,000, are distributed along the channels of a hundred harbors. In the daytime dangerous bits of coast or river are indicated by 434 day-beacons, and 41 vessels and more than 4,200 men are required to attend, repair, and supply these aids to navigation, the cost to the people of the country being between \$3,000,000 and \$4,000,000 a year.

In this number of *McClure's* comes the first story from Mr. Kipling inspired by the Boer War. "The Outsider" is a story of the South African battlefield, written from the field.

MUNSEY'S MAGAZINE.

IN the July *Munsey's*, Mr. Cy Warman, under the heading "Soldiers of the Rail," tells of the personnel of the crews who run the great Western freighters, where they come from, and what kind of folk they are. Mr. Warman, as an ex-soldier of the rail himself, and also as a capital writer, naturally makes an authentic and readable story of the cult of brakemen and other trainmen. He says that the time was when a brake-

man was a reckless rough, who followed his occupation as a pleasure, profoundly disrespectful—"a cross between a highwayman and a Hooligan." To-day he is a good citizen, who pays taxes directly instead of through a saloon, as formerly.

SOCIETY IN CUBA.

Miss Mary C. Francis, writing on "Society in Cuba," says that up to the time of the Ten Years' War there had been no definite social gulf between the Cuban and the Spaniard. All of the latter were wealthy, and many of the former had amassed estates which enabled them to rival their political masters in luxurious living; but when this war was over, the Cubans were beggared, and after that an impassable gulf yawned between Spaniard and Cuban. Miss Francis says that this gulf was so deep and wide that, when once a high-born Cuban woman dared to marry a Spanish captain-general, she was immediately cut off from her family and ostracized from her own society. While hitherto Cuba has known but two social grades, the aristocracy and the low class, Miss Francis thinks that now there will be the growth of a great middle class, untrammelled by rigid etiquette. The English language is making its way fast, and American newspapers and magazines are finding their way into Cuban homes.

BADEN-POWELL A GREAT SCOUT.

In a sketch of "The Man of Mafeking," Mr. Franklin Chester tells of the eminence that General Baden-Powell has attained in the scientific art of scouting—the best authority of Europe, he calls him, on this branch of the art military. He says that General Baden-Powell thinks our Buffalo Bill the greatest scout that ever lived. "B.-P." himself is frequently referred to as the Sherlock Holmes of the British Army.

THE NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINE.

IN the July number of the *New England Magazine*, Mr. Edmund J. Carpenter contributes a very well-written and excellently illustrated description of Provincetown, Mass., the sea-city at the tip of the long, curling whiplash of land, Cape Cod, where, on November 11, 1620, the *Mayflower* dropped anchor. Mr. C. N. Hall pleasantly describes "Some Features of Old Connecticut Farming." He tells of the days when there was no widespread degeneration in New England agriculture—the days of sixty years ago, when the hired laborers were all of native birth and parentage; when work was done by hand, shoes were home-made, and clothes were almost entirely home-made; and when even the lawyer, the doctor, and the minister were inevitably at the same time farmers. In Mr. Arthur L. Golder's article on "The Rangeley Lakes," he tells why Maine is fast becoming the most popular region for recreation east of the Mississippi. The State has more lakes and forest than all the rest of New England combined, and she has as well a sea-coast of unsurpassed magnificence from the standpoint of the tourist. Of all the resort regions, the Moosehead and Rangeley Lake districts are chief. Moosehead is the largest lake in the State, and is of comparatively recent popularity. The Rangeleys have given recreation to thousands for over fifty years. They are six in number, extending over a length of fifty miles in Western Maine and terminating in Eastern New Hampshire.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

IN the July *Atlantic* is printed the final lecture of ex-President Grover Cleveland on "The Independence of the Executive," an address delivered before the students of Princeton University two months ago.

Mr. James W. Alexander attempts to correct "Some Prejudices About Life Assurance." He talks in a very clear-headed way concerning the factors which should base one's choice of an insurance company, and he lays great stress on a mistake people are apt to make of selecting a company which offers the greatest inducements. He thinks this is often the worst company, as it will probably be sacrificing essential principles of safety in order to make the attractive showing which captures the new client. He thinks most of the ambition to do the best instead of the largest business. Mr. Alexander says it would be more sensible for a man to select a company charging the highest premiums, if that was the only basis on which he was going to make a choice, the one granting the least privileges outside of the death indemnity. "It is better for a mutual company, and therefore for its members, who constitute the company, that they should pay too high rather than too low premiums. Too low premiums will certainly cramp the management, lessen the profit, and may even result in failure, while too high premiums facilitate business and increase profit, and the excess ultimately returns with interest to the policy-holders."

CUBAN PROSPECTS.

Mr. J. D. Whelpley, writing on "Cuba of To-day and To-morrow," frankly confesses that the Cubans do not like the Americans. He says the intelligent Cubans think of the Americans as withholding from them their birthright. Mr. Whelpley thinks that a continuation of the present conditions in Cuba will, however, be possible for some time without serious trouble. "The experiment of a free Cuba may even be tried in time, this depending largely upon public sentiment and the dominant power in politics in the United States. It will inevitably result in another intervention which will need no apologies, and will continue so long as the United States shall remain a nation."

JOURNALISM IN THE MAGAZINES.

Mr. Arthur Reed Kimball writes on "The Invasion of Journalism," not only its inroads in the magazines, but the increasing number of reportorial or journalistic books. He thinks this growing tendency towards journalism involves much more than a matter of colloquialism and style; he thinks it concerns point of view and method of treatment as well, and that this is seen conspicuously in the changed relations of the popular magazine and newspaper. "Once it was the ambition of a newspaper to be rated as high as the magazine; now it often seems to be the ambition of the magazine to be ranked as a monthly newspaper."

THE FORUM.

ELSEWHERE we have quoted from Consul-General Ho Yow's paper in the June *Forum* on "The Attitude of the United States Towards the Chinese."

Mr. J. E. Redmond, M.P., describes the present position of the Irish question. As a result of the ap-

proaching general election in Great Britain, Mr. Redmond believes that the reunited Irish members of Parliament will be masters of the situation (thanks to the Boer War). He regards as well within their grasp the further reform of the land question, the redress of financial injustice, educational reform, and home rule itself.

Former Minister Charles Denby attempts an answer to the question, "Do We Owe Independence to the Filipinos?" Mr. Denby replies to the well-worn argument that the Filipinos were our allies against Spain, and that therefore honor requires us to acknowledge their independence. He cites abundant testimony in contradiction of these statements from official documents.

WOOL AND THE TARIFF.

Mr. Jacob Schoenhof contributes an "Unwritten Chapter in Recent Tariff History," giving tariff estimates made in 1897, while the Dingley bill was under consideration, and reviewing in detail the changes made in the tariff on wool and woolsens. Mr. Schoenhof declares that materials manufactured in our country at the present time to take the place of woolen goods are a discredit to a civilized country. "The wage-earning classes are asked to wear so-called woolen goods, made of about 25 per cent. of wool, the balance cotton and shoddy, and pay higher prices for these compounds in 1900 than they paid for first-class all-wool articles under the Wilson tariff." Although our wool stocks are not increased by importations, they still satisfy the demand. "The average for the four years ending with 1900 even shows a decided step backward, and brings our status to the one occupied by Germany in 1885. In this manner the trade, with unerring scent, chronicles the protest of the people against the rise of prices decreed by the Dingley tariff."

HIGH-SCHOOL TEACHING AS A LIFE WORK.

Prof. Edward E. Hill contributes a rather pessimistic article on "Teaching in High Schools as a Life Occupation for Men." He shows that while the work in its nature is worthy of the highest ambitions and best efforts of able men, it is hardly probable that men with such qualifications as promise success in other professions or in business will care to undertake it as a life vocation under present conditions. The compensation is much less than they would be able to command in other occupations, and they sacrifice that public esteem which attaches to many callings, and often subject themselves to harassing and belittling restrictions.

THE NICARAGUA CANAL FROM A BRITISH POINT OF VIEW.

Sir Charles W. Dilke contributes a paper entitled "U. K., U. S., and the Ship Canal." This writer disavows the extreme British view regarding the fortification of the canal; and while he regards it as idle to suggest that a British fleet could use an unfortified canal in the event of war, he still thinks that the taking of security against the possibility of such a state of affairs is prudent, "provided that it may be made clear to the whole world that it is not intended by reasonable Americans, or likely to be intended by an American majority, to subvert in the canal the principle of the 'open door,' which the United States demands in China, and by which, throughout the world, in the future, she will have much to gain."

OTHER ARTICLES.

In a study of organized labor in France, Dr. Walter B. Scaife describes the reunion of the two opposing wings of the French Socialist and Labor parties at the Socialist congress in December last.

The Hon. John Charlton, a member of the Anglo-American Joint High Commission, writes on "American and Canadian Trade Relations." The concluding paragraph of his article contains the suggestion of a threat. He intimates that the fiscal policy of the United States may be imitated by the Canadian Government to the extent of raising the Canadian standard of 26 per cent. on dutiable imports to the American standard of 49 per cent., with perhaps an increase of the differential in favor of Great Britain.

Pres. G. Stanley Hall, of Clark University, writes on "College Philosophy;" Rev. H. A. Stimson on "The Preëminent Profession;" Mr. C. A. P. Rohrbach offers "A Contribution to the Armenian Question;" Mr. William O. Partridge defines "The American School of Sculpture," and Mr. Benjamin W. Wells reviews "Southern Literature of the Year."

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

WE have selected Mr. Bryan's article on "The Issue in the Presidential Campaign," in the June number of the *North American Review*, for extended quotation in another department.

Mr. Edmund Barton, a well-known Australian statesman, writes on the subject of "Australian Federation and Its Basis," giving a summary of the provisions of the new Federal constitution, and pointing out the features in which it differs from the Constitution of the United States and that of Canada. The main difference between the American and Australian constitutions seems to lie in the insistence in the latter to the principle of continuous responsibility. The House of Representatives is made the real custodian of the purse, and it is provided that after the first general election no member of the ministry is to hold office for a longer period than three months, unless he has become a member of one or the other of the houses.

EDUCATION AS A SOLVENT OF THE RACE PROBLEM.

"Will Education Solve the Race Problem?" is the subject of a paper by Prof. J. R. Straton. Mr. Straton does not undertake to state what the final solution of the problem will be, although in his opinion Mr. Washington's plans appear to be the best tentative policy, and are worthy of all support. Mr. Straton questions whether even industrial education goes back far enough, and whether the dangers and temptations which surround the negro here will not prevail over his weakness before his judgment to choose and his strength to overcome have developed. On the question of colonization, Mr. Straton admits that no plan for the wholesale deportation of the race from the country is practicable. He thinks, however, that something might be done by establishing elsewhere conditions which would invite the negro there, and then assisting him to go. He points out that as many foreigners as there are members in the colored race have come to this country within the past few decades on account of the inviting conditions here. He thinks, therefore, that if conditions elsewhere invited them the negroes might go for the same reasons.

THE REVIVED OLYMPIAN GAMES.

Baron Pierre de Coubertin writes on "The Meeting of the Olympian Games," describing the arrangements made for the athletic festivals at Paris during the present summer. It will be remembered that nearly ten years ago Baron de Coubertin conceived the plan of reviving the Olympian games in a modern form. The International Congress, which met in Paris in June, 1894, decided at his request that each of the new Olympiads should be celebrated in a different city of the world, and Athens was chosen as the seat of the first Olympian meeting, and Paris that of the second, four years later. It is Baron de Coubertin's personal desire that the third Olympian games of the series, those of 1904, shall take place at New York. The distinctly cosmopolitan character of the enterprise would thus be clearly shown.

ENGLAND AND THE BOERS.

The question, "How England Should Treat the Vanquished Boers," is discussed by Sir Sidney Shippard. This has been the topic of innumerable articles in the English reviews; in fact, the subject of dealing with the vanquished Boers was soberly and ponderously discussed by English review writers long before the Boers were in any sense "vanquished." The *North American* writer recognizes England's duty of dealing justly both by the loyal colonists of Cape Colony and Natal, and also by the Boers themselves and also the necessity of rendering impossible a repetition of attempts at a Boer conquest of South Africa with foreign aid, and the desirability of conciliating England's Dutch fellow-subjects by all fair means and gradually reconciling them to their lot as British citizens. With regard to territorial limits, he is of opinion that the best plan would be to establish in Southeastern Africa one great colony comprising Swaziland, the Transvaal, and the Orange territory. He believes that no effort should be made to force on a federation of the South African colonies. Such a federation, if it comes at all, must be spontaneous. For a capital of this new territory, he recommends the founding of a new city, in a high and healthy situation, as near the western side of the Drakensberg as possible. Of existing sites, he prefers Johannesburg.

THE QUESTION OF FUTURE PUNISHMENT.

The Rev. Dr. George Wolfe Shinn attempts an answer to the pressing question, "What Has Become of Hell?" He concludes that hell has not been obliterated. "Retribution exists as an awful fact back of all figurative language. Men in our day have overlooked retribution in seeking to get rid of materialistic notions concerning hell. The time has come to recall the awful fact of retribution. But it must be done discreetly, and always with those exceptions in mind which so greatly modify it." In considering the working out of retribution as it pertains to the future, there are allowances to be made. For example, we cannot include children in its penalty, inasmuch as not inherited sin, but wilful sin, is punished, and children are irresponsible. Dr. Shinn would also except the multitude of heathen who have never had the opportunity to hear the Gospel.

THE IDEAL CITY CHARTER.

Comptroller Coler, of New York City, writes on "Charter Needs of a Great City." He regards brevity and

simplicity as the two chief essentials of good city charters. Interference with purely local affairs by the State legislatures must be prohibited. A charter should not admit the possibility of a private or corporate interest going beyond the local authorities for special privileges or exemptions.

ENGLAND AND RUSSIA IN THE FAR EAST.

In this number there are three articles on the rival imperial interests of Great Britain and Russia. "A Diplomat," who is said to be attached in an official capacity to one of the legations in the capital of one of the great powers, writes on "British and Russian Diplomacy," greatly exalting the latter. He regards the Russian diplomatic service as "one of the most formidable machines in existence, comparable in many respects to the Jesuit organization." Demetrius C. Boulger writes on "Antagonism of England and Russia." He calls on England to "end the insolent pretensions and aggressions of Russia," and believes that the present is a favorable time, from every point of view, to establish British security in the East. The Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Temple writes on "Great Britain in Asia." He, also, cannot refrain from the boast of British power, and permits it to be inferred from his paper that Great Britain is now ready to try conclusions with any combination of European powers that may be formed in the far East.

Prof. E. Denison Ross writes on "Modern Persian Literature," and Princess Radziwell on "Cecil Rhodes' Future."

THE ARENA.

THE opening article in the *Arena* for June is a discussion of imperialism as "The Giant Issue of 1900," by Prof. Frank Parsons. Prof. Parsons holds that this question overshadows even those of the trusts and the currency. "It is vastly important to know whether our governments and industries are to be managed in the interest of a few or in the interest of all; but it is still more important to know whether the people approve the policy of abandoning the Declaration of Independence, turning the Republic into an empire, and transforming a peaceful democracy into an imperial conqueror." In Professor Parsons' view, this country can no longer claim to be a "bona-fide, whole-souled republic. We are an empire—a sort of republic at home and a despotism abroad; a benevolent despotism, perhaps (though that remains to be seen), but none the less a despotism."

On the subject of "Christianity and Imperialism," Mr. Freeman Stewart remarks that such isolation as has been due to the republican institutions of the United States has been an advantage both to ourselves and to the world at large. The United States has been the greatest "world power" that the earth has ever known, if by that term is meant power to exert a beneficent influence upon the world. "History may be searched in vain for another nation that has done so much to inspire mankind with hope and energy, and to improve the condition of the human race." Mr. Stewart's contention is that we should continue in the same good work rather than yield to the forces of "militarism and despotism."

CENTRALIZATION IN FINANCE.

Mr. Edward G. Johns sets forth the advantages of modern centralization in financial affairs. The present tendency to centralize power and to prevent a needless

sacrifice of capital in competitive undertakings can only result, in Mr. Johns' opinion, in great stability of values and consequent safety for investors. The poor man reaps benefits from this centralizing tendency as well as the rich man. His savings are better safeguarded, while the cost of production of necessary articles has been reduced, and credit is less disturbed.

AN ANGLO-AMERICAN UNDERSTANDING.

Prof. Edward A. Ross, of Stanford University, writes on "England as an Ally." Professor Ross holds that while the identity of the English with the American people in language, literature, law, religion, and personal ideas forms a firm basis for a national friendship, the economic contrast between insular England and continental America forbids an alliance. The friendship, therefore, should be cherished without compromising ourselves in an alliance. "The great desideratum is, therefore, an Anglo-American good understanding. We should uproot the old-time hostility inspired by school histories. We should meet the English half-way in all friendly sentiment. We should beware of standing with a great illiberal despotism like Russia at a time when the conflict between the principle of authority and the principle of freedom is entering upon an acute phase. We should even act in concert with England, Japan, and Germany to protect stranded China from Russian aggression until, like Japan or Siam, she can get into the current of progress."

OUR CONGRESS AND ENGLAND'S PARLIAMENT.

Another article which emphasizes certain important differences between this country and England is contributed by Mr. Ewing Cockrell on the subject of "Congress or Parliament?" Mr. Cockrell has made a close study of our congressional system with a view to meeting diverse criticisms based on comparison with Great Britain's parliamentary methods. Mr. Cockrell makes it clear that our Congress is confronted with an amount of business far in excess of that presented to the British Parliament. The question then arises: Shall Congress devote as much time to deliberation and discussion as is customary in Parliament, thereby leaving undone nine-tenths of its business; or shall it endeavor to enact the legislation needed by the country in the most efficient and practical way possible? As Mr. Cockrell views the matter, the great fault of our Congress is that it attempts too much. The amount of business that must come up before it is too great to allow our legislation to attain the most perfect character. This fault, however, he believes can be corrected. Our methods, as they are, enable Congress to handle this great amount of business admirably and efficiently. Mr. Cockrell does not find serious faults in the separation of the executive and the legislature, the lack of some one legislative leader, or the lack of much deliberation and discussion. Those who criticise these features of our system base their objections on incomplete theories of our government, and not on facts.

In this number of the *Arena*, several of the questions before the session of Congress which closed last month are discussed. Among these are the ship-subsidy question, the trust question, and Porto Rican legislation.

OLD-AGE PENSIONS IN NEW ZEALAND.

The Hon. Hugh H. Lusk contributes an interesting study of the old-age system adopted in New Zealand. Mr. Lusk states that the number of applications for pensions in the first year of the operation of the New

Zealand law will not reach 6,000. This number he regards as a small one out of a total population of 800,000 whites and 50,000 natives, as the provisions of the act apply equally to both races. That is to say, it amounts to less than three-quarters of one per cent. of the population; and this percentage, under existing conditions, may be expected to diminish rather than increase. In New Zealand the cost of old-age pensions this year will, it is calculated, amount to about \$500,000.

OTHER ARTICLES.

There are articles on "Jesuit Educators and Modern Colleges," by Ruth Everett; "America as a Field for Fiction," by Annie Steger Winston; "Education and Marriage," by A. L. Mearkle, and "Woman in Journalism," by Marian Ainsworth-White.

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE.

IN *Guntton's Magazine* for June, Mr. William Eleroy Curtis writes on the coming Pan-American Congress to be held in Mexico. The most important topics for discussion in this congress will be a plan of arbitration for the settlement of differences between the American nations, and a permanent method of determining claims for damages brought by the citizens of one country against another. It has been suggested, also, that uniform quarantine regulations be discussed by this conference of 1901, and perhaps the recognition of universal diplomas by other governments than those in which they are located may also be a topic of discussion.

In an unsigned article, the editor appeals to the Republican party to broaden public policy so as to bring about national action on questions of the health, education, and social welfare of the laboring classes.

In a paper on "Working-Women's Clubs," Mrs. Charlotte Coffyn Wilkinson states that these organizations have from the first been self-governing, all the members being on an equal footing; no single voice has been authoritative, and no one vote has carried undue weight. The clubs have been conducted, not from without, by a "board of lady managers," but by the members for the members.

Dr. Edwin Maxey writes on "The Egyptian Question," and Mr. Moulton Emery on the question, "Are We Gothic or a Mixed Race?" An editorial article discusses the proposition of the American Federation of Labor to establish an institution for the education of the members of labor unions, and outlines some of the possibilities of such an institution.

THE INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY.

CONCLUDING a rather elaborate paper on "Relation Between Early Religion and Morality" in the *International Monthly* for June, Dr. Edmund Buckley, of the University of Chicago, gives it as his opinion that while morality and religion have each wrought mischief on the other, their mutual help has far exceeded this mischief. "While an independent growth of each is conceivable, it certainly never happened, and if it had done so, must have been with a loss to both sides. Finally, the narrowness of our thesis needs complementation from other sides of human culture. If religion has promoted morality, it has also promoted industry, knowledge, and art—the knowledge, alas! with even more offsetting hinderances than in the case of morality."

IMPROVEMENT IN AMERICAN CITY GOVERNMENT.

In a paper on "Political Parties and City Government," Prof. Frank J. Goodnow, of Columbia University, remarks on the great progress that has been made in city government in this country. "Fifty years ago, efficient police protection was almost unknown. Few, if any, of our cities had ample supplies of potable water. No effective provision was made for cleaning the streets or for taking away the *débris* occasioned by the exigencies of urban life. The pavements of our streets were generally wretched in character, and the means of transportation offered to the urban population was altogether inadequate. Much of the improvement that has been made in these respects within the last half-century has been due, of course, to the development of scientific methods; but the improvement which has actually taken place would not have been possible had our city governments been as bad as they have sometimes been represented." Professor Goodnow's remedy for the interference of political parties with municipal government is to subject municipalities, when acting as agents of the State government, to an effective State control. "If the State government has such a control over the city government in the interest of the enforcement of general State laws, the desire of the political party to secure the enforcement of the law will not of necessity lead it to endeavor to get control of the city government. The party may secure the enforcement of State law through its control of State government."

HIGH EXPLOSIVES IN WAR.

In a paper on "High Explosives: Uses in Peace and War," Capt. E. L. Zalinski, U. S. A., retired, argues that present conditions do not indicate the advisability of using high explosives, either shell or shrapnel, for military operations in the field. New developments must be made before it is likely that they will be used extensively. They are, however, sure to be used in harbor defenses and in aerial torpedoes projected by torpedo guns.

Dr. Reynold W. Wilcox, of New York, summarizes recent advances in medical science, and M. Th. Ribot writes on "The Nature of the Creative Imagination."

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE *Contemporary Review* for June is an average number, and the best articles it contains are hardly of a nature to admit of adequate summary. We have dealt in the "Leading Articles" with Edith Sellers' description of "The People's Theater in Berlin."

GERMANY AND ANGLO-SAXONDOM.

Mr. Poultney Bigelow contributes a rather desultory article entitled "Germany, England, and America," in which he gives his impressions of the German view of England and things English. The newspapers in Berlin, New York, and London, he says, are guilty of most of the misunderstandings which exist between the three countries, and at the present time a feeling prevails towards England which would make a war between England and Germany possible at any moment. On the subject of the Boer war, Mr. Bigelow says:

"It is a pet idea with most Germans that in some ethnological manner the Transvaal may become the nucleus of a Teutonic state, which in time may be absorbed by a combination of German East and West Africa. The

Boer talks a *patois* not far removed from Mecklenburg Platt Deutsch, and when Paul Krüger first met Bismarck, they are said to have conversed in that jargon. I doubt whether they ever got beyond beer and tobacco with their combination, but for political purposes the interview was important; for ever since, German colonial theorists have hugged the delusion that because Krüger hates England, therefore Boers in general welcome a coalition with the Black Eagle."

The two episodes which have modified the attitude of Germans towards the Anglo-Saxon world were the Emperor's telegram to President Krüger in 1896 and the action of Admiral Diedrichs in 1898.

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

In an article entitled "New Authorities in English Education," Prof. H. W. Withers repeats the old cry for a system of scientific secondary education:

"Science ought not to mean 'natural science' alone, but the whole body of systematic knowledge, whether in the 'humanities' or in 'nature studies.' There is a science of history, and of literary criticism, and of law, and of every kind of human activity, just as truly as there is a science of zoology or of chemistry. Scientific method, it is true, differs in its applications, though not in its ultimate principles, with the various subject-matters of which it treats. It is of the essence of scientific method (which means the best-informed, the most flexible, the most rational method) that it should so differ. And just because scientific method varies, it becomes essential that a 'man of science' should have an all-round liberal training before he devotes himself to his 'specialist' study. Otherwise, he is likely to be unscientific in every province but his own."

CUTTLEFISH AND THEIR WAYS.

Mr. Matthias Dunn, whose article on "Mimicry in Crabs" we noticed at length last month, contributes a complementary paper on "Mimicry and Other Habits of Cuttles." A fragment of a cuttlefish, he says, is preserved in Newfoundland, which scientists say belonged to an animal at least 44 feet long. Mr. Dunn gives some interesting accounts of fights between human beings and these immense fish. Men have often been dragged to destruction by cuttles; and off the coast of Africa cuttlefishes have been found whose feelers were 25 feet long, and whose suckers were as large as pot-lids. In our waters cuttlefishes have never been known to take life; but one of the attendants at the Scarborough Aquarium was once attacked by a small octopus, and only escaped by leaving his boot behind him.

A CATHOLIC CONVERT'S CONFESSIONS.

A convert to Catholicism, who writes under the pseudonym of "Fidelis," sets out some of the reasons why so many of his fellow-converts lose their zeal and become indifferent after conversion. The chief cause, he says, lies in the difficulty of adapting one's self to a new environment; and the inconveniences of this environment "Fidelis" sets out at some length. On the subject of tolerance in the Catholic Church, he has a good deal to say. The difficulty of the convert's position lies in the fact that greater orthodoxy is expected from him than from the born Catholic:

"The proverb that, while one man may steal a horse, another may not look over the hedge, certainly holds good in the case of born Catholics and converts. The latter tremble at first at the audacity with which some

of the former criticise the powers that be, the light-heartedness with which they claim to judge about certain matters connected with the faith apart from authority, and with which they sometimes evade their obligations. The convert notices that such are apparently considered but venial offenses in their case. But if he allows himself a little freedom of speech he will soon find out the difference in their respective positions. What was tolerable in the born Catholic is in his case considered as a sign that the Protestant virus is not yet extinct, and the old Catholics set him in his place by treating him to platitudes and truisms about the nature of the Church and the faith, which he probably knows better than his instructors, having devoted a careful and painstaking study to them for a long period before changing his religion."

OTHER ARTICLES.

The Countess Martinengo-Cesaresco has an article entitled "The Friend of the Creature," in which she deals with the relations of saints and ascetics to animal life, and the peculiar powers which divine and human personages have been supposed to exert over savage beasts.

Mr. Lionel Phillips contributes "Observations on South Africa," and M. Yves Guyot a paper on "French Boerophiles and Anglophobes."

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

COL. J. H. RIVETT-CARNAC contributes to the *Nineteenth Century* for June a detailed description of Swiss rifle clubs and their organization. In 1898 Switzerland contained 3,447 rifle clubs with 210,524 members, out of a total population of only 3,000,000, or more than one rifle club for every parish in the country. Every Swiss club has at least 10 members, and any one may be a member, whether a native or a foreigner. Ammunition is not supplied free, but the Confederation issues it to clubs at 60 francs per thousand. There are also in Switzerland 51 revolver clubs for officers, with 486 members. Shooting-matches among the officers are very popular. Musketry is also taught in the boys' schools, the cadet corps going through a course and being rewarded with grants and prizes.

THE AWAKENING OF CHINA.

Prof. K. Douglas, in a paper on "The Intellectual Awakening of China," deals with the efforts of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge Among the Chinese. The war with Japan gave a strong impetus to the study of Western learning among the Chinese, by teaching them that they were behind the age. In 1893, before the war, only \$817 worth of the society's books were sold; but in 1898, after it, the sales had risen to \$18,457. The society's books treat of all kinds of Western learning, such as geography, history, science, and travel, as well as the Bible, and 4,000 copies of McKenzie's "Nineteenth Century" were once sold within a fortnight. Western civilization, we are told, was not needed to introduce literary piracy into China; and, literary copyright being unknown, the society's publications have been largely reprinted by the Chinese themselves whenever their success justified such a step.

A FAMOUS ASTRONOMER.

It is now nearly 300 years since Tycho Brahe, the famous Danish astronomer, died, and in a very interesting article Mr. Arthur Ponsonby revives his memory and

describes his life work. He was greater as an observer and mathematician than as a philosopher and thinker, and, having insured accuracy in his observations, he made no attempt to go farther. His conception of the universe was retrograde when compared with the system of Copernicus. He believed the earth to be the center of the universe, and the sun the center of the orbits of the planets, the sun together with the planets moving around the earth. Kepler was Tycho Brahe's favorite pupil; and Kepler, although he surpassed his master's fame, was greatly indebted to him for his observations.

ANGLICANISM.

The prospects of Anglicanism are discussed, not very optimistically, by the Rev. Dr. Cobb. At the present moment Anglicanism, he says, is in the position of an ancient building from which time has removed one support after another, until it now resembles a pyramid standing on its apex. It is a question of life and death whether other supports can be made to take the place of the old ones:

"If the foundation can be enlarged to cover the center of gravity, then Anglicanism may take a fresh lease of life. But if the fatuous policy of the ordinary Church defender be persisted in, if an appeal to history be trusted to alone as all-powerful to bring back the wanderers from the Anglican fold, then Anglicanism is most inevitably doomed. Even the British throne would not stand the stress and storm of modern democratic requirements if it were content to point to its venerable records. It is fruits, not roots, that men look to to-day; and the old adage, By their fruits ye shall know them, is the one which, rightly or wrongly, is used as the test of all institutions, all societies, and all claimants for popular support."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Capt. Fitzalan Manners traces the history of the old Irish Guards of the seventeenth century, who ended their troubled career, as far as the British Isles were concerned, at the surrender of Limerick. Mr. H. Heathcote Statham has an article on the genius of Handel. Mr. Wilfrid Ward writes on "Liberalism and Intransigence," and Mrs. Stephen Batson an article entitled "The Vogue of the Garden-Book."

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for June is a number of considerable but not exceptional merit, but it is interesting as indicating the slump in interest in the war—an interest which even the relief of Mafeking but temporarily revived. We have dealt elsewhere with Mr. R. S. Gundry's description of the Chinese *coup d'état*, and with Mr. D. C. Boulger's article on "The Coming Afghan Crisis."

A GREAT ACTRESS.

The visit of Madame Eleanora Duse to London gives a timely interest to Miss Helen Zimmern's study of the great actress' career. Miss Zimmern says:

"Duse's art is not to her merely a means of livelihood. It is a love, an instinct, a part of herself; and it is just this, and the dread of being unprepared, of not doing justice to herself or to her rôle, that restricts her repertoire and limits her performances. She studies quickly, as far as the actual words are concerned, but spends an immense time and infinite care over the elaboration

and arrangement of her work; lacking almost every personal qualification for the stage; possessing a voice which is fairly melodious in its middle notes, but apt to grow harsh when raised—a figure which, though slender and supple, is not distinguished by any beauty of form; no presence, nothing imposing; a complexion dark and sickly, and refusing, except where the exigencies of the part require it, to add to the illusion by make-up of any kind: she relies solely upon the charm of her personality and the power of her acting to win her audience into sympathy, and win it she does when she so wills."

THE ACADEMY EXHIBITION.

Mr. H. Heathcote Statham deals with some aspects of the Academy of 1900. After Mr. Abbey's pictures, portraits, he thinks, are the strength of this year's exhibition. The sculpture is hardly equal to that of last year; or, at any rate, the number of really interesting works is not so great. Military pictures, strange to say, are not strong; and landscapes are weak. In general, however, Mr. Statham pronounces the present exhibition to be one of the best and most interesting for some years past; though he thinks that its chief glories come from two American artists, Mr. Sargent and Mr. Edwin Abbey.

THE GOVERNMENT FACTORY BILL.

The factory bill now before Parliament is treated in detail by Gertrude M. Tuckwell, the secretary of the Woman's Trade-Union League. The great defects of the bill, she says, are, firstly, the weakness of the proposals with regard to dangerous trades; and, secondly, the principle which underlies many of the proposals of substituting for Parliamentary enactment the Home Secretary's discretionary power.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Ernest Rhys, writing on "The New Mysticism," discusses at length the writings of "Fiona Macleod."

The most solid article in the June *Fortnightly* is hardly suitable for treatment here. It is a translation by Mr. Alfred Sutro of Maeterlinck's "Evolution of Mystery," and deals at great length, but in a very abstract fashion, with many problems of esthetics and philosophy.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

THE paper by Mr. Yerburgh on "Count Muravieff's Triumph," in the *National Review* for June, is dealt with in our "Leading Articles of the Month."

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND ENGLAND.

Sir Rowland Blennerhassett contributes an article on "Great Britain and the Dual Monarchy," in which he lays stress on the friendliness of the Austrian Emperor toward England. In the event of a quarrel arising between England and France, the influence of Austria might be used on behalf of peace. In Hungary, the most homogeneous part of the Austrian Empire, sympathy with England has always been strong. Sir Rowland Blennerhassett concludes his article, however, by warning England that she cannot rely upon any Continental power to take her part in case she should find herself engaged in a great war.

THE TRAINING OF SEAMEN.

Rear-Admiral Fitzgerald replies to an article published in the *United Service Magazine* by Admiral

Noel, in which the training of seamen in masted ships was advocated. He says:

"Masted ships are not war-machines; every one admits they are obsolete as such, and I submit that the special art of working them is also obsolete as one of the arts of naval warfare; and that it has not been proved that a mere smattering—almost a caricature—of the sailor's art, such as can be picked up in a few months in a rigged steamer, is necessary to fit officers and men to work successfully our modern war-machines."

The modern ship is nothing but a mass of mechanism, and the first duty of a sailor is to make himself a good shot and a good mechanic.

ENGLAND AND THE COLONIES.

Mr. Arnold White has an article entitled "Britannia and the Colonist," in which he protests against the current habit of looking at the colonist as something outside and inferior, which is universal in government circles. He says:

"Colonists on a visit to England find that we are not only defective in directing ability as applied to war and diplomacy, but that there is a general slackness apparent throughout the whole structure of our social and official administrative life. In two directions is this alleged deterioration specially perceptible to colonial visitors—i.e., the enormous masses of ill-clad and half-fed people in the great cities, and the sinister growth of alien and financial influences over society and government. To the clear vision of men fresh from the realities of life it seems as though official England before the war was in an unhealthy dream, and that the bureaucrats' inability to recognize unpleasing facts suggested paralysis rather than fortitude. Businesslike himself, and accustomed to smart business methods, the colonist finds the circumlocution and fertility of obstructive resources characteristic of English bureaucracy most depressing."

Mr. White suggests the word 'Britannian' as a name which could be applied to all the subjects of the empire without giving offense to any. He publishes a number of letters from colonial representatives in London on the subject, but most of them do not seem to agree with his opinion that the term "colonist" is offensive.

LESSONS FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

Admiral Maxse gives us his impressions of South Africa, dealing with both political and military problems. He has been at Kimberley, and thinks that the town might easily have been captured by the Boers if they had made a general attack upon it. The defense was a game of bluff, and the garrison of only 4,000 men had to protect a circumference of twelve miles. Admiral Maxse recommends that the khaki uniform should now be worn in time of peace as well as during war. The moral of the war, he says, is that "with modern weapons, courage alone is insufficient to win battles." The constant repetition of this sapient remark by writers, military and otherwise, makes it very pertinent to know at what period of history "courage alone was sufficient to win battles."

EDITORS AND PROPRIETORS.

Mr. Arthur Shadwell replies to Mr. Massingham's article on "The Ethics of Editing." He says:

"As to the outcry about the liberty of the press and freedom of speech, which has recently been raised in connection with the commercial proprietor and his interference with editorial discretion, it is raised in anger

and confusion of mind. Freedom of speech and the liberty of the press mean the right to speak and publish without suppression by the police or other executive. They do not mean the right to be listened to. What is really demanded of the newspaper proprietor by the malcontents is not merely a pulpit or a platform, but an audience. But the poor man cannot give it them, nor any one else. The press is free enough. Speeches and resolutions in favor of the enemy are reported; letters in their defense by Mr. Massingham and others appear from day to day. If this is not sufficient, it is open to any one to start a newspaper specially devoted to their cause. If it would pay, it would be done, even, and on that very account by the unprincipled and greedy capitalist, whose only guide is that which pays. And it would pay if it had sufficient readers. What is lacking is not liberty, but a sympathetic audience."

A CONVERT FROM CATHOLICISM.

Mr. Arthur Galton continues his explanation why he left the Roman Catholic Church. His confessions are rather *naïve*, and he seems to have been the victim of a rather strange self-deception. The Catholic Church, he says, is not even the Latin Church, and much less the Roman; and the Papacy, as we understand the term, so far from being apostolic or primitive, is later than Gregory the First. Mr. Galton came to distrust Catholicism politically as well as theologically, and felt that every convert to Rome was a loss to England as well as to Christianity.

OTHER ARTICLES.

The Rev. H. Hensley Henson writes on "The Mivart Episode;" the Rev. C. H. Beeching has a paper on "Passion and Imagination in Poetry."

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

THE *Westminster Review* for June opens with a very appreciative sketch of the character of the late Mr. Jacob Bright. The article is anonymous, and the writer pays a high tribute to Mr. Bright's sincerity and disinterestedness. He never thought of aggrandizement or sought any personal honors, and Lord Rosebery's proposal to make him a privy counselor came to him as a complete surprise.

THE DANGER OF EMPIRE.

Mr. F. A. A. Rowland writes on this subject. The danger of England's great imperial schemes lies not in themselves, but in the entire neglect of domestic reform which they are the cause of. Parliament is now an imperial machine; domestic legislation is regarded as humdrum and treated with indifference, and while England is extending her dominion all over the globe she is taking no precaution to make her people at home fit to control it. In countries like Switzerland, where foreign politics do not vitiate the legislative taste, domestic legislation keeps step with the needs of the people. The only remedy is, therefore, decentralization. Let Parliament remain the imperial machine, and let domestic reforms be the work of local parliaments. Mr. Rowland says that if the American empire should ever rival the British the system of State government would prove invaluable. Something of the kind seems to be wanted in England, for a parliament which was fit to govern fifteen million people is not fit to control an empire twenty times as populous,

MR. CHAMBERLAIN AND THE RAID.

Mr. H. H. L. Bellot continues his series of articles on "The Problem in South Africa." He deals this month at some length with the question of the raid, and says that the evidence that Mr. Chamberlain was cognizant of the Jameson plan is incontrovertible. Referring to Dr. Harris' "confidential" talk with Mr. Chamberlain, he says:

"The evidence cuts both ways. It is evidence that Mr. Chamberlain was innocent of complicity in the raid, but it also proves that he had cognizance of the plan. Assuming Mr. Chamberlain to be *particeps criminis* in the Jameson plan, how far is his conduct justified? From the point of view of international law, of course, a constitutional minister is not warranted in conniving at a revolutionary conspiracy, even where his own countrymen are concerned. If, in addition to this, he was also the author of the British-flag policy, then he committed not only a constitutional but a political blunder of the gravest character. So far as the Jameson plan is concerned, I agree with Mr. Stead that his conduct does not call for any severe censure from the moralist. Had Mr. Chamberlain frankly confessed his share in the Jameson plan and invited investigation, he would have lost little in public estimation. Instead, every obstacle to prevent the elucidation of the truth was raised. Cablegrams which were vital to the inquiry were allowed to be destroyed, the production of others still in existence was refused, witnesses who came prepared with important evidence were dismissed unquestioned, or stopped whenever they approached the real point—in fact, the whole inquiry was a farce, and intended to be a farce. The South African Committee was appointed, not to elicit the truth, but to conceal it. One or two questions in cross-examination of Mr. Chamberlain would quickly have revealed how far he was committed. Nothing of this kind took place. On the contrary, Mr. Rhodes was made the scapegoat; and Mr. Chamberlain squared accounts by presenting that gentleman with a certificate of honor in the House of Commons, after having previously signed the report accusing Mr. Rhodes of lying and of acting with bad faith, not only to the Imperial Government, but to his colleagues and subordinates, by inducing the latter to believe that the Colonial Office was a consenting party to the conspiracy."

THE BOERS AT HOME.

Mr. Jenkin Jenkins has a short paper on the Boers. His verdict, which is written from personal experience, is that the Boers are a mixture of good and bad; and, therefore, in no way different from other races. Nowhere has he met with such kind-hearted hospitality as among them.

"Good and bad occur in all races; and if a certain coarse type is apt to occur more frequently in Africa than elsewhere, we may safely attribute it to the rough, half-civilized condition of the country, and its lack of refining influences. In our big towns, where there is far less excuse for it, we find a type of brutality infinitely worse than anything Africa can bring forth, and a man might walk from Buluwayo to Cape Town with

far less chance of molestation from his fellow-man than would be the case if he went by night through the paved and lighted streets of civilized London. The one part of Africa which is more dangerous than an English slum, and which our traveler would do well to avoid, would, strange to say, be that triumph of civilization, Johannesburg. Whether he falls into the hands of an Uitlander robber or a Transvaal zarp, he is to be pitied by all lovers of law and order. Far better for him to avoid the towns and trust himself to the tender mercies of the rough men of the veldt, who, in nine cases out of ten, open their doors to the dusty wayfarer as readily as they will shoot him who comes with armed force against them."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Elizabeth S. Diack describes the position of "Women in the Ancient World." Mr. James Sykes reviews Mr. Kinlock Cooke's story of the life of the late Duchess of Teck, which he describes as a "*Mulum in Parvo* biography." There is an article on Liberal policy by J. M. K., and a short article contending against conscription on the principle that, as England has done nothing for her children, she cannot expect them to do anything for her.

CORNHILL.

THE finest paper in the eminently readable June number of *Cornhill* is Mr. Thomas Seccombe's appreciation of M. Anatole France, under the heading, "A Literary Nihilist." "As a skeptic," he says, "M. France doubts everything, and in all things discovers the secret defect. . . . But, starting from the pessimistic conviction of the incurable badness and weakness of humanity, he is finally touched by the wretchedness and instability of human destiny." M. France exalts, as the two good counselors of human life, Irony and Pity—the smile of the one making life agreeable to us, the tears of the other making it sacred. The reviewer considers that "as a corrective to the monotony of those rhapsodies upon our noble selves, with which every paper and platform in the land is for ever resounding, the value of an English satirist of the caliber of M. Anatole France could hardly be overrated."

"The Warders of the West," of whom Mr. E. B. Osborn writes most entertainingly, and from personal experience, are the Canadian Northwest Mounted Police. The force is mostly composed of English-born men, and nine times out of ten the man is "the scion of a decent family." The English gentleman predominates.

Karl Blind's story of his life in "Years of Storm and Stress" becomes quite thrilling as he tells of his trial in Freiburg in 1848, which ended in a sentence for him of five years' solitary confinement, and then of his sudden release owing to a revolution in the army.

"Georgian Gossips" is the title of a paper by Miss A. M. Wilson, in which she reports the conversation of certain aged parishioners at the Queen's Jubilee in 1887; among the rest of a parish clerk, over ninety, who "minded right well" the celebrations which greeted the opening century in 1800, when he dined with his grandmother, who was born in 1706.

THE FRENCH REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

M. BENOIST, continuing his interesting papers on the Iron Chancellor, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for May, deals with Bismarck the man. Bismarck's piety was Lutheran and Prussian—the piety of a loyalist and a royalist; a soldier and an official, untainted by any conscious hypocrisy. He rigorously divided in his mind the functions of the statesman from the functions of God. The safety of the state was the work of the statesman; the salvation of man was the work of man himself and of God. Thus he was very intolerant in the affairs of the state, but in religious matters he was quite the reverse.

IRON AT THE PARIS EXHIBITION.

M. de La Sizeranne writes an interesting and thoughtful paper on the employment of iron in the Paris Exhibition. He thinks that the use of iron in architecture in the construction of those wonderfully various buildings of the Exhibition—which must have considerably astonished the migratory birds on the lookout for good nesting-places—will remain the distinguishing feature of this year's show; and he pleads for the rise of a really characteristic order of architecture out of the benevolent neutrality with which every conceivable style has been regarded. It is necessary, he thinks, to realize that iron is come to stay; and the first step is to clear away from iron buildings everything that is useless, so that they be reduced to the minimum necessary for fulfilling the object for which they are built. If this is done the buildings cease to be ugly, but are not yet beautiful; and it is with this necessary addition of beauty that the architecture of the future must concern itself.

THE PAN-CELTIC MOVEMENT.

M. Le Goffic writes a long and important paper on what he calls the Pan-Celtic movement. He sees in the Celtic fringes all the germs of a strong agitation, which may have important political consequences in the immediate future. At present the Pan-Celtic elements in Ireland, Wales and Scotland, and even in Brittany, are isolated, and have no common programme; nevertheless, there have been tentative movements toward a union of forces. The powerful Welsh organization called "Gorsedd Beird ynys Prydian" was represented in 1897 by a bard at the Dublin celebration of the "Feiz-Ceoil." Not long afterwards Ireland was represented at the Eisteddfod; and, later on, both Irish and Welsh delegates were present at the "Mod" of Gaelic Scotland. At the Eisteddfod in 1899 at Cardiff official representatives of Brittany, as well as of Scotland and Ireland, were present, together with delegates representing the various Celtic groups in America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and India. Moreover, Cornwall and the Isle of Man, which both have a Celtic origin, decided to join also. The outcome of a Celtic Congress in Dublin which followed was the creation of the Pan-Celtic League, the object of which is to preserve the Celtic nationality. M. Le Goffic looks forward to a time when Europe may have to reckon with Pan-Celticism, just as she has to reckon now with Pan-Slavism and Pan-Germanism.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Among other articles may be mentioned the beginning of a series on the pacification of Madagascar, by

M. Lebon, the ex-French colonial minister, who became notorious in connection with his treatment of Dreyfus; M. Émile Ollivier begins a series of papers on the inauguration of the Third Empire.

NOUVELLE REVUE.

THE *Nouvelle Revue* for May fully maintains its reputation for articles of importance and interest. In the second May number, Captain Gilbert continues his series of papers on the operations in South Africa. He deals this time with the mobilization and the concentration of the British forces, which he arranges in a series of tables, exhibiting very clearly and intelligently their distribution at the various stages of the campaign. It is interesting to note that he is far from joining in the chorus of denunciation of the War Office. Captain Gilbert is not less interesting on the subject of the Boer strategy. He says that it must be recognized that the position at the opening of the war had been foreseen and prepared for by the Boers, who also had the advantage of the diplomatic initiative. Their object in taking the offensive against Natal was to create a diversion for the benefit of the Orange Free State. Generally speaking, Captain Gilbert declares that the Boer plan of operations defies criticism, having regard to the character of their forces and to the geography of the war. The only objection that he has to urge against them is that they did not know how to change their plan in time.

In her letters on foreign politics, Madame Adam naturally comments on the war. She notes the recent action of the German Emperor, notably his journey to Altona to greet the Prince of Wales, and his message to the English people contained in the first number of Mr. Pearson's *Daily Express*—an action which contrasts so forcibly with his Imperial Majesty's famous telegram to Mr. Krüger. She looks forward to a new series of contradictions emanating from the mobile mind of the German Emperor. Madame Adam points out that the refusal of Russia to interfere in the war has rendered her diplomatic victories in China, Persia, Korea, and Turkey more decisive than ever; while she emphasizes the extreme bitterness of the feeling in Germany against England. Madame Adam roundly declares that Mr. Rhodes has shielded Lord Methuen, and has also secured benevolent treatment for that officer from Lord Roberts; she draws an analogy between Mr. Rhodes and Lord Kitchener, and accuses the latter of ordering the assassination of prisoners, and even of abandoning his own sick and wounded.

A FRENCHMAN IN NEW YORK.

M. Reynaud describes, in a pleasant little article, the impressions which New York produced upon him. He was troubled, as are most Europeans, by the frightful noise, which contrasted so unfavorably with the calm, restful existence one leads on board the liner. He goes over the somewhat familiar ground of the growth of American cities, the skyscrapers, the elevated railroads, the general absorption in business, the Chinese colony, and the great servant question. It is interesting to note that M. Reynaud relies upon the taste of the American woman to transform New York into one of the most beautiful cities of the world.

THE NEW BOOKS.

RECENT AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

A History of the People of the United States. By John Bach McMaster. 7 vols. Vol. V.; 8vo, pp. 577. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$2.50.

The fifth volume of Professor McMaster's unique history covers the period between 1821 and 1830 in virtually the same manner in which the earlier periods of our national history have been treated by this author. The distinction of Professor McMaster's work as a whole lies in the nature of the materials out of which it has been evolved. As is well known, great use has been made by Professor McMaster of newspaper files and contemporary accounts of events and conditions. In this particular volume special attention has been paid to socialistic and labor movements, industrial development, and educational progress, as well as to the political history of the times, to which other authors have contributed to a greater or less extent. Such matters as the introduction of gas and anthracite coal, the opening of the Erie Canal, and the beginnings of railroad traffic are described with great fullness and attention to detail. For purposes of reference on these and kindred topics, no history of this period thus far published approaches McMaster's in completeness.

Our Presidents, and How We Make Them. By A. K. McClure. 8vo, pp. 418. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$2.

One book which is sure of a kindly reception, in this campaign year, is Col. A. K. McClure's "Our Presidents, and How We Make Them." Colonel McClure is not the first writer to tell the story of American Presidential elections, but no predecessor has treated the subject with so full a knowledge of the ground covered. In not less than fourteen of the twenty-nine Presidential campaigns through which our country has passed, Colonel McClure has been an active participant; and with most of the candidates of the last half-century he has been personally acquainted. The special value of his book, therefore, lies in the entertaining and instructive comments which he has been able to add to the record. Colonel McClure's account of the "inside movements" in such important political contests as the national Republican conventions of 1860, 1876, and 1880 throw new light on many of the phases of those gatherings. The title of Colonel McClure's book is exactly descriptive of the subject-matter, which has to do, not with the bare facts of Presidential elections as they appear in ordinary histories, but with the actual making of Presidents, including the various forces at work in the nominating conventions, as well as in the formal campaigns.

The United States Naval Academy. By Park Benjamin. 8vo, pp. 486. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3.50.

Mr. Park Benjamin, of the class of '67 of the United States Naval Academy, has honored his alma mater by an admirable history of cadet life at that institution. The quaint sub-title chosen by Mr. Benjamin describes the book so well, and is so flavored with the interest of the narrative, that we quote it in full: "The Yarn of the American Midshipman (Naval Cadet) showing his Life in the old Frigates and Ships-of-the-Line, and then at the Naval School at Annapolis; and how that Institution became a famous Naval College, meanwhile making him into the most accomplished and versatile young Seaman in the World; together with some Reference to the Boys best suited for the Navy, and what they must do and know to get into the Naval Academy, and what they have to expect while there; and also

many Pictures, all properly stopped to the Yarn as it is handsomely paid out." In Mr. Benjamin's entertaining pages are recorded the doings of Cadets Dewey, Sampson, and Schley, not to mention other names which in recent years have become distinguished in the annals of the American Navy. An appendix to the work contains a complete roll of the graduates of the academy. The volume is profusely illustrated.

The Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Spanish America. By John H. Latané. 12mo, pp. 294. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. \$1.50.

This volume contains the Albert Shaw lectures on diplomatic history at the Johns Hopkins University in 1899, by John H. Latané, Ph.D. In the introductory chapter the writer makes a concise presentation of the facts of the revolutions of Spanish-American colonies in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Then follows a discussion of the part played by the United States and England in the foundation of the Spanish-American republics. The succeeding chapters deal with "The Diplomacy of the United States in Regard to Cuba"; "The Proposed Central American Canal," and "The Present Status of the Monroe Doctrine." It is needless to say that a clear understanding of the late war with Spain and its causes would be impossible without taking into account the whole history of our Cuban diplomacy. This has been very fully and satisfactorily treated by Dr. Latané.

The Mississippi Valley in the Civil War. By John Fiske. 12mo, pp. 368. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$2.

In his latest volume, Mr. John Fiske adopts the rôle of military historian. The work, indeed, forms no part of the general plan to which Mr. Fiske's former writings on the history of the United States conform. The reader is asked to dismiss from his mind the contemporary incidents of general history, and to consider only the military operations of which the Mississippi Valley formed the theater. While Mr. Fiske frankly admits that his sympathies have always been intensely Northern, "as befits a Connecticut Yankee," he still cherishes a sincere admiration for the character of Gen. Robert E. Lee, whose devotion to the Confederate cause he likens to the loyalty of Falkland to the prerogative of Charles the First. Mr. Fiske has sympathized with so many rebellions from those very ancient times down to the uprising of the Cubans in 1895 that the term "rebel" seems to him anything but a term of reproach. He does not hesitate to use it in his book as giving expression to the mere fact that the South was trying to cast off an established government. Mr. Fiske's narrative is illustrated with maps made from sketches by the author.

On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer: the Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés (Missionary Priest). Translated and edited by Elliott Coues. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. xxx-812; 296. New York: Francis P. Harper. \$6.

The last work of the late Dr. Coues was the editing of the diary and itinerary of Francisco Garcés, a Spanish priest and Franciscan friar, who traveled extensively in Sonora, Arizona, and California in the years 1775-76 as a missionary to various Indian tribes. Dr. Coues had a special interest in the subject-matter of this diary, as he himself had lived in Arizona at three widely separated intervals,—1864-65, 1880-81, and 1892,—and had traveled over nearly all of the routes taken by the missionary priest both in Arizona and Califor-

nia. Believing as he did that Arizona, though the longest-known corner of the United States, was the least generally known of all, Dr. Coues thought that there could not be a better introduction to the history of our great Southwest than such a knowledge of the topography of the country as that afforded by the diary of Garcés. The work as translated and edited by Dr. Coues is in two volumes, with maps, views, and facsimiles.

English Common Law in the Early American Colonies.

By Paul Samuel Reinsch. (Economics, Political Science, and History Series.) 8vo, pp. 64. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin. Paper, 50 cents.

In this thesis, Dr. Reinsch presents the attitude of the colonists during the seventeenth century, and in some cases during the eighteenth, toward the common law of England. In the colonies of New England the departure from the common law is most clearly marked, while some of the Middle and Southern colonies adhere more closely to the Old World model.

The Colonial Executive Prior to the Restoration. By Percy Lewis Kaye. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.) 8vo, pp. 84. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. Paper, 50 cents.

In his study of the colonial executive prior to 1660, Dr. Kaye has approached the subject from three points of view. He has considered in the first place the various documents, such as charter commissions and letters of instruction to the governors, in order to determine the scope and character of the power conferred on the executive officers in the several colonies; the means by which they were limited in the use of the executive prerogative, and the instruments at hand with which to enforce their command. He has further examined the connection between the colonies and the mother-country, by what means the English administration was carried out, and, finally, he discusses the executive in its relations to popular assemblies and legislatures.

McLoughlin and Old Oregon. By Eva Emery Dye. 12mo, pp. 381. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. \$1.50.

This is a graphic and entertaining sketch of pioneer days in Oregon. It deals with the important part played by Dr. McLoughlin as agent of the Hudson Bay Company during the struggle between Great Britain and the United States for this valuable territory. The story of the Whitman massacre and of the famous winter's journey which saved Oregon to the United States are related in this volume, with other interesting episodes.

The Klondike Stampede. By Tappan Adney. 8vo, pp. 471. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$3.

Mr. Tappan Adney has put on record the remarkable story of the rush to the Klondike in the years 1897-98. It is well that this record has been made by one who had a part in the events described, and who describes so graphically the pioneers in that strange emigration. Mr. Adney served as special correspondent of *Harper's Weekly* in the Klondike for several years, and his letters to that journal were among the most widely read of the earlier accounts of the development of the Yukon region. The work is profusely illustrated.

Congressional Grants of Land in Aid of Railways. By John Bell Sanborn. (Economics, Political Science, and History Series of the University of Wisconsin.) 8vo, pp. 180. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin. Paper, 50 cents.

The subject of Dr. Sanborn's study has been strangely neglected by most historians. Dr. Sanborn has endeavored to trace the history of railroad land-grants from their inception to the present time. He gives an account of the various

land-grant bills, the arguments for and against them, and the forces which caused their success or failure; connecting this bare legislative history with the other features of our public-land policy. He has also considered the influence of land-grant legislation on the other issues of the time.

London to Ladysmith, via Pretoria. By Winston Spencer Churchill. 12mo, pp. 496. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.50.

The most interesting portion of Mr. Churchill's narrative is the account of his imprisonment at Pretoria and his successful escape. Portions of this story have already appeared in the press. As an apology for the brevity of this part of his story, Mr. Churchill remarks: "The fact that a man's life depends upon my discretion compels me to omit an essential part of the story of my escape from the Boers; but if the book and its author survive the war, and when the British flag is firmly planted at Bloemfontein and Pretoria, I shall hasten to fill the gap in the narrative." Among the illustrations in the volume is a plan of the States Model Schools of Pretoria, where the British officers were confined.

Towards Pretoria. By Julian Ralph. 12mo, pp. 328. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. \$1.50.

The story of the Boer war, down to the relief of Kimberley, is told in a few graphic chapters by Mr. Julian Ralph, special war correspondent of the London *Daily Mail*. Mr. Ralph's abilities as a war correspondent, which were already well known in America, have been highly commended by the English press—London *Literature* even going so far as to place him at the top of the list. Mr. Ralph accompanied Lord Methuen's troops, and his account of the operations of that division of the British army has been regarded as among the most satisfactory published.

Besieged by the Boers: A Diary of Life and Events in Kimberley During the Siege. By E. Oliver Ashe. 12mo, pp. 175. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. \$1.25.

This is the story of the hospital surgeon at Kimberley during the siege. Because it was not intended for publication, it is the more interesting as an account of siege life. Mr. Julian Ralph says of it: "The public will get, as it got from Pepys' diary, the full charm of a free and easy, human, wholly frank and artless story of an active and manly man's experience at a great crisis. I know that it will stand alone and will last as long as men care to read of life under queer, untoward, and extraordinary conditions. It is frank, human, gossipy, fair, fearless, and true. It will be sure to have a good sale, for it is free and fearless as the air on the veldt."

The Story of the Nineteenth Century of the Christian Era. By Elbridge S. Brooks. 8vo, pp. 409. Boston: Lothrop Publishing Co. \$1.50.

In this volume, Mr. Brooks makes an interesting summary of modern progress in ten periods, beginning with the age of Napoleon and concluding with the age of Edison.

An Outline of Political Growth in the Nineteenth Century. By Edmund Hamilton Sears. 12mo, pp. 616. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$3.

In this work the author has endeavored to cover the entire political field, and give a succinct account of every nation existing under popular government. He has traced, in detail, the course of political events throughout the world during the past century. At the end of the volume there is an extensive bibliography.

A History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation. By Andrew Lang. 2 vols. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. xxvi+509. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$3.50.

In the first volume of his "History of Scotland," Mr. Andrew Lang begins with the Roman occupation, and brings his narrative down to the death of Cardinal Beaton, in 1546. In this volume, Mr. Lang has made large use of his knowl-

edge of the personal peculiarities of many historical characters drawn from contemporary records. He has also included sketches of social life and manners from a very early period. Mr. Lang devotes considerable attention to the so-called miracles of the seventh and eighth centuries, on the ground that belief in such occurrences occupied the human intelligence in those times as much as science does among us.

Modern Italy, 1748-1898. ("Story of the Nations" Series.) By Pietro Orsi. Translated by Mary Alice Vials. 12mo, pp. 404. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

An optimistic work on "Modern Italy, 1748-1898," by Pietro Orsi, has been translated for the "Story of the Nations" series by Mary Alice Vials. While admitting that, for the time being, "Italy may be the victim of a crisis in the area of politics that is produced by weariness," this writer holds that it is not an exhaustion that affects her inmost vitality, and predicts that when once the crisis is surmounted Italy will honorably fill the place to which, among European powers, she aspires.

France Since 1814. By Baron Pierre de Coubertin. 12mo, pp. 281. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

Very timely, for more reasons than one, is the publication of the Baron Pierre de Coubertin's "France Since 1814"—a Frenchman's patriotic effort to help foreigners to a better opinion of his fatherland. Baron de Coubertin has endeavored to emphasize the continuity of modern French history as opposed to the prevalent error of historians in regarding it as split into several distinct periods. One lesson that this Frenchman draws from the history of contemporary France is the wholesome one that revolutions and sudden changes are, as a rule, fruitless. France has learned from bitter experience that, "even where they seemed destined to bring about improvements and confer advantages, the far-off counter-blow is ominous."

The Story of France from the Earliest Times to the Consulate of Napoleon Bonaparte. By Thomas E. Watson. 2 vols. Vol. II. 8vo, pp. 1076. New York: Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

Notwithstanding all the ponderous volumes that have been written and published concerning the rise and fall of French absolutism, it is a matter of congratulation to Americans of the present day that one of their number has seen fit to retell the story in his own inimitable way, and from the modern American point of view. On the appearance of the first volume of Mr. Thomas E. Watson's "Story of France," that writer's journalistic qualities of style attracted perhaps more attention than any other feature of his work. The power to picture events vividly, to make the historical narrative move rapidly, is the distinguishing trait of Mr. Watson as an historian; and in his second volume, covering the period from the end of the reign of Louis XV. to the consulate of Napoleon, this trait is even more strikingly exemplified than in the earlier volume. The 1,800 pages of Mr. Watson's two volumes represent a literary labor such as few American writers of this generation have been ready to undertake.

The Memoirs of the Baroness Cecile de Courtot. By Moritz von Kaisenberg. Translated from the German by Jessie Haynes. 8vo, pp. 298. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$2.

The Baroness Cecile de Courtot was a lady-in-waiting to the French Court at the time of the Revolution, a witness of the Reign of Terror, and, finally, an interested observer of Bonaparte's Reign as First Consul. Her "Memoirs," compiled from letters and the diary of a friend by her great-grandson, Moritz von Kaisenberg, have been translated from the German by Jessie Haynes. These "Memoirs" contain many personal reminiscences of the scenes through which their author passed. The only wonder is that their publication has been so long delayed.

Historical Memoirs of the Emperor Alexander I. and the Court of Russia. By Mdme la Comtesse de Choiseul-Gouffier. Translated from the original French by Mary Berenice Patterson. 12mo, pp. xx-321. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. \$1.50.

These memoirs, of which an English translation is now presented for the first time, contain details concerning the assassination of Paul I.; the conduct of Alexander during and after the conspiracy which gave him the empire; what took place in the campaign of 1812; the attitude of the Congress of Vienna, when it learned that in the month of March, 1815, Napoleon had escaped from the island of Elba and returned to France, and facts connected with the last illness and death of Alexander.

The Story of Moscow. By Wirt Gerrare. 16mo, pp. 315. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

To most of us, who think of Russia itself as a modern nation, it will at first seem strange to include Moscow among medieval towns. Yet the writer of this little book has succeeded in constructing a very interesting account of the town and its vicissitudes during the five centuries ending at the reign of Peter the Great, the time from which most historians date the real growth of the Russian empire. The illustrations, by Helen M. James, are dainty pieces of drawing.

Japan: Country, Court, and People. By J. C. Calhoun Newton. 12mo, pp. 432. Nashville: Barbee & Smith. \$1.

The writer of this work, long a missionary in Japan, has attempted to give a comprehensive view of the Japanese country, court, and people. While not intended to supplant the more elaborate works dealing with the same subjects, this book is designed to bring information on these topics, in a comparatively small compass, within reach of all who take interest in the future of the race and the advancement of Christianity. Dr. Newton has endeavored to develop the story of the Japanese people, including political movements, wars, religious customs, and arts, along the line of consecutive historical narrative. He shows how the remarkable feudal system of government and civilization, which existed for more than eight hundred years, grew out of the tribal and patriarchal forms. This will suggest to the reader many parallels and contrasts to the feudalisms of Europe. A distinctive feature of Dr. Newton's book is his discussion of Japanese art. The honorable part played by the United States in opening the country in 1854-68, through Commodore Perry and the Hon. Townsend Harris, is fully described. The author believes that the ever-increasing intercourse and trade between the United States and Japan, likely to be brought about through the Nicaragua Canal and other developments in the near future, will tend to make Japan a Christian nation, though not narrowly sectarian.

The End of Villainage in England. By Thomas Walker Page. (Publications of the American Economic Association.) 8vo, pp. 99. New York: The Macmillan Company. Paper, \$1.

This paper discusses the gradual extension of the rights of the "villains," or serfs, in the eastern, midland, and southern counties of England, and the abolition of their disabilities until they were on an equality with freemen. This is a subject on which there is certainly no lack of literature, but perhaps it is the more necessary that the various authorities and sources of information should be analyzed and reviewed in a brief and scholarly monograph of this nature.

A Short History of Monks and Monasteries. By Alfred Wesley Wishart. 8vo, pp. 454. Trenton, N. J.: Albert Brandt. \$3.50.

This beautifully printed work, by Alfred Wesley Wishart, sometime Fellow in Church History in the University of Chicago, comes to us bearing an imprint heretofore unknown in the publishing world. Beginning with the rise of

monasticism in the East, Mr. Wishart traces its spread westward, and reviews the origin and development of each of the great orders, the Benedictines, the Jesuits, and the Mendicant Friars. The author seems to have made a sincere effort to provide a fair and judicial account of matters concerning which much has been written by partisans. For the general reader, desirous of obtaining an impartial view of a most important phase of church history, Mr. Wishart's book is admirably adapted.

The Drama of Yesterday and To-day. By Clement Scott. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 607-581. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$8.

Mr. Clement Scott's two-volume work will be read less for the dramatic criticism that it contains than for the historical and reminiscent element. For, while judgments will continue to differ regarding Mr. Scott's authority as a dramatic critic, there can be no question as to his intimate knowledge of many of the most interesting personalities of the English and American stage for the past half-century. His volumes are well stored with anecdote and with accounts of memorable performances, from the time when the old Haymarket Theater was still lighted with oil and candles down to the most recent histrionic triumphs of our day. Many portraits of actors and managers accompany Mr. Scott's text.

The Life of Dwight L. Moody. By William R. Moody. 8vo, pp. 590. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. \$2.50.

"The Life of Dwight L. Moody" has been written by his son, in accordance with the request made by his father, several years before his death. Although Mr. William R. Moody was without extensive literary experience, he undertook the preparation of this biography with the purpose of correcting such inaccuracies and misstatements as may have been circulated regarding the facts of his father's life. He has succeeded in telling the story of the great evangelist's career in a straightforward, honest way, which leaves nothing to be desired. Mr. Moody himself was the last man to seek laudation in any form; and the plain story of his life, which his son has written, is doubtless all that he would have desired to have published concerning him. A great deal of unpublished material relative to Mr. Moody's early life has been incorporated in this work, while the aims and purposes of the institutions which he built up in later years are well set forth. On the whole, the friends of Mr. Moody will find in this volume a satisfactory record of his noble life work.

Dwight L. Moody: Impressions and Facts. By Henry Drummond. With an Introduction by George Adam Smith. 12mo, pp. 125. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co. \$1.

A few years ago, Professor Drummond was induced to write an account of his intimate association with Mr. Moody for more than twenty years. At the time of its publication, this study of Moody by his associate and friend was regarded as the best exposition of the secret of Moody's power that had ever been written. This was shortly after Professor Drummond's last visit to the United States. The "Impressions and Facts" given by Professor Drummond have been reprinted in this little volume, together with a personal tribute by Prof. George Adam Smith, who knew both Mr. Moody and Professor Drummond intimately.

Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England. ("Heroes of the Nations" Series.) By Charles Firth. 12mo, pp. 496. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

Anticipating the completion of the lives of Cromwell by Mr. John Morley and Governor Roosevelt, a volume on "Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England," from the pen of Charles Firth, M.A., of Balliol College, Oxford, has been published by the Putnams. In this volume the author has included the results of researches

since the publication of his article on Cromwell in the "Dictionary of National Biography" in 1888. Readers interested in the military details of Cromwell's life will find that the battle plans drawn for this volume differ in several particulars from those generally accepted as correct.

Chopin: The Man and His Music. By James Huneker. 12mo, pp. 415. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

An entertaining sketch of the rather tumultuous life of the Polish composer Chopin has been written by Mr. James Huneker. Mr. Huneker has divided his book into two parts, the first treating of Chopin the man, the second treating of his music. Two classes of readers will be attracted by Mr. Huneker's book—those to whom Chopin is little more than a name, and who wish to get what light they may on his somewhat elusive personality, and those music-lovers whose interest in Chopin's compositions may have been renewed by listening to some of Paderewski's programmes, or through other manifestations of his musical genius. We are sure that both classes of readers will find Mr. Huneker's admirable biography the most satisfactory exposition of Chopin's place among composers that has appeared in the English language.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION.

A Woman's Paris. 16mo, pp. 219. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$1.25.

This attractive little volume is designed to meet the wants of "the American lady coming to Paris for a longer or shorter period for reasons not literary nor Bohemian, nor demanding wild haste." It is styled "A Handbook of Everyday Living in the French Capital." In other words, it is meant for the use of those who "take their delight in just living in Paris and letting sights and pleasures come." This American woman is supposed to be not too poor to enjoy herself in a varied and even in a moderately luxurious way in Paris, although not a millionaire. The work includes a chapter on the Exposition of 1900, with the customary advice to strangers. It contains some useful hints, and is appropriately illustrated from photographs.

The Anglo-American Guide to the Paris Exhibition of 1900. 12mo, pp. 432. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. Paper, 50 cents.

Among the many Paris Exposition guides of the season, this is probably one of the most useful, since a special effort has been made to include full information as to all the places of interest in Paris, thus meeting the needs of visitors who go to Paris to see the city as well as to view the Exposition itself.

Two Gentlemen in Touraine. By Richard Sudbury. 8vo, pp. 342. New York: H. S. Stone & Co. \$3.50.

This is a charming travel sketch, embodying much valuable material on the architecture of Touraine. The illustrations of the chateaux in Touraine are truly impressive. The unique decorative borders in green which accompany the text throughout the book well carry out the character of the times and the locality described.

Highways and Byways in Normandy. By Percy Dearmer. 12mo, pp. 363. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.

Normandy is the subject of the latest volume in the "Highways and Byways" series. On some accounts it is unfortunate that this book was not published in America earlier in the year, as it is full of suggestions to travelers, and especially to cyclists, many of whom will visit the Paris Exposition during the summer, and might easily accomplish a portion, at least, of the tour described so delightfully by Mr. Dearmer. The roads of Normandy are famous, making a departure from the main railway lines easy for all cyclists. As the author truly remarks, "Every one knows Normandy, and therefore Normandy is hardly known at all." It suffers from being too readily accessible, and is remembered generally for its fashionable watering-places, or for one or two of

its historic towns. Yet it is a fact that a month's study in any of the villages of Normandy will hardly exhaust the number of excursions possible to a cyclist. Mr. Deamer's descriptions make charming reading, and the drawings by Joseph Pennell amply illustrate the text.

Travels in England. By Richard Le Gallienne. 12mo, pp. 291. New York: John Lane. \$1.50.

Mr. Le Gallienne has written a book with literary quality, as might have been expected from the author of "Prose Fancies," and at the same time has exhibited a descriptive talent not so evident in his earlier writings. Among the most interesting papers included in this volume are those on "Selborne," "Stratford-on-Avon," "Books as Traveling Companions," and "Winchester to Salisbury."

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS.

The Distribution of Wealth: A Theory of Wages, Interest, and Profits. By John Bates Clark. 8vo, pp. xxviii-445. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$3.

Professor Clark's studies of more than twenty years in the theory of wages, interest, and profits are embodied in the present exhaustive and well-rounded treatise. The work is avowedly theoretical, and intended for the student rather than the man of affairs. It represents the extreme advance of American scholarship in its field.

Proceedings and Papers of the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association, in December, 1899. 8vo, pp. 288. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.

A list of members of the American Economic Association printed in this volume shows that all the universities and most of the prominent colleges of the country are represented in the association by their teachers of political economy and related subjects. A large number of members, also, are business men, journalists, lawyers, or politicians. In future, the publications of the association will be issued quarterly with monographic supplements.

Railway Control by Commissions. By Frank Hendrick. 12mo, pp. 161. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.

Mr. Hendrick describes existing systems of railway regulation in France, Italy, Austria, Belgium, Germany, England, and the United States. The concluding chapter is devoted to "Switzerland and the State Purchase of Railways." The author suggests the railway regulation of the Massachusetts Commission as a guide to American railway control.

History and Functions of Central Labor Unions. By William Maxwell Burke. (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.) 8vo, pp. 125. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.

This investigation of central labor unions was suggested and begun under the direction of Dr. Thomas N. Carver, of Oberlin College, and was completed at Columbia University, where original sources of information are more accessible. The work seems to have been done with great thoroughness and fairness.

A Country Without Strikes. By Henry Demarest Lloyd. 12mo, pp. xiv-183. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. \$1.

Last year, Mr. Henry D. Lloyd visited New Zealand, and made a careful investigation of the workings of the compulsory arbitration law in that colony. In this small volume Mr. Lloyd presents the results of his investigation. The facts which he discovered seem to fully justify the title chosen for his book, for New Zealand is now indeed "a country without strikes." Labor disputes there are still in plenty, but they are settled without stoppage of work and without violence or loss of any kind to either employers or

employees. Indeed, a remarkable development of the New Zealand situation has been the general satisfaction expressed by employers with the results of the experiment thus far. Mr. Lloyd also finds, in the success of this method of industrial arbitration, a hint as to how international arbitration may be inaugurated.

America's Working People. By Charles B. Spahr. 12mo, pp. 261. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.25.

In this account of conditions among American working people as seen by the people themselves, Dr. Spahr has devoted more attention to farm and village conditions than is customary in books about American life. He is justified in this course by the fact that our farms and villages contain three-fifths of our whole people and three-quarters of our people of American parentage. As Dr. Spahr truly remarks, it is in our rural communities that immigrants are most thoroughly assimilated and social institutions most completely dominated by the American spirit. It is quite impossible to read one of Dr. Spahr's chapters without being impressed with the writer's eminent fairness and desire to get at the facts. In more than one of his studies he has run counter to some of our preconceived opinions, and we cannot readily accept all his conclusions; nevertheless, his sincerity is so evident that we feel at once convinced that he is describing things as he saw them and giving arguments as they were presented to him. The book as a whole establishes no thesis; it merely affords material which may form the basis of independent judgment.

Rural Wealth and Welfare. By George T. Fairchild. 12mo, pp. 381. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.

Professor Fairchild's thirty years' experience in teaching economics in leading agricultural colleges has well qualified him for the task of preparing such a work as this—an attempt to show how economic principles are illustrated and applied in farm life. From Professor Fairchild's point of view, economic literature has usually dealt exclusively with the phenomena of manufactures and commerce, and on that account has partially failed to gain the sympathy of rural people. He has endeavored to avoid this error, and has written a work in which our farming population can hardly fail to be interested. His account in the concluding chapter, of the development of a typical American farmer's home and family, is especially opportune and interesting.

The Conquest of Arid America. By William E. Smythe. 12mo, pp. 326. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.50.

If any man in this country is entitled to be considered an authority on irrigation, it certainly is Mr. Smythe, the author of this work. Mr. Smythe's work as editor of the *Irrigation Age* and an officer of the National Irrigation Congress took him repeatedly to all the States and Territories of the arid region, and nearly every valley or settlement of special interest. Mr. Smythe's knowledge of the facts is, therefore, at first hand. His familiarity with all the sections of our land and the people who live in them qualifies him to write wisely and convincingly concerning the possibilities of bringing the landless man to the region of "manless land," as he expresses it. Mr. Smythe is himself fully convinced that the true opportunity of the American people lies not in the tropical islands of the Pacific and the Caribbean, but in the vast unsettled regions of their own country, where they are yet to work out the highest forms of civilization for their own race and nationality.

Our New Prosperity. By Ray Stannard Baker. 12mo, pp. 272. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$1.25.

Mr. Baker's book makes exceedingly pleasant reading for the optimistic American. He takes up in detail the various industries affected by the recent wave of national prosperity, including transportation, the iron and steel in-

dustry, the cattle trade, wheat-raising, stocks and bonds, and various exports. Graphic illustrations accompany much of the statistical matter.

Coin, Currency, and Commerce. By Philip A. Robinson. 12mo, pp. 278. Washington: The Neale Company. \$1.25.

Mr. Robinson has aimed in this volume to make a suggestive outline study of the general subject of money. Students interested in the subject may safely take this book as a primer, using it as an introduction to more elaborate discussions of financial topics. In his arrangement of the work, the author has kept in view the importance of clearness rather than of amplification of detail.

Let There Be Light. By David Lubin. 12mo, pp. 526. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

Under this title, Mr. David Lubin relates the story of a working-men's club—its search for the causes of poverty and social inequality, its discussions, and its plan for the amelioration of existing evils. The inquirers who make up the membership of this club, finding the causes of inequality in the defects of religious systems, formulate plans for a new church and outline a new social order. The ideal proposed is original and bold.

Politics and Administration: A Study in Government. By Frank J. Goodnow. 12mo, pp. 270. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

In this volume, Professor Goodnow tries to show not what our formal and legal governmental system is, but what the actual system is, and what changes in the formal system must be made in order to make the actual system conform more closely than it does at present to the political ideas upon which the formal system is based. In pursuance of his theme, Professor Goodnow has approached such difficult and disagreeable topics as "Party Organization in Our Great Cities," "The Boss in Politics," and "The General System Under Which the Boss Thrives"—topics quite foreign, indeed, to most of the learned treatises on government that have heretofore held sway in the colleges and universities, but nevertheless matters which cannot be ignored by any thoroughgoing student of American government. Professor Goodnow's conclusions are that centralization of administration and legal recognition of party are both necessary to a popular government and an efficient administration.

World Politics at the End of the Nineteenth Century, as Influenced by the Oriental Situation. By Paul S. Reinsch. 12mo, pp. 366. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.

The first part of this work is an introduction, which gives a general view of the forces at work covering the various elements of intellectual and economic life that influence modern politics. The second part treats of what the author considers the true center of interest in present international politics—viz., the Chinese question; the third part treats of the consequences of the Chinese situation on European politics; the fourth part, devoted to German imperial politics, attempts to present in its completeness the well-considered policy of the German Empire, while in the fifth part are presented considerations upon the position of the United States as a world power. The Chinese problem is regarded by the author as the crux of the international situation. This work appears in the "Citizen's Library of Economics, Politics, and Sociology," edited by Prof. Richard T. Ely.

Problems of Expansion. By Whitelaw Reid. 12mo, pp. 294. New York: The Century Company. \$1.50.

The scattered papers and addresses of the Hon. Whitelaw Reid relating to the various problems of American expansion have been brought together in this volume, with appendices including resolutions of Congress as to Cuba, the Washington Protocol, and the text of the Treaty of Paris. "The Territory with Which We Are Threatened" is the subject of the first of these papers, which appeared in the

Century for September, 1898, and was Mr. Reid's first explicit declaration of his expansionist views. Among the topics discussed by Mr. Reid in this volume are "The Duties of Peace," "The Open Door," "Our New Duties," "A Continental Union," and "Our New Interests." It is probable that Republican writers and speakers in the coming Presidential campaign will make large use of this volume for facts and arguments on the question of territorial expansion.

Colonial Civil Service. By A. Lawrence Lowell. 12mo, pp. 346. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

Mr. Lowell has made a serious attempt to outline a scheme for the selection and training of our colonial officials, based on the methods already adopted in England, Holland, and France. This study was originally made at the request of the American Historical Association. As Mr. Lowell's conclusion is that the only practical plan for the United States is to establish a college for the training of colonial administrators, it is especially pertinent to his discussion to include an account of the famous East India College at Haileybury, furnished by Prof. H. Morse Stephens, now of Cornell University.

Imperialism and Liberty. By Morrison I. Swift. 12mo, pp. 491. Los Angeles: The Ronbroke Press. \$1.50.

This essay is chiefly a vigorous denunciation of the administration at Washington for its course in the Philippines, and its general conduct of affairs since the conclusion of the Spanish-American war.

Proceedings of the Columbus Conference for Good City Government and the Fifth Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League, held in November, 1899. 8vo, pp. 280. Edited by Clinton Rogers Woodruff. Philadelphia: National Municipal League. \$1.

This volume contains several of the papers published in the "municipal programme" of the National Municipal League noticed in our May number, together with several papers read at the Columbus conference, but not included in the "programme" volume.

APPLIED SCIENCE.

Flame, Electricity, and the Camera. By George Iles. 8vo, pp. 398. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$2.

In an extremely interesting book entitled "Flame, Electricity, and the Camera," Mr. George Iles traces "man's progress from the first kindling of fire to the wireless telegraph and the photography of color." The author attempts an answer to the question, Why has science accomplished more in the nineteenth century than in all preceding time; for he marshals a wonderful array of facts to explain the advancement of our race from the cave-man to the twentieth-century scientist. All the specific improvements and inventions that have had part in this remarkable progress are described in detail, and the place of each in the general development is accurately assigned. The book is fully illustrated.

Electricity and Its Applications. By Dr. Foveau de Courmelles. 16mo, pp. 185. Paris, 15 Rue des Saints Pères: Schleicher Frères. Paper, 1 franc.

In the excellent little encyclopædia published at Paris, under the title of "The Golden Books of Science," there is a volume on "Electricity and Its Applications," by Dr. Foveau de Courmelles. This little book gives all the most recent developments in the field of electricity, including the X-rays, the kinetoscope, the cinematograph, and the wireless telegraph.

The Electric Automobile: Its Construction, Care, and Operation. By C. E. Woods. 12mo, pp. 177. New York: H. S. Stone & Co. \$1.25.

A timely little work has been prepared by Mr. C. E. Woods, on "The Electric Automobile: Its Construction,

Care, and Operation." The book has been written with a special view to the needs of people who are neither engineers nor mechanics, but are interested in the purchase and use of automobiles. The language is, therefore, as free as possible from technical nomenclature.

Steam-Engine Theory and Practice. By William Ripper. 8vo, pp. 398. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. \$2.50.

An elaborate work by an English engineer, Mr. William Ripper, on "Steam-Engine Theory and Practice" has recently been published by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. This book is a sequel to the author's elementary work on "Steam." The illustrations are clear and graphic.

NATURE STUDY.

Nature's Calendar: A Guide and Record for Outdoor Observations in Natural History. By Ernest Ingersoll. 12mo, pp. 270. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.50.

Mr. Ingersoll has provided in this volume both a log-book and a guide for the study of outdoor nature. The ample margins give facilities for the recording of facts observed from day to day through every season of the year. Mr. Ingersoll's own comments on the changing phases of nature from January to December are most instructive. His long experience in this kind of study has made him our second Thoreau. While the dates given in this book refer to an ordinary season in the region about New York,—since it was necessary to take some one district for the sake of relative uniformity,—the limit has not been strictly drawn, and the book will be found useful throughout the eastern half of the United States and Canada. The student will soon find how to make local allowances for his own circumstances of latitude and climate.

A Guide to the Trees. By Alice Lounsberry. 12mo, pp. xx-313. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. \$2.50.

Nearly two hundred trees and some shrubs have been included in this excellent manual. All the species prominent in Northeastern America and a few distinctive and rare species from the South and the West are described. The trees are classified primarily according to the soil in which they prefer to grow. The trees that prefer to grow near water are placed in the first section; then follow those of moist soil, those of rich soil, those of sandy and rocky soil, and those of dry soil, respectively. Within these five sections the order in which they have been arranged has been with regard to the peculiarities of their leaves. The simplest forms—those with entire edges, which grow alternately on the branches—are placed first; and through their variations such leaves continue to follow until those with lobed edges are reached. Simple, opposite leaves are arranged in the same order, relating to the character of their margins. These are followed by compound, alternate leaves, and finally compound opposite leaves. Among the illustrations are many colored plates. Dr. N. L. Britton, director of the New York Botanical Garden, supplies an introduction to the volume.

Our Native Trees, and How to Identify Them. By Harriet L. Keeler. 12mo, pp. 533. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

Miss Keeler describes in this volume trees that are indigenous to the region extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Rocky Mountains and from Canada to the northern boundaries of the Southern States; together with a few well-known and naturalized foreign trees, such as the horse-chestnut, Lombardy poplar, alanthus, and sycamore maple. The author addresses her work to amateur botanists who desire a more extended and accurate description of trees than is given by the ordinary botanical text-books, to such of the general public as love rural life, and to all those who feel that their enjoyment of outdoor life would be increased if they were able to determine the names of the trees. Special

care has been taken in preparing the illustrations for this volume, which have been made from photographs and drawings.

How to Know the Wild Flowers. By Mrs. William Starr Dana. 12mo, pp. xxxix-346. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

This new edition of "How to Know the Wild Flowers" contains colored reproductions from the sketches in water-color of Miss Elsie Louise Shaw. Some new drawings by Miss Marion Satterlee have also been added, and several of these black and white plates are of flowers not before figured in the book. Mrs. Dana describes quite a large number of flowers not found in previous editions, and advantage has been taken of the opportunity which the entire resetting of the book afforded for a careful revision of the text. This work has already met with a generous recognition at the hands of the public.

Cyclopedia of American Horticulture. In four volumes. By L. H. Bailey. Vol. A-D, 4to, pp. xxii-509. New York: The Macmillan Company. Sold by subscription.

It is intended to include in this cyclopedia descriptions of all the species of fruits, flowers, and garden vegetables which are known to be in the horticultural trade; to outline the horticultural possibilities of the various States and Territories; to present biographies of those persons not living who have contributed most to the horticultural progress of North America, and to indicate the leading monographic works relating to the various subjects—in short, to make a complete record of the status of North American horticulture as it exists at the close of the nineteenth century. Professor Bailey has long made a practice of collecting notes, books, plants, and information for the furtherance of this work; and before the active preparation of the manuscript was begun a year was expended in making indexes and references to plants and literature. For this purpose every plant and seed catalogue published in the United States of any prominence has been indexed, and the horticultural periodicals have been searched, while artists have been employed in various places to draw plants as they grow. Each of the important articles is signed by the contributor. In this work plants are considered as domesticated and cultivated subjects. As Professor Bailey states in the preface, "The point of view is the garden, not the herbarium." The illustrations, which are numerous and excellent, have been made under the personal supervision of the editor expressly for this work.

Bird Studies with a Camera. By Frank M. Chapman. 12mo, pp. 218. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.75.

The art of bird photography in this country is new. Mr. Chapman does not pretend to have treated it exhaustively in this little book, but the suggestions that he offers should prove extremely helpful to all amateurs interested in this form of field study. The results of Mr. Chapman's experiments with the camera are of importance in themselves as contributions to natural history. All of the illustrations, which are photographs from nature by the author, are interesting and suggestive.

Bird Homes: The Nests, Eggs, and Breeding Habits of the Land Birds Breeding in the Eastern United States; with Hints on the Rearing and Photographing of Young Birds. By A. Radclyffe Dugmore. 4to, pp. 183. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$2.

The object of this book is to stimulate the love of birds. Descriptions of nests and eggs are given, as well as instructions for egg-collecting; but the author insists that it is generally neither necessary nor advisable that collections of eggs be made. Much more knowledge may be gained by observing the birds themselves than by taking the eggs. He

recommends that egg-collecting be left to those who are able through scientific study to make use of such collections. Considerable use has been made of the color process in reproducing photographs made from nature by the author.

LITERARY CRITICISM.

Makers of Literature. By George Edward Woodberry. 12mo, pp. 440. New York: Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

The essays of Prof. George Edward Woodberry, of Columbia University, on Shelley, Landor, Browning, Byron, Arnold, Coleridge, Lowell, Whittier, and others have been brought together in a single volume under the title of "Makers of Literature." Professor Woodberry's literary estimates have generally been regarded as singularly sane and just. Dealing with a great variety of themes and personalities, he has been remarkably felicitous in saying the right thing in a new and pleasing way.

Shakespeare: The Man. By Goldwin Smith. 16mo, pp. 60. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. 75 cents.

Prof. Goldwin Smith, in a little work entitled "Shakespeare: The Man," has made an attempt to find traces of the dramatist's character in his dramas.

Notes on the Bacon-Shakespeare Question. By Charles Allen. 12mo, pp. 306. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.

Mr. Charles Allen, in a volume which he has modestly entitled "Notes on the Bacon-Shakespeare Question," deduces evidence from the plays to show that the legal knowledge which the Baconians have always asserted must have been possessed by the poet was really of slight importance, and such as many others besides Bacon might have possessed.

Shaksper, Not Shakespeare. By William H. Edwards. 12mo, pp. 507. Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Company. \$2.

Mr. Edwards, who is a scholarly resident of West Virginia, has challenged the Shakespearean critics to prove that William Shaksper was the author of the dramas issued under the name of Shakespeare and credited to a native of Stratford-on-Avon. Mr. Edwards himself brings forward many facts and arguments to show that the author of the dramas could not have been William Shaksper of Stratford—his own theory being, not that Bacon wrote the plays, but that several associates wrote under the assumed name of William Shakespeare. In Mr. Edwards' opinion the labors of the Shakespearean scholars of the Halliwell-Phillips school all go to show that William Shaksper accumulated money during his lifetime, and did little else. At any rate, he is convinced from careful study of his career that he did not write the plays. He thinks that in time the real authors may be discovered. Whatever may be our preconceptions in the matter,—and of course they are almost all against the thesis of Mr. Edwards,—we must admit that his accumulation of evidence is so strong as to require more than mere assertion or ridicule to overthrow it.

Browning Study Programmes. By Charlotte Porter and Helen A. Clarke. 12mo, pp. xxxiv—631. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co. \$1.50.

Those two enthusiastic Browning students, Miss Charlotte Porter and Miss Helen A. Clarke, have written a series of "Browning Study Programmes," dealing with such topics as poems of adventure and heroism, folk-poems, phases of romantic love, a group of love-lyrics, portraits of husbands and wives, art and the artist, music and musicians, the poet, evolution of religion, the prelate, single-poem studies, portrayals of national life, autobiographical poems, and Browning's philosophy. The authors have woven into their plans nearly all of Browning's poems, and on the gradual unfolding of matter the poems contain the "Programmes" are based.

A History of Russian Literature. By K. Waliszewski. 12mo, pp. 451. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

In the series of "Short Histories of the Literatures of the World," edited by Edmund Gosse, Mr. K. Waliszewski has contributed "A History of Russian Literature." As he himself expresses it, this writer serves as an interpreter between two worlds, and while admitting that he is himself in each of these worlds half a stranger, Mr. Waliszewski claims as his qualifications for the task assigned him a freshness of impression and an independence of judgment which go far to justify his selection by the editor of the series.

WORKS OF REFERENCE.

The International Year-Book: A Compendium of the World's Progress During the Year 1899. Edited by Frank Moore Colby and Harry Thurston Peck. 8vo, pp. 887. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$3.

The editors of the "International Year-Book" for 1899 could not complain of a lack of material on which to work. During this year a great number of important international and foreign topics came to the front. Besides the South African War, the Hague Conference, the Alaskan boundary question, the Fashoda affair, the Dreyfus case, the new international status of Japan, the Anglo-Russian agreement respecting China, and our work in the Philippines, the Year-Book also deals with the important discoveries in the departments of archaeology, medicine, anthropology, experimental psychology, engineering, geology, chemistry, botany, and physics. There are several important biographies, including such names as Roberts, Buller, Rhodes, and Krüger. This work is designed to supplement or continue the various cyclopædias, and at the same time to serve independently as an annual work of reference. The single alphabetical arrangement has been adopted, and the topics have generally been placed under their own heads, instead of under groups the titles of which could be ascertained only by reference to the table of contents.

The Bookman. Volume X. September, 1899—February, 1900. 8vo, pp. 604. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.50.

The tenth complete volume of *The Bookman* contains the usual record of six months' literary progress, including much "Chronicle and Comment," with portraits of prominent writers; important book reviews under the head of "The Bookman's Table;" "Novel Notes," "Poetry," critical essays on various literary topics, and the concluding chapters of Paul Leicester Ford's "Janice Meredith." The monthly numbers of *The Bookman* are always bright and timely, and when assembled in a bound volume they form a most interesting and valuable book of reference.

RELIGION AND ETHICS.

Addresses on Foreign Missions. By Richard S. Storrs. 8vo, pp. 187. Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. \$1.

With one exception these addresses were delivered by the late Dr. Storrs in his capacity as president of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at successive annual meetings of the board from 1887 to 1897. The last address was delivered by him at the concluding session of the International Congregational Council at Boston, in September, 1899. None of the addresses had been written before delivery, and they were preserved only by means of stenography. They were recognized, by those who heard them, as among the finest specimens of recent sacred oratory, and repeated requests for their publication have led to the preparation of this volume. Dr. Storrs' great gifts of oratory have thus been made to contribute in a twofold way to the presentation of the great themes of the duty and privilege of foreign missionary work.

The Redemption of Africa: A Story of Civilization. By Frederick Perry Noble. 2 vols. 12mo, pp. xxv-474, 382. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. \$4.

Mr. Noble has written an encyclopedic account of foreign missions, treating of all the agencies, Protestant and Roman Catholic, which have aided in spreading civilization over the Dark Continent. His two volumes, indeed, contain the whole history of nineteenth-century Africa. The maps, statistical tables, and bibliographies with which they are equipped, are most helpful aids to an understanding of present-day African conditions. In view of the international importance of this theme at the present critical moment, Mr. Noble's work is most timely.

Self-Supporting Churches, and How to Plant Them. By W. H. Wheeler. 12mo, pp. 398. Grinnell, Iowa: Better-Way Publishing Company. \$1. (75 cents to missionaries.)

In this little volume, the author has attempted more than a mere biography of his eminent father, Dr. Wheeler, of Harpoot, although that in itself would have been a distinct service to the cause of missions. He has analyzed the policy of missionary activity, which his father so ably represented for forty years. The chapters on self-supporting churches form a distinctive feature of the volume; and in the opinion of Dr. Barton, of the American Board, they present many unanswerable arguments for the application of the principle to all mission-work at home and abroad. There are also chapters on the founding of colleges and on female education. The author presents a formidable array of facts gathered from missionary experience.

Young People's Societies. By Leonard Woolsey Bacon and Charles Addison Northrop. 16mo, pp. 265. New York: Lenthion & Co. 50 cents.

This is a complete handbook of the young people's organizations connected with the different churches. Probably nowhere else, in so convenient a form, can be found facts relating to the growth and formation of these various societies. Only a part of the work, however, is historical. Most of the chapters are distinctly practical in purpose, embracing such matters as constitutions, covenants, forms of devotion, methods of conducting meetings and conventions, and so forth.

The Religion of To-morrow. By Frank Crane. 12mo, pp. 367. New York: H. S. Stone & Co. \$1.50.

This volume contains a restatement and a new interpretation of present-day religious thought. The author declares himself a loyal member of the Church, and asserts that his views as such can be held by a member of any of the principal evangelical denominations. He does not attempt to tell men something they do not know, but seeks "to give voice to what the common people do already think and believe."

The Divine Pedigree of Man; or, The Testimony of Evolution and Psychology to the Fatherhood of God. By Thomson Jay Hudson. 12mo, pp. xxviii-379. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. \$1.50.

In this volume, Dr. Hudson has undertaken to outline a scientific basis of Christian theism. He gives special attention to the science of psychology, not only with reference to its bearing on Christian theism, but also with reference to the general subject of organic evolution.

Man and His Divine Father. By John C. C. Clarke. 12mo, pp. 364. Chicago: A. C. McClurg Company. \$1.50.

In this work, the subject of divinity is treated from the point of view of the conservative theologian. The discussion includes the philosophy of mind and spirit, the rights of man, and human hopes. Much light on New Testament thought and times is shed by the chapters entitled, "Philo, the Alexandrian Jew," and "Syria at the Christian Era."

The Life of Jesus of Nazareth: A Study. By Rush Rhees. 12mo, pp. 320. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

This volume is avowedly a study rather than a story, and as a companion to the reading of the Gospels it seeks to answer some of the questions which are raised by a sympathetic consideration of those narratives.

The Carpenter. By Charles A. S. Dwight. 12mo, pp. 122. New York: E. B. Treat & Co. 50 cents.

This little book contains brief studies of the life and character of Jesus. Among the chapter headings are: "The Early Nazareth Years;" "The Wonder for Nazareth;" "The Wonder for the World;" "What the Carpenter Said;" "What the Carpenter Did;" "The Carpenter in Art;" "The Rejection of the Nazarene;" "The Brotherhood of the Carpenter;" "The Carpenter's Cross;" "The Call of the Carpenter;" "The Triumph of the Nazarene."

Israel's Messianic Hope to the Time of Jesus. By George Stephen Goodspeed. 12mo, pp. 315. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

Professor Goodspeed, of the University of Chicago, has attempted through this book to help the intelligent reader of the English Bible to a better understanding of "the fore-shadowings of the Christ in the Old Testament and beyond." Minute discussions of technical questions in criticism and exegesis, as well as the use of Hebrew and Greek words, have been avoided. For the benefit of the more advanced student, topics for further study, with bibliographical material, are provided.

A History of the Jewish People. By James Stevenson Riggs. 12mo, pp. 320. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

This work is not only a history of the Jewish people for 2400 years during the Maccabean and Roman periods, including the New Testament times, but it is also a contribution toward the interpretation of the Gospels, "in so far as a knowledge of the faiths, conditions, and aims of Judaism can be interpretative of the form and method of the activity of Jesus." This is the fourth volume in what is known as the "Historical Series for Bible Students," edited by Professors Charles F. Kent and Frank K. Sanders.

About My Father's Business. By Austin Miles. 12mo, pp. 265. New York: The Mershon Company. \$1.50.

The author's purpose in this volume is to show the actual condition of the Christian Church at the present day. He describes incidents and conditions which have come within his own observation in the course of his extended travels during the past ten years. He shows the abuses made possible by the power and influences of some of the rich members of the Church who are able to advance their own selfish ambitions and designs at the expense of the true ends of religion.

Faith and Sight. By William Pierson Merrill. 12mo, pp. 175. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.

This is a volume of essays on "The Relation of Agnosticism to Theology." The writer makes a plea for a better mutual understanding between the opposing types of theology which he terms the objective and subjective. He recognizes and states with fairness the elements of truth in the agnostic philosophy, while his own point of view is distinctly Christian.

The Messages of Paul. By George Barker Stevens. 16mo, pp. 268. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

This volume comprises a paraphrase of the first ten epistles of Paul, arranged in their probable chronological order, with brief introductions and analyses. Explanations are given of the time, place, and occasion of each letter, and indications respecting the contents and movement of thought in each.

INDEX TO PERIODICALS.

Unless otherwise specified, all references are to the June numbers of periodicals.
For table of abbreviations see last page.

- Abydos, Recent Excavations at, E. Amélineau, RDM, June 1.
Abyssinian Capital, Journey to the, M. S. Wellby, Harp.
Adriatic Equilibrium, C. Loiseau, RPar, June 1.
Africa: South Africa, Trade Possibilities in, E. Mels, CasM.
Africa: South Africa, War in: see Transvaal.
Alamo, Fall of the, Nettie Lewis, Chaut.
Allen, James Lane, Works of, Ellen B. Sherman, BB.
American History, Most Dramatic Incident in, Chaut.
Ape, Singing Gibbon, A. E. Brown, O.
Archangel, Summer Holiday in, Isabel D. Marris, WWM.
Architecture, American, New Movement in, E. Grey, BP.
Architecture and Sanitation, Naval, J. R. Tryon, CasM.
Armenian Question, C. A. P. Rohrbach, Forum.
Armenians, Religious Customs Among the, P. Terzian, Cath.
Arnold, Benedict, Treason of, Dora M. Townsend, Chaut.
Art:
Art Appreciation in France and the United States, Georgia F. Arkell, AI.
Arts and Crafts Movement at Home and Abroad, BP.
Besnard's Decorative Art, C. Maclair, Nou, May 15.
Cups, Some Old, H. A. Heaton, LeishH.
De Morgan, Mrs. William, W. S. Sparrow, IntS.
Doulton Pavilion at the Paris Exposition, Art.
Education, Rational Art, J. W. Stimson, CAGE.
France, Art Salons in, A. Goffin, RGen, May.
Glasgow School of Art, W. R. Watson, IntS.
Gurschner, Gustav, Art.
Hamilton, John McLure, Paintings of, H. S. Morris, Scrib.
Hare, St. George, A. L. Baldry, MA.
Illustration, American, New Leaders in—V., Regina Armstrong, Bkman.
Illustrators, American Women, Regina Armstrong, Crit.
Jouett's Kentucky Children, C. H. Hart, Harp.
Laing, Frank: His Etchings of Edinburgh, D. S. Meldrum, MA.
Liebermann, Max, and His Art, S. C. de Soissons, Art.
Medals Awarded to Artists, W. Roberts, MA.
Morin, Louis, A French Caricaturist, H. Boucher, IntS.
Mosaic Fire Fronts, J. W. Pattison, AI.
Munkacsy—Greatest of Hungarian Painters, AI.
Painting Racial Types, C. de Kay, Cent.
Paris Exposition, Art at the—II., R. de la Sizeranne, RDM, June 1.
Paris Exposition, Mural Decorations at the, Crit.
Partridge, William Ordway, Sculptor, W. C. Langdon, NEng.
Porcelain, Oriental, Walters Collection of, C. Monkhouse, MA.
Porcelain-Painting, Ceramic Colors for, Art.
Portraits of Women, N. H. Busey, AI.
Residence of W. D. Sloane, Ada Crisp, AI.
Royal Academy, 1900, F. Rinder, AJ; H. H. Statham, Fort; Royal Academy—I, MA.
Scenic Art, Development of, W. W. Burridge, CAGE.
Sculpture, American School of, W. O. Partridge, Forum.
Smith, Pamela Colman, Work of, G. Teall, BP.
Tanner, Henry O., Helen Cole, BP.
Textiles, Ornamentation of, O. Maus, IntS.
Victoria, Queen, as an Etcher, C. Brinton, Crit.
Asia: see also China, and Russia.
Afghan Crisis, Coming, D. C. Boulger, Fort.
America in the Orient, W. T. Fang, Ains.
Anglo-Saxon Enterprise in, A. H. Ford, Eng.
Asiatic Shadows, M. von Brandt, Deut.
Eastern Question, History of the—IV. and V., W. Maurenbrecher, Deut.
Great Britain in Asia, R. Temple, NAR.
Russia in Asia, F. Emory, Annals, May.
Astronomy in the Year 1900, C. Flammarion, Cos.
Australian Federation and Its Basis, E. Barton, NAR.
Automobiles for the Average Man, C. Moffett, AMRR.
Automobiles: "The Modern Chariot," J. G. Speed, Cos.
Balloon, Night in a, Dorothea Klumpke, Cent.
Balloons in War, A. W. Greely, Harp.
Banking, Currency, H. W. Yates, BankNY.
Banking in Great Britain and Ireland During 1899—V., BankL.
Banking Methods, Modern, A. R. Barrett, BankNY.
Bank of France, Centenary of the, J. M. Forbes, BankL.
Banks, English Country, in 1900, W. G. Clay, BankL.
Banks, Savings, in England, Reforming the, BankL.
Belgium, Electoral Question in, E. Mahaim, Annals, May.
Belgium, Labor Colonies in, L. Banneux, RGen, May.
Bentley, Richard, H. W. Hayley, MRNY.
Boscawen, Sir Edward, P. C. Standing, USM.
Bible, Modern Reading of the, C. D. Wilson, SelfC.
Bible, Poetical Books of the, I. M. Price, Record.
Bible, Practical Use of the, P. S. Moxom, Bib.
Biblical Criticism, Developments in, W. J. Beecher, Hom.
Bird Language, M. d'Aubusson, RRP, May 15.
Birds, Passing of the, E. S. Rolfe, NEng.
Bird Studies with the Camera, E. Ingersoll, Out.
Blackmore, Mr., and "The Maid of Sker," E. J. Newell, Mac.
Blake, William, Poetry of, H. J. Smith, Cent.
Bolivia, Road to, W. E. Curtis, NatGM.
Botanical Garden, New York, D. T. Macdougall, PopS.
Bright, Right Hon. Jacob, West.
Bunker Hill, Battle of, S. Crane, Lipp.
Bushnell, Dr. Horace, in the Woods, J. H. Twichell, Out.
Cape Nome Gold-Fields, W. J. Lampton, McCl.
Camps, Summer, for Boys, L. Rouillon, AMRR.
Canada: Functions of a Governor-General, Can.
Canada, Robert Barr and Literature in, W. J. Brown, Can.
Canada: Wardens of the West, E. B. Osborn, Corn.
Canadian Fisheries, W. S. Harwood, PMM.
Canadian Trade Relations, American and, J. Charlton, Forum.
Cart, Country, of To-day, C. Whitney, O.
Catholicism of France, T. J. Shahan, Cons.
Catholic Thought, Liberty and, R. Mazzel, RasN, May 16.
Catherine of Siena, Caterina P. Beri, NA, May 1.
Cemetery, Most Remarkable, H. B. Vogel, Pear.
Census: Counting the Nation by Electricity, C. S. Wilbur, Home.
Census of 1900, F. H. Wines, Mun.
Cervantes and His Times, R. L. Mainez, EM, May.
Challenges and Duels, Historical, J. P. de Guzman, EM, May.
Charity, Central Bureau of, in Paris, RPP, May.
Charity Legislation of 1899-1900, Char.
Chautauqua Assembly Programme, G. E. Vincent, Chaut.
Chemistry in the Service of Man, B. Ahrens, Deut.
Children, Royal, of Europe, YW.
China: see also Asia.
Chino-Japanese War, Causes of the, A. Halot, RGen, May.
Drama in China, M. Courant, RPar, May 15.
Emperor, Chinese, Story of the, R. van Bergen, Home.
Intellectual Awakening of China, R. K. Douglas, NineC.
Mouravieff, Count, Triumph of, R. Yerburgh, NatR.
Peking, Last Palace Intrigue at, R. S. Gundry, Fort.
Travels in China, A. Pratesi, NA, May 16.
United States, Attitude of the, Towards the Chinese, H. Yow, Forum.
Water-Life in China, R. Bache, Pear.
Chivalry, The Old and New, E. G. Jones, YM.
Christian Ideal, C. A. Allen, NW.
Christianity in the Occident and Orient, G. F. Pentecost, CAGE.
Church of England; Prospects of Anglicanism, Dr. Cobb, NineC.
Church of England, Ritualistic Controversy in the, K. C. Anderson, NW.
Cinematograph, Future of the, Mrs. J. E. Whitby, Cham.
Circassia, Coast of, USM.
Circus, On the Road with the, C. T. Murray, Cos.
Circus, What the Public Does Not See at, A. T. Ringling, NatM.
City Growth, Political Consequences of, L. S. Rowe, Yale.
City, Prussian, Government of a, E. J. James, Annals, May.
Clark, Champ, the Man and His District, T. Dreiser, Ains.
Columbia River, Sight-Seeing on the, A. P. Silver, WWM.
Comedians, War of the, M. Albert, RPar, June 1.
Consular Service, Business Man and the, H. A. Garfield, Cent.
Coleridge, Religious Element in the Poetry of, W. B. Carpenter, Sun.
Colonies and the Mother Country, J. Collier, PopS.
Colonization, American, AMonM.
Concept, The, E. Mach, OC.
Congress Fifty Years Ago, In, J. M. Rogers, SelfC.
Congress or Parliament? E. Cockrell, Arena.
Cooper's "Last of the Mohicans," F. L. Pattee, Chaut.
Cotton: Great Round Bale Movement, F. C. Barber, Home, May.
Courts, Three, Comparison of, S. D. Thompson, ALR.
Cricket Captains, English, H. Gordon, Bad.
Cricket Field, Heroes of the, A. Porritt, M.
Cricket, Old, New Light on, J. Phillips, Black.
Crime, Scottish, Calendar of, GBag.

- Criminality, Influence of Education and Heredity on, P. Escard, RefS, May 10.
 Criticism, Prolegomena of—II, L. A. Sherman, MRNY.
 Cromwell, Oliver—VI, Personal Rule, T. Roosevelt, Scrib.
 Cromwell, Oliver—VIII, The Death of the King, The Commonwealth, Cromwell in Ireland, J. Morley, Cent.
 Cuttles, Mimicry and Other Habits of, M. Dunn, Contem.
 Dana, James Dwight, Inner Life of, D. C. Gilman, Chaut.
 Dante's Message, C. A. Dinsmore, Atlant.
 Daughters of the American Revolution, National Society of the: Annual Reports of State Regents Presented at the Ninth Continental Congress, AMonM, May.
 Daughters of the American Revolution, National Society of: Proceedings of the Ninth Continental Congress, AMonM, April.
 Delhi, Past and Present, G. W. Forrest, PMM.
 Democracy and Peace, S. M. Macvane, Yale, May.
 Dewey Day in Chicago, L. M. Scott, Int.
 Diplomats, Our Literary: From the Period of the Revolution to the "Era of Good Feeling," 1776-1820, L. Swift, BB.
 Dorchester, England, S. J. Barrows, NEng.
 Doukhoborsti, Russian, L. Bernard, SelfC.
 Dowson, Ernest, A. Symons, Port.
 Dragon-Fly, The, A. Ruck, Str.
 Dramatic Art, E. Lerou, Nou, May 1.
 Duse, Eleanora, Helen Zimmermann, Fort.
 Dyeing of Cloth, W. von Zicherer, Deut.
 Economic Tendencies, Recent, C. A. Conant, Atlant.
 Edmonton, the City on the Saskatchewan, B. Cameron, Can. Education:
 Administration, Better City School, T. A. DeWeese, EdR.
 Alcohol Physiology and Superintendence, W. O. Atwater, EdR.
 California State Text-Book System, R. D. Faulkner, EdR.
 College Philosophy, G. S. Hall, Forum.
 Colleges, Problems Which Confront Our, W. J. Tucker, A. T. Hadley, C. F. Thwing, F. Carter, and J. H. Barrows, Ed.
 Elective System of Studies, J. A. Burns, Cath.
 English Education, New Authorities in, H. W. Withers, Contem.
 Ethics of Getting Teachers and of Getting Positions, A. S. Draper, EdR.
 Girl, When the College Is Hurtful to a, S. W. Mitchell, LHJ.
 Greek, Substitute for, W. C. Lawton, Atlant.
 Jesuit Educators and Modern Colleges, Ruth Everett, Arena.
 Milton on Education, L. W. Spring, Ed.
 Münsterberg, Professor, on School Reform, W. S. Jackman, EdR.
 Nature-Study, Concerning, Caroline G. Soule, Ed.
 Normal Schools, Original Investigation in, F. E. Bolton, Ed.
 Normal Schools, Report on, J. M. Green, EdR.
 Offenders, Youthful, and Parental Responsibility, T. Holmes, Contem.
 Principle in Instruction, Place of, F. P. Bachman, Ed.
 Quincy Movement, N. M. Butler, EdR.
 School-Room Decoration, W. G. Page, CAGE.
 Teaching in High Schools as a Life Occupation for Men, E. E. Hill, Forum.
 Theory and Practice, Dial, June 1.
 Truancy: Causes and Remedies, E. R. Downing, Char.
 Egyptian Question, E. Maxey, Gunt.
 Electrical Equipment of Office Buildings, R. P. Bolton, Eng.
 Elephants: How They are Captured and Trained in Burma, C. J. S. Makin, NIM.
 Elocution, Study of, in the South, Wern.
 Emmett, Daniel D., Crit.
 Energy, Human, Problem of Increasing, N. Tesla, Cent.
 Engineering Graduates from Universities, G. W. Dickie, CasM.
 England: see Great Britain.
 England, Summer in, for Two Hundred Dollars, R. L. Hartt, Out.
 Epidemics, Suppression of, W. Wyman, San.
 Europe for Light Pocket-Books, Dora M. Morrell, SelfC.
 Europe, United States of, A. Leroy-Beaulieu, RRP, June 1.
 Expansion of the American People—XXXIII-XXXVI, E. E. Sparks, Chaut.
 Explosives, High, in Peace and War, E. L. Zalinski, IntM.
 Exporters, American, Follies of, Eng.
 Expositions, Coming American, W. Fawcett, SelfC.
 Expositions, Conventions, and Meetings, Out.
 Fiction, America as a Field for, Annie S. Winston, Arena.
 Fiction, Modern—VI, E. Ridley, AngA.
 Fiction, Unrealism of, H. I. Stern, SelfC.
 Financial Affairs, American, E. G. Johns, Arena.
 Fish, Undersized, Trawlers and, G. Shaw-Lefevre, Fort.
 Flying, Experiments in, O. Chanute, McCl.
 Forbes, Archibald, H. W. Massingham, LeisH.
 Forest Preserves, N. C. Murphy, IA.
 France:
 Affairs in France, A. F. Sanborn, Atlant.
 Army, French, D. Hannay, Mac.
 Army Under the Bourbons, F. H. Tyrrell, USM.
 Associations, Law Affecting, J. de Crisenoy, RefS, May 1.
 Brittany, Around, I. Prime-Stevenson, Chaut.
 Catholicism of France, T. J. Shahan, Cons.
 Colonial Expansion of France, J. C. Braeg, NatGM.
 Empire—Liberal, E. Olivvier, RDM, May 15.
 Municipal Elections of May 6, 1900, M. Fournier, RPP, May.
 Privateering and Naval Defense, RPar, May 15.
 Secondary Education in France, E. Bourgeois, RPP, May; F. Doléac, RSoc, May.
 South African War, Lessons for France from the, L. Chevallier, RRP, June 1.
 Spots in Medieval France, J. J. Jusserand, RPar, May 15 and June 1.
 France, Anatole—A Literary Nihilist, T. Seccombe, Corn.
 Fruiting of the Blue Flag, J. G. Needham, ANat, May.
 Gambetta, Letters to, E. Spuller, RPar, June 1.
 Games, The Greek, W. McK. Bryant, NW.
 Garden-Book, Vogue of the, Mrs. S. Batson, NineC.
 Garibaldi, Personal Recollections of, O. Barattieri, Deut.
 Gas and Gas Meters, H. S. Wynkoop, Pops.
 Genealogy: Family Trees, R. Wilberforce, AMonM.
 Geography, Physical, of the Lands, W. M. Davis, PopS.
 Germany, England, and America, P. Bigelow, Contem.
 Germany: Social Party and the Elections of 1898, E. Milhaud, RSoc, May.
 Gettysburg, Repulse of Pickett's Charge at, E. D. Warfield, Chaut.
 Goethe, Youth of, J. A. Harrison, Cons.
 Gold-Mining in Dutch Guiana, J. E. Florance, Eng.
 Golf Course, Laying Out and Care of, A. W. Tucker, O.
 Golf, Moral Side of, S. D. McConnell, Out.
 Golf Rules, Why and Wherefore of, C. B. Macdonald, O.
 Gospel Parallels from Pali Texts—III, OC.
 Gothic or a Mixed Race? Are We, M. Emery, Gunt.
 Gould, George, Lakewood Home of, Katherine Hoffman, Mun.
 Government, Forms of, and Their Social Utility, A. des Cilleus, RefS, May 1.
 Great Britain: see also Transvaal.
 Administration, A Topheavy, H. Paul, Contem.
 Asia, Great Britain in, R. Temple, NAR.
 Austria-Hungary and, R. Blennerhassett, England, NatR.
 Boers, Vanquished, How England Should Treat the, S. Shipyard, NAR.
 Britain: Why Is She Hated? T. E. S. Scholes, West.
 Britannia and the Colonist, A. White, NatR.
 British and Russian Diplomacy, NAR.
 Cavalry, British, Black.
 Election, Next General, Issues for the, W. T. Stead, RRL.
 Empire, Danger of, F. A. A. Rowland, West.
 Engineers, Corps of Royal, Reorganization of the, USM.
 Enigmas of Empire, S. Low, NineC.
 Factory Bill of 1900, Gertrude M. Tuckwell, Fort.
 Germany, England, and America, P. Bigelow, Contem.
 Irish Guards, F. Manners, NineC.
 Liberalism, Decline of, H. W. Massingham, NatR.
 Liberal Policy: the Land Question, West.
 Naval Training, S. E. Wilmot, USM.
 Navy, Royal, Training of Seamen in the, C. C. P. Fitzgerald, NatR.
 Navy: What It Is Doing, D. T. Timins, Cass.
 Party Government, Price of, W. S. Lilly, Fort.
 Premium-Tax? Why Not a, J. D. Holms, West.
 Rosebery, Lord, and a National Cabinet, Fort.
 Russia, Antagonism of England and, D. C. Boulger, NAR.
 Soldier-Making at Sandhurst, A. F. M. Ferryman, Bad.
 War Office and the War, PMM.
 Greek Games, W. McK. Bryant, NW.
 Green, Mrs. Hetty, L. M. Hodges, LHJ.
 Green, William Henry, J. D. Davis, Bib.
 Gun-Carriages, Disappearing, G. H. Powell, Eng.
 Haas, Friedrich-Joseph, M. Reader, BU.
 Hague Conference, Work of the, C. Dupuis and A. Desjardins, RefS, May 16.
 Hailstorms, Prevention of, by the Use of Cannon, NatGM.
 Hairdressing, Magic of, Florence Burnley and Kathleen Schlesinger, Str.
 Hamilton's Estimate of Burr, Cent.
 Handel, Genius of, H. H. Statham, NineC.
 Hawke, Lord, at Home, M. R. Roberts, Cass.
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel, F. B. Embree, Int.
 Hebrew Philosophers—II, N. Schmidt, CAGE.
 Hell? What Has Become of, G. W. Shinn, NAR.
 Herbert, Lord, of Cherbury, L. Stephen, NatR.
 Hill, James J., Mary H. Severance, AMRE.
 Holy Spirit, Devotion to the, J. McSorley, Cath.
 Homeric Poems, Unity in the, E. Farquhar, Cons.
 Hospital, Fear of the, J. Brandt, Deut.
 House-Boat in America, W. Gillette, Out.
 Hunter, Sir William, J. A. R. Marriott, Fort.
 Hunting-Grounds, Northwestern, Dial, May 16.
 Hunting-Trip in the Rocky Mountains, F. C. Selous, Bad.
 Iarochenko, Nicolas, A. Ouspensky, RRP, June 1.
 Ibsen, Kenrik, Winifred L. Wendell, SelfC.
 Imagination, Creative, Nature of the, T. Ribot, IntM.

- Immigrants at the Barge Office, J. Montague, Home, May.
 Imperialism, Christianity and, F. Stewart, Arena.
 Independence, Declaration of, T. Jenks, Chaut.
 India, Famine in, B. Karageorgevitch, RRP, May 15.
 Indians: Hopi Snake-Dance, G. W. James, O.
 Indians: Ti-Ra-Wa-Hut—The Gods Aboriginal, H. E. Burgess, AngA.
 Infant, Biographical Sketch of an, C. Darwin, PopS.
 Inoculation, Preventive, W. M. Haffkins, PopS.
 Insects: How They Recognize Their Friends and Warn Their Enemies, A. S. Packard, Cham.
 Insolvency, Trust Funds in Cases of, C. A. Dickson, ALR.
 International Outlook, W. McL. Raine, SelfC.
 Inventing, Practical, W. H. Smyth, CasM.
 Invertebrates, North-American—IX., N. Banks, ANat, May.
 Ireland: Tory Island, D. A. Gibbons, Ros, May.
 Irish Question, Position of the, J. E. Redmond, Forum.
 Iron, Pig, Three Systems of Selling, G. H. Hull, CasM.
 Iron Works, British, Sixty Years in, G. Beard, CasM.
 Irrigate, How to, J. G. Kyle, IA.
 Irrigation: Division and Control of Water, G. L. Swendsen, IA.
 Istoria, F. W. Fitzpatrick, SelfC.
 Italian Workmen Abroad, Help for, G. Prato, RasN, May 16.
 Italy:
 Hygiene, Public, in Italy, G. Bizzozero, NA, May 1 and 16.
 Italy, North and South, A. Morizili, RPL, May.
 Italy, Parliamentary, L. Jadot, Nou, May 15.
 Liberal-Conservative Party, New Duties of the, I. Bonzi, RasN, May 1.
 Newspapers, Italian, F. T. Cooper, Bkman.
 Tourists, Foreign, in Italy, M. Ferraris, NA, May 16.
 Japan, Bank of, Report of, for the Year 1899, BankNY.
 Japanese-Chinese War: A Cadet at the Battle of the Yalu, A. Kinnosuké, McCl.
 Japan's Quarrel with Russia, R. van Bergen, Ains.
 Jesus' Conception of Nature, W. Dewar, Bib.
 Jesus' Teaching Concerning the Rich, F. G. Peabody, NW.
 Johnston, Col. Richard Malcolm, Autobiography of, Cons.
 Judaism, Decay of, MisR.
 Keats, John, Poetry of, T. W. Hunt, MRNY.
 Kindergarten Child After the Kindergarten, Phyllis Wardle, KindR.
 Kindergarten Idea in the National Life, H. W. Mabie, KindR.
 Kindergartens, Free, Problems in, Edith A. Anning, KindR.
 Koran, Rhyme and Rhythm in the, D. J. Rankin, OC.
 Korean Question, R. J. B. Mair, USM.
 Kropotkin, Prince, M. A. Morrison, LeisH.
 Krüger Africanus: The President at Home, L. Weinthal, RRL.
 Krüger, Paul, F. E. Garrett, McCl.
 Labor, Organized, in France, W. B. Scaife, Forum.
 Labor, Tropical, Experience of the Dutch with—II., C. Day, Yale, May.
 Labor-Union College, Gunt.
 Lantern-Slide Making for Beginners—VIII., PhoT.
 Lavroff, Pierre, C. Rappoport, RSoc, May.
 Law, Private International, in England, R. C. Henderson, ALR.
 Legislatures, State, Representation in, G. H. Haynes, Annals, May.
 Leipzig, Retreat from, X. de Ricard, Nou, May 1.
 Libraries of Rhode Island, H. R. Palmer, NEng.
 Life After Death, J. H. Hyslop, Harp.
 Lincoln, Abraham, Springfield Home of, P. E. Temple, SelfC.
 Lincoln, President, Assassination of, L. B. Fletcher, Chaut.
 Lincoln Rail, Origin of the, J. McCan Davis, Cent.
 Literary Clans, Some Famous—I., The Rossettis, Anna B. McGill, BB.
 Literature, Southern, of the Year, B. W. Wells, Forum.
 Literature: What Is Historic Atmosphere? C. Major, Scrib.
 Livingston, Edward, C. H. Peck, Cons.
 Locomotives, American, Increasing Size of, W. Forsyth, CasM.
 Lowell, James Russell, and His Spanish Friends, D. E. G. de Riaño, Cent.
 Machine Shop, Commercial Organization of the, H. Diemer, Eng.
 Machine Shop, Piece-Work in the, J. O'Connell, Eng.
 Madagascar, Pacification of, 1896-98, A. Lebon, RDM, May 15.
 Mafia, The, G. C. Speranza, GBag.
 Magic, The Old and the New, P. Carus, OC.
 Magic, Thibet the Land of, H. Liddell, Home.
 Mammoth Cave of Kentucky, R. Sherston, WWM.
 Marine Biology at Beaufort, H. V. Wilson, ANat, May.
 Marine, Our: Should It Be Subsidized? J. C. Watson and R. Runke, Arena.
 Marni, Jeanne, F. Loliée, Bkman.
 Martinique, G. Cagniard, RRP, June 1.
 Master, Life of the—VI., Jesus' Sympathy with the Outcasts, A Typical Day in His Earthly Life, J. Watson, McCl.
 Matterhorn, Ascent of the, C. W. Hodell, O.
 Maybrick, Mrs., Case of, AngA.
 Maupassant, Guy de, R. d'Ulmès, RRP, June 1.
 Medical Science, Recent Advance in, R. W. Wilcox, IntM.
 Methodist Church, Up-to-date Constitution for the, C. Sheard, MRNY.
 Methodist Schools, German, Reasons for, V. Wilker, MRNY.
 Mexico, Old, Mine Hunt in, D. Furness, Int.
 Mexico, Trip to, Laura M. Boulton, Can.
 Microbes and Microbe Farming, W. G. Bowdoin, Home.
 Military Law, K. A. Tavastsjerna, EM, May.
 Minister and His Vacation, J. Watson, LHJ.
 Ministry: The Preëminent Profession, H. A. Stimson, Forum.
 Mirage, The, J. Wells, Sun.
 Missions:
 Aintab, Central Turkey College at, J. Smith, MisH.
 Asia's Great Need, Mrs. I. B. Bishop, MisR.
 Bataks of Sumatra, Work Among the, A. Schreiber, MisH.
 China, Present Situation in, A. H. Smith, MisR.
 Ecumenical Conference on Foreign Missions in New York City, E. M. Camp, Chaut; MisH; A. T. Pierson, MisR.
 Greeks, Awakening, G. E. White, MisR.
 Japanese View of Japanese Christianity, T. Miyagawa, MisR.
 Lepers, Mission Work Among, W. C. Bailey, MisR.
 Medical Missions, Value of, G. E. Post, MisR.
 Mission Comity, Some Aspects of, A. Sutherland, MisR.
 New Hebrides, J. G. Paton, Hom.
 Self-Support, Object Lesson in, H. G. Underwood, MisR.
 West Africa, Unique Aspects of Missions to, R. H. Nassau, MisR.
 Mivart, Dr., Last Utterance of, G. M. Searle, Cath.
 Money, Token, of the Bank of England—II., M. Phillips, BankL.
 Monroe Doctrine, Theory of the, T. de Laguna, SelfC.
 Montalembert, and His Visit to O'Connell, J. G. Daley, Cath.
 Mormons, Truth About the, C. C. Goodwin, Mun.
 Movart Episode, H. H. Henson, NatR.
 Mules and Mule-Breeding, I. Malcolm, Bad.
 Municipal Voters' League of Chicago, E. B. Smith, Atlant.
 Music History, Study of—II., E. Dickinson, Mus.
 Music, Time-Marking System in, T. C. Whitmer, Mus.
 Mysteries, Historic—VI., A. Upward, Pear.
 Mystery, Evolution of, M. Maeterlinck, Fort.
 Mysticism, The New, E. Rhys, Fort.
 Negro, Future of the, in the Southern States, N. S. Shaler, PopS.
 Negro, West Indian, of To-day, H. G. DeLesser, Can.
 Newspaper, English, F. Kleinschmidt, SelfC.
 Newspapers, W. Reid, NineC.
 Newspapers, Italian, F. T. Cooper, Bkman.
 Newspapers: Proprietors and Editors, A. Shadwell, NatR.
 New York, Day in, C. Reynaud, Nou, May 1.
 New York, Greater, Charter Needs of, B. S. Coler, NAR.
 Nicaragua Canal: U. K., U. S., and the Ship Canal, C. W. Dilke, Forum.
 North Polar Region, Commercial Possibilities of the, T. F. Van Wageningen, Cons.
 Nursing in West Africa, Mary H. Kingsley, Cham.
 Oberammergau, Passion Play at, AMRR; Dora M. Jones, Cass; Ida S. Hoxie, LHJ; Sophia Beale, Sun.
 Ocean Flyer, Growth of the, R. Earl, Ains.
 Olympic Games, Meeting of the, P. de Coubertin, NAR.
 Ornithological Results of the Polar Expedition Under Dr. Nansen, R. W. Shufeldt, ANat, May.
 Panama Canal, H. H. Lewis, Mun.
 Pan-American Congress, W. E. Curtis, Gunt.
 Papacy and the Death Penalty, P. von Hoensbroech, Deut.
 Paris Exposition:
 American Art at the Exposition, BP.
 Art at the Exposition—II., R. de la Sizeranne, RDM, June 1.
 Boulevards, Life of the, R. Whiteing, Cent.
 Mechanical Achievement, Exposition as a, E. Mitchell, Eng.
 Mural Decorations, Crit.
 Olympic Games, P. de Coubertin, NAR.
 Paris and the Exposition of 1900, A. Shaw, AMRR.
 Paris Exposition—II., H. de Varigny, BU; M. de Nansouty, Nou, May 1.
 Party Policies for 1900, Gunt.
 "Passionate Pilgrim" Affair, A. Morgan, Cons.
 Passion Play, Swiss, Christine T. Herrick, Lipp.
 Patterson, Elizabeth, Virginia T. Peacock, Lipp.
 Pausanias, W. B. Wallace, USM.
 Penn's (William) Woods, Early Days in, Elizabeth T. Arnold, AMonM.
 Penny, English, and Its Story, W. M. Webb, NIM.
 Pensions, Old Age, H. H. Lusk, Arena.
 Pensions, Old Age, and Foreign Legislation, L. Rava, NA, May 1.
 Penzance Experiments, Professor Ewart's, PopS.
 Persian Literature, Modern, E. D. Ross, NAR.
 Persia, Russia in, RPar, May 15.
 Philippines: Are They Worth Having? G. F. Becker, Scrib.
 Philippines: Duty of the United States, G. A. Grow, Home, May.
 Philippines: Independence to the Filipinos? Do We Owe, C. Denby, Forum.

Photography:

Blue Platinotypes, WPM.
Carbon, Elementary, WPM.
Developers, Old and New, C. H. Bothamley, WPM.
Enlargements from Small Negatives, WPM.
Ferro-Prussiate Linen, H. P. Dawson, Phot.
Frames, Picture, WPM.
Groups, Photographing, WPM.
History, Early, of Photography, Phot.
Interiors, Photographing, E. C. Middleton, WPM.
Lantern-Slides, Intensification and Reduction of, E. Clifton, WPM.
Lenses for Studio Work, C. W. Hewitt, WPM.
Natural History Photography, R. Kearton, Pear.
Phosphate of Silver Paper, J. Meyer, Phot.
Photographic Clubs: Their Formation and Management, P. Lund, Phot.
Portraiture, Artistic Photography in, Maud Burnside, BP.
Shells, Scientific Photography of, R. W. Shufeldt, Phot.
Play-Bill, Growth and Evolution of the, P. Fitzgerald, Gent.
Plutarch and His Age, R. M. Wenley, NW.
Poetry of a Machine Age, G. S. Lee, Atlant.
Poetry, Passion and Imagination in, H. C. Beeching, NatR.
Polar Seas, Duke of Abruzzi in the, A. Rossi, RasN, May 1.
Political Affairs:
National Party Conventions, G. M. Burnham, NatM.
Political Parties and City Government, F. J. Goodnow, IntM.
Populist Movement, Rise of the, F. E. Hartigan, Int.
President, Electing a, A. M. Low, Scrib.
President, Forgotten Candidates for, F. N. Thorpe, Chaut.
Presidential Campaign, The, W. J. Bryan, NAR.
Presidential Campaign, Engineering a, L. A. Coolidge, Ains.
Presidents, Nomination of, J. M. Thurston, Cos.
Political Economy and Social Sciences, E. Fournière, RRP, June 1.
Political Science, Crisis in, M. Deslandres, RDP, April.
Polo Pony, Educating the, O. Wister, O.
Poor, Private Relief of the, E. T. Devine, Char.
Population, Our Foreign, J. G. Speed, Ains.
Popes, Pastor's History of the, N. Guarise, RasN, May 16.
Porto Ricans and the Constitution, G. H. Smith, Arena.
Poultry, Prize, as a Hobby, A. H. Blair, Cham.
Powers and Functions, Separation of, E. Artur, RDP, April.
Preaching, On, W. Kirkus, NW.
Press, Liberty of the, H. B. Brown, ALR.
Publishing, Star System in, Dial, May 16.
"Punch," Queen in, 1841-99, J. H. Schooling, Str.
Quaritch, Bernard, D. Sage, Atlant.
Race Problem? Will Education Solve the, S. R. Straton, NAR.
Race Question of To-day, W. A. MacCorkle, NatM.
Racing: Tales of the Turf, W. P. Pond, Home.
Railway Discipline, G. H. Paine, Mun.
Railway Progress and Agricultural Development, H. T. Newcomb, Yale, May.
Raleigh, Sir Walter, Lost Colony of, Mary L. Stringfield, AMonM.
Reformers, Latitude and Longitude Among, T. Roosevelt, Cent.
Refunding Law in Operation, C. A. Conant, AMRR.
Reid, Capt. Samuel Chester, and the "General Armstrong," C. T. Brady, McCl.
Religion and Morality, Early, Relation Between, E. Buckley, IntM.
Religion and the Larger Universe, J. T. Bixby, NW.
Religious Life in the City, Problem of, P. H. Swift, MRNY.
Revolution, American, as a Crisis in the Individual Freedom of Man, W. P. Tunstall, AMonM.
Rhodes, Cecil, Future of, Catherine Radziwill, NAR.
Rifle Clubs, Swiss, J. H. Rivett-Carnac, NineC.
Ritual Murder, Concerning, G. Marcotti, RPL, April 15.
Road-Driving, Early, and Its Patrons, N. A. Cole, O.
Rockies, In the Heart of the, E. Spragge, SelfC.
Roman Catholic Church, Convert's Experience of the, Contem.
Roman Catholic Church, Why I Left the, A. Galton, NatR.
Roman Catholic Church: The Mivart Episode, H. H. Henson, NatR.
Roman Catholic Defense of Gambling, R. F. Horton, YM.
Roman Catholic Missions in Texas, T. O'Hagan, Cath.
Rome, Squalor of, Cham.
Ronsard's Life, Episode in, F. Brunetière, RDM, May 15.
Roosevelt, Governor—As an Experiment, J. L. Steffens, McCl.
Rothenburg and Its Historic Pageant, C. F. Dewey, NIM.
Roumania, Position and Importance of, H. Klefer, Deut.
Rous, Captain John, F. A. Roe, AMonM.
Royalty in Disguise, G. A. Wade, NIM.
Ruskin, John, B. O. Flower, CAge.
Russia:
British and Russian Diplomacy, NAR.
England and Russia, Antagonism of, D. C. Boulger, NAR.
Japan's Quarrel with Russia, R. van Bergen, Ains.
Persia, Russia in, RPar, May 15.

Russian Railroad Conquest of Central Asia, T. F. Fullard, USM.
St. Paul, Conversion of, G. Elliott, MRNY.
Sarcey, Dramatic Criticism of, R. Doumic, RDM, May 15.
Savonarola and Alexander VI., RasN, May 1.
Schumann's Struggle for Clara Wieck, R. Aldrich, Mus.
Science and Religion, G. Donaldson, AngA.
Scientific Discoveries of the Nineteenth Century, Practical Results of, G. F. Wright, Hom.
Seattle and the Nome Rush, A. G. Kingsbury, NatM.
Senators, Election of United States, E. Maxey, SelfC.
Sewage Disposal, Improved Methods of, San.
Shakespeare, William—VI., Apprenticeship, H. W. Mabie, Out.
Shipbuilding on the Clyde, F. Dolman, PMM.
Singers, Some Old, J. Todhunter, Temp.
Socialism, Art and, J. Jaurès, RSoc, May.
Social Questions in Literature, P. and V. Margueritte, RRP, May 15.
South, Mountain Outlaws of the, J. McGovern, Int.
Spanish Arches in Mexico, Early, A. Butt, Cent.
Spoils System, Theory and Practice of the, H. T. Newcomb, Cons.
Stage, Foreign, in New York, H. Hapgood, Bkman.
Stage, Ghetto, Realism on the, H. Hapgood, Atlant.
Stillman, W. J., Autobiography of—VI., Atlant.
Storms of the Rockies, T. C. Knowles, Ains.
Strawberry—The King of Berries, Lenora N. Hobbs, SelfC.
Stringer, Arthur J., H. A. Bruce, Can.
Submarine Boat, Success of the, P. Hichborn, Eng.
Sumter, Fort, Firing Upon, J. A. B. Scherer, Chaut.
Sun's Destination, H. Jacoby, PopS.
Synagogues of the Dispersion, W. M. Tippy, MRNY.
Tariff History, Unwritten Chapter in Recent, J. Schoenhof, Forum.
Taxation of Transportation Companies, R. C. McCrea, Annals, May.
Teck, Late Duchess of, J. Sykes, West.
Telegraphy, Up-to-Date, J. M. Bacon, LeisH.
Tenement-House Commission, New York, J. A. Riis, AMRR.
Tennyson's Relation to Common Life, L. E. Gates, Crit.
Theatre, People's, in Bavaria, J. G. Prod'homme, RRP, June 1.
Theatre, People's, in Berlin, Edith Sellers, Contem.
Theology: Final Seat of Authority, C. P. Gasquoine, West.
Thompson, Richard W., C. G. Bowers, GBag.
Tolstoy, Later Work of, A. Maude, Bkman.
Tramps: What They Read, J. Flynt, Crit.
Transvaal: see also Great Britain.
Beginnings of the South African Republics, J. Leclercq, RDM, June 1.
Boer Lines, Inside the—II., E. E. Easton, Harp.
Boer Methods of Attack and Defense, T. F. Millard, Scrib.
Boers and Christianity in South Africa, MisR.
Boer, The, J. Jenkins, West.
Boer Trek, Great, S. Crane, Cos.
British-Boer Relations in South Africa, J. H. Lane, AngA.
British March to Jacobsdaal, J. Barnes, Out.
Buller's Column, With, R. H. Davis, Scrib.
England: How She Should Treat the Vanquished Boers, S. Shippard, NAR.
International Law, War from the Point of, T. P. Ion, Cons.
Kimberley, Cavalry Rush to, and in Pursuit of Cronje, C. Boyle, NineC.
Kimberley During the Siege, In, Cham.
Krüger Africanus: The President at Home, L. Weinthal, RRL.
Krüger, Paul, F. E. Garrett, Fort; McCl.
Ladysmith Relief Column, USM.
Natal, Future of, F. S. Tatum, NineC.
Native Races, Future of the, J. S. Moffat, NineC.
Observations on South Africa, L. Phillips, Contem.
Peace, Honorable, Plea for an, R. Balmforth, West.
Peace Prospects, E. Tallichet, BU.
Problem in South Africa—IV., H. H. L. Bellot, West.
Psychology of the French Boerophiles and Anglophobes, Y. Guyot, Contem.
Reconstruction of South Africa, G. F. Hollis, NatM.
Rhodes, Cecil, Future of, Catherine Radziwill, NAR.
Social Life in Boer-Land, Ethel West, Home, May.
South Africa, Glimpse of, F. A. Maxse, NatR.
Surprises in War, F. S. Russell, Black.
Trek from the Transvaal, F. von Eilt, Corn.
War in South Africa and the American Civil War, S. Wilkinson, Bkman; Contem.
War Operations in South Africa, Black; USM.
Treaty, Evolution of a, in Anglo-American Diplomacy, C. C. Hyde, ALR.
Trout and Artificial Fly, Evolution of the, H. Gove, O.
Tuberculosis:
Climate: Is a Change a Necessity for Successful Treatment? C. Denison, San.
Colored Rays of Light, Use of, J. M. Bleyer, San.
Communicability and the Restriction of Tuberculosis, H. H. Baker, San.
Fat Food as a Preventive of, A. N. Bell, San.

Problem of Tuberculosis, F. Padula, RPL, April.
 Tuberculosis, Modern Treatment of, M. J. Brooks, San.
 Trusts, Evils of, and Foolish Remedies, J. D. Miller, Arena.
 Trusts: Ice Trust Outrage, Gunt.
 Turkey, United States' Relations with, AngA.
 United States:
 American and Canadian Trade Relations, J. Charlton, Forum.
 Chinese, Attitude Towards the, H. Yow, Forum.
 Congressional Government of Territories, J. P. Buster, ALR.
 England as an Ally, E. A. Ross, Arena.
 Executive, Independence of the, G. Cleveland, Atlant.
 Expansion of the American People—XXXIII.—XXXVI, E. E. Sparks, Chaut.
 Germany, England, and America, P. Bigelow, Contem.
 Preservation of the Republic, F. Parsons, Arena.
 Turkey, Relations with, AngA.
 U. K., U. S., and the Ship Canal, C. W. Dilke, Forum.
 Venetian Industries, Old, P. Molmenti, RasN, May I.
 Vibia, Tomb of, E. Maas, OC.
 Victoria, Queen: What Kind of a Sovereign is She? W. T. Stead, Cos.

Warfare:
 Balloons in War, A. W. Greely, Harp.
 Cavalry, Notes on the Evolution of, F. M. Maude, USM.
 Horse in Warfare, V. D'O. Noble, Pear.
 Mountain Warfare in the Tyrol in 1809, T. B. Saunders, USM.
 Roentgen Rays in Warfare, H. C. Fyfe, Str.
 Surprises in War, F. S. Russell, Black.
 Washington, George, at Monmouth, H. Robertson, A MonM.
 Washington, State of, Cham.
 Water Springs, E. Duclaux, RPar, May 15.
 Webster, Daniel, in the Hauts of, M. L. Osborne, NatM.
 Wedding Decorations, Floral, L. C. Stewart, Mun.
 West Virginia, Supreme Court of—III., J. W. Vandervort, GBag.
 Willard, Frances, Clara C. Hoffman, CAge.
 Wisconsin, New England in, E. B. Usher, NEng.
 Woman in Journalism, Marian Ainsworth-White, Arena.
 Woman in the Ancient World, Elizabeth S. Diack, West.
 Women: Education and Marriage, A. L. Meakle, Arena.
 Women Workers in English Society, Cass.
 Working-Women's Clubs, Charlotte, C. Wilkinson, Gunt.
 Yalu, A Cadet at the Battle of the, A. Kinnosuké, McCl.
 Yellowstone National Park, E. E. Treffry, SelfC.
 Zurbriggen, Mattias, Exploits of—II., A. Glardon, BU.

Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index

[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

Ains.	Ainslee's Magazine, N. Y.	Ed.	Education, Boston.	NAR.	North American Review, N. Y.
ACQR.	American Catholic Quarterly Review, Phila.	EdR.	Educational Review, N. Y.	Nou.	Nouvelle Revue, Paris.
AHR.	American Historical Review, N. Y.	Eng.	Engineering Magazine, N. Y.	NA.	Nuova Antologia, Rome.
AJS.	American Journal of Sociology, Chicago.	EM.	España Moderna, Madrid.	OC.	Open Court, Chicago.
AJT.	American Journal of Theology, Chicago.	Fort.	Fortnightly Review, London.	O.	Outing, N. Y.
ALR.	American Law Review, St. Louis.	Forum.	Forum, N. Y.	Out.	Outlook, N. Y.
AMonM.	American Monthly Magazine, Washington, D. C.	FR.	Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y.	Over.	Overland Monthly, San Francisco.
AMRR.	American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y.	Gent.	Gentleman's Magazine, London.	PMM.	Pall Mall Magazine, London.
ANat.	American Naturalist, Boston.	GBag.	Green Bag, Boston.	PEAR.	Pearson's Magazine, N. Y.
AngA.	Anglo-American Magazine, N. Y.	Gunt.	Guntton's Magazine, N. Y.	Phil.	Philosophical Review, N. Y.
Annals.	Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila.	Harp.	Harper's Magazine, N. Y.	PhOT.	Photographic Times, N. Y.
APB.	Anthony's Photographic Bulletin, N. Y.	Hart.	Hartford Seminary Record, Hartford, Conn.	PL.	Poet-Lore, Boston.
Arch.	Architectural Record, N. Y.	Home.	Home Magazine, N. Y.	PSQ.	Political Science Quarterly, Boston.
Arena.	Arena, N. Y.	Hom.	Homiletic Review, N. Y.	PopA.	Popular Astronomy, Northfield, Minn.
AA.	Art Amateur, N. Y.	HumN.	Humanité Nouvelle, Paris.	PopS.	Popular Science Monthly, N. Y.
AE.	Art Education, N. Y.	Int.	International, Chicago.	PRR.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review, Phila.
AI.	Art Interchange, N. Y.	IJE.	International Journal of Ethics, Phila.	PQ.	Presbyterian Quarterly, Charlotte, N. C.
AJ.	Art Journal, London.	IntM.	International Monthly, N. Y.	QJEcon.	Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston.
Art.	Artist, London.	IntS.	International Studio, N. Y.	QR.	Quarterly Review, London.
Atlant.	Atlantic Monthly, Boston.	IA.	Irrigation Age, Chicago.	RasN.	Rassegna Nazionale, Florence.
Bad.	Badminton, London.	JMSI.	Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H.	Record.	Record of Christian Work, East Northfield, Mass.
BankL.	Bankers' Magazine, London.	JPEcon.	Journal of Political Economy, Chicago.	RefS.	Réforme Sociale, Paris.
BankNY.	Bankers' Magazine, N. Y.	Kind.	Kindergarten Magazine, Chicago.	RRL.	Review of Reviews, London.
Bib.	Biblical World, Chicago.	KindR.	Kindergarten Review, Springfield, Mass.	RRM.	Review of Reviews, Melbourne.
BSac.	Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O.	LHJ.	Ladies' Home Journal, Phila.	RDM.	Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris.
BU.	Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne.	LeisH.	Leisure Hour, London.	RDP.	Revue du Droit Public, Paris.
Black.	Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh.	Lipp.	Lippincott's Magazine, Phila.	RGen.	Revue Générale, Brussels.
BB.	Book Buyer, N. Y.	LQ.	London Quarterly Review, London.	RPar.	Revue de Paris, Paris.
Bkman.	Bookman, N. Y.	Long.	Longman's Magazine, London.	RPP.	Revue Politique et Parlementaire, Paris.
BP.	Brush and Pencil, Chicago.	Luth.	Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa.	RRP.	Revue des Revues, Paris.
Can.	Canadian Magazine, Toronto.	McCl.	McClure's Magazine, N. Y.	RSoc.	Revue Socialiste, Paris.
Cass.	Cassell's Magazine, London.	Mac.	Macmillan's Magazine, London.	RPL.	Rivista Politica e Letteraria, Rome.
CasM.	Cassier's Magazine, N. Y.	MA.	Magazine of Art, London.	Ros.	Rosary, Somerset, Ohio.
Cath.	Catholic World, N. Y.	MRN.	Methodist Review, Nashville.	San.	Sanitarian, N. Y.
Cent.	Century Magazine, N. Y.	MRNY.	Methodist Review, N. Y.	School.	School Review, Chicago.
Cham.	Chambers's Journal, Edinburgh.	Mind.	Mind, N. Y.	Scrib.	Scribner's Magazine, N. Y.
Char.	Charities Review, N. Y.	MisH.	Missionary Herald, Boston.	SelfC.	Self Culture, Akron, Ohio.
Chaut.	Chautauquan, Cleveland, O.	MisR.	Missionary Review, N. Y.	SR.	Sewanee Review, Sewanee, Tenn.
CAge.	Coming Age, Boston.	Mon.	Monist, Chicago.	Str.	Strand Magazine, London.
Cons.	Conservative Review, Washington.	MunA.	Municipal Affairs, N. Y.	Sun.	Sunday Magazine, London.
Contem.	Contemporary Review, London.	MunS.	Munsey's Magazine, N. Y.	Temp.	Temple Bar, London.
Corn.	Cornhill, London.	Mus.	Music, Chicago.	USM.	United Service Magazine, London.
Cos.	Cosmopolitan, N. Y.	NatGM.	National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C.	West.	Westminster Review, London.
Crit.	Critic, N. Y.	NatM.	National Magazine, Boston.	Wern.	Werner's Magazine, N. Y.
Deut.	Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart.	NatR.	National Review, London.	WWM.	Wide World Magazine, London.
Dial.	Dial, Chicago.	NC.	New-Church Review, Boston.	WPM.	Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y.
Dub.	Dublin Review, Dublin.	NEng.	New England Magazine, Boston.	Yale.	Yale Review, New Haven.
Edin.	Edinburgh Review, London.	NIM.	New Illustrated Magazine, London.	YM.	Young Man, London.
		NW.	New World, Boston.	YW.	Young Woman, London.
		NineC.	Nineteenth Century, London.		

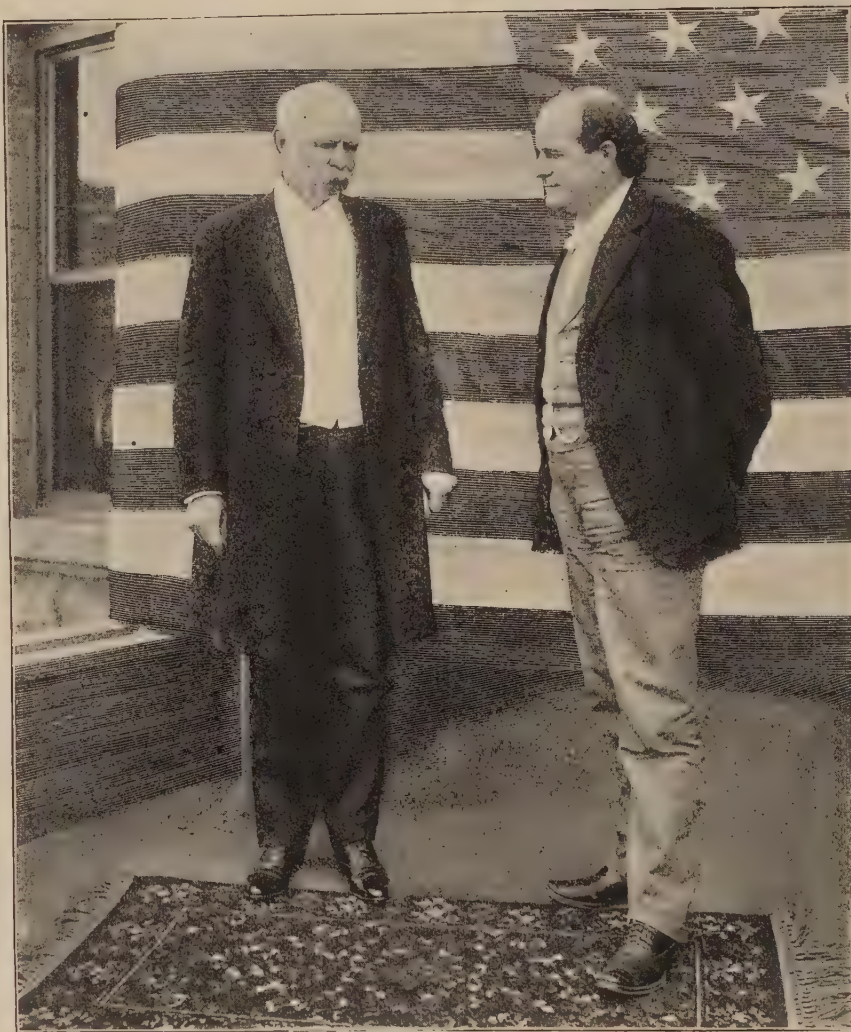
THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW.

CONTENTS FOR AUGUST, 1900.

The Democratic Nominees.....	Frontispiece
The Progress of the World—	
The Democrats and Their Fighting-Ground....	131
As to "Paramount Issues"	131
The Natural "Pro" and "Con" of the Situation	132
Silver as an Abnormal Issue	133
The Mistake at Kansas City.....	134
War Questions Had the Right of Way.....	135
But the Democrats Have Chosen to Stake All on Silver.....	135
What Might Have Been.....	136
As to Statesmanship, Consistency, and Fusion..	137
What Could Bryan Do if Elected?.....	137
The Panic Argument.....	137
How Tammany Turned the Scale at Kansas City.....	138
The Party and Its Leaders	139
As to the Vice-Presidency	140
The Double Candidacy Problem	140
The Platform in General.....	141
The Cuban Question.....	141
The Philippine Question.....	141
The News from Manila.....	142
The "Anti-Trust" Planks	142
The Trusts and the Public Mind.....	143
From the Political Standpoint.....	143
The Boers in Guerrilla Warfare.....	144
Some Points in the African News.....	144
The Boer Cause in American Politics.....	145
Various Campaign Notes.....	145
The Situation in China.....	147
As to the Missionaries.....	147
The American Attitude.....	147
Some General Remarks.....	148
China's Future and the "Yellow Peril".....	148
Armies Heading for the East.....	150
Tientsin Captured by the Allies.....	151
Wholesale Slaughter in Peking.....	151
With portraits of J. D. Richardson, C. S. Thomas, W. D. Oldham, B. R. Tillman, David B. Hill, Richard Croker, Adlai E. Stevenson, Charles A. Towne, Theodore Roosevelt, E. O. Wolcott, Sir Edward H. Seymour and staff, George C. Remey, Adna R. Chaffee, Sir Claude Macdonald, the late Emerson H. Liscum, and Li Hung Chang, map showing the route from Taku to Peking, cartoons, and other il- lustrations.	
Record of Current Events.	153
With portraits of Count Lamsdorff, President McKinley and members of the Notification Committee, Fran- cis E. Clark, W. A. P. Martin, the late Admiral Philip, and the late John H. Gear, and other il- lustrations.	
Current History in Caricature.....	158
With reproductions from American and foreign jour- nals.	
The Chinese Revolution.....	166
By Stephen Bonsal.	
The Kansas City Convention.....	175
By Walter Wellman.	
Mr. Bryan at Home.....	179
With portraits of William Jennings Bryan, Mrs. Wil- liam Jennings Bryan, William Jennings Bryan, Jr., Ruth Baird Bryan, and Grace Dexter Bryan.	
Theodore Roosevelt.....	181
By Jacob A. Riis.	
With portraits of Theodore Roosevelt, and Theodore Roosevelt, Sr., and other illustrations.	
Roosevelt's Work as Governor.....	187
With portraits of Theodore Roosevelt, William J. Youngs, and John C. Davies, and other illustrations.	
The New Appellate Court-house in New York City.....	191
By Ernest Knauff.	
With portrait of James Brown Lord, and other illus- trations.	
The Embellishment of a Michigan Town....	195
By Archibald Hadden.	
With portrait of Charles H. Hackley, and other illus- trations.	
A National Art Exhibition.....	198
By William Ordway Partridge.	
Volcanic Scenery of the Northwest.....	202
By Robert E. Strahorn.	
With illustrations.	
Leading Articles of the Month—	
Americans in China.....	209
The Chinese Revolutionary Junta in America....	210
The Chinese Attitude Towards Missionaries....	211
Chinese Civilization.....	212
The Crisis in China.....	213
The Chinese Minister's Plea for Justice.....	215
Germany's Foothold in China.....	215
Lieutenant Gillmore's Experiences in Luzon....	216
An Indian Account of Custer's Last Fight.....	218
How Shall South Africa be Reconstructed?....	219
French Views of the Boers.....	220
To Train Civil Servants.....	222
Our Governmental Methods.....	222
A New Exposition of Sovereignty.....	223
Objections to the Referendum.....	224
The Seven Great Sea Powers.....	225
German Trade Jealousy.....	225
Can the World's Wheat Supply be Cornered?..	226
A Century of Irish Immigration.....	227
The Hull-Ottawa Fire.....	228
New Sources of Light.....	229
How the Venom of Serpents Is Collected.....	230
Women's Sports: A Symposium.....	231
English Town and Country Ideals.....	233
Glimpses of Out of the Way Travel.....	233
The Spanish Capital.....	237
The Brains of Women.....	237
With portraits of J. C. Gillmore, George A. Custer, and Peter Severin Kröyer, map of the northern portion of the Island of Luzon, and other illustrations.	
The Periodicals Reviewed.....	238
Index to Periodicals.....	252

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HON. ADLAI E. STEVENSON.

HON. WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEES.

(From a photograph taken at Lincoln, Neb., on July 10, especially for the *New York Herald*, and here reproduced by that paper's courtesy).

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

Review of Reviews.

VOL. XXII.

NEW YORK, AUGUST, 1900.

NO. 2.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

The Democrats and Their Fighting Ground. During July, bar silver was quoted in London at about 28 pence per ounce. Mexican silver dollars, which contain a little more silver than our standard American dollar, were worth in New York about 48 cents apiece. The Democratic party, meeting in national convention at Kansas City early last month, gave its real and thorough attention to only one question—namely, the attitude the party should assume in the present electoral campaign on the question of the monetary status of silver. It was not by any accident or intrigue, but with eyes wide open and with deliberation far beyond that which conventions usually give to any part of their declarations of belief and intention, that the Democratic party at Kansas City explicitly demanded “the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid and consent of any other nation.” The Kansas City platform is, as a whole, an exceedingly spirited

and well-written document. Considered merely as an exercise in rhetoric, it is far superior to the Republican platform—so much so, indeed, that no one could well fail to note the contrast. But the country is not engaged in a mere debating contest; and for that reason oratory and rhetoric, which, in point of fact, never play the principal part in our political struggles, will have even less to do this year than usual with the conduct and the result of the campaign. Another part of this interesting Kansas City platform discusses what it calls “the burning issue of imperialism growing out of the Spanish War.” To its indictment of imperialism there was finally added, by the platform committee, the following sentence: “We regard it [imperialism] as the paramount issue of the campaign.”

As to “Paramount Issues.” The Social Democrats of Germany, who are growing steadily in party strength, hold certain views of an interesting and thoughtful nature regarding com-

pulsory military service, protective tariffs, colonial policies, naval expenditure, and numerous other subjects. It is understood, however, that their most distinctive tenet relates to the subject of private property—pointing to a policy that would amount to something like the confiscation of all capital. If, therefore, the Social Democrats of Germany were entering upon a campaign which promised to bring them into full authority, let us suppose that in their platform of principles they should declare that they were opposed to the present colonial and imperial policy of the German Emperor, and regarded



THE CONVENTION HALL AT KANSAS CITY.

(Burned on April 4, and rebuilt, practically fire-proof, in time for the Convention which met July 4.)



From a drawing by E. Frederick.

Richard Croker.

John P. Altgeld.

C. A. Towne.

Gov. C. S. Thomas.

Courtesy of the New York Journal.

DEMOCRATIC LEADERS DISCUSSING THE 16 TO 1 DECLARATION IN COATES HOUSE CORRIDOR, KANSAS CITY.

it as the paramount issue. It is clear enough to us, looking on from the outside, that their designating such an issue as paramount would not necessarily make it so in the actual contest. Their opponents, with one accord, would say that the prospect of a confiscation party getting into power was the real issue; and all other parties would be called upon to forget their differences of opinion about militarism, naval expansion, and land-grabbing in Asia and Africa, in the face of the menace of revolutionary socialism. Let us suppose, again, that in England the Liberal party, in anticipation of the general elections that are to be held in the near future, should declare itself in favor of the immediate abolition of the House of Lords, the immediate disestablishment of the Church of England, and the wiping out of all vestiges of the old system of caste and privilege that still dominates English life and society—together with the abolition of the monarchy, to take effect upon the death of Queen Victoria. We can imagine that such a statement of Liberal principles might include various other items; and that somebody who thought thereby to take the edge off the iconoclasm of the rest of the platform should succeed in getting the convention to agree that the Liberal opposition to the policy of Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain in South Africa should be designated as "the paramount issue" in the campaign. But everybody in England who, for any reason, desired to prevent the overthrow of the Established Church, or who

favoured the maintenance of the landed aristocracy with its hereditary privileges, or who could not endure the thought of an England without a royal family, would scoff at the idea that the conduct of the South African War was the paramount issue. From their point of view there could be only one issue; namely, whether or not the Radicals should be allowed to get control of the government.

*The Natural
"Pro" and
"Con" of
the Situation.*

So much for analogies. We shall ask our readers to follow with some patience our analysis of the party situation, because it has to do, in our opinion, with the fundamental bearings of a campaign that this country must have on its hands for more than three months. When a party is in full power, like the Republican party in the United States,—that is to say, when it holds the Presidency and both houses of Congress, the party being as it is to-day in marvelous harmony and concord, its measures meeting with no obstruction at the hands of the federal judiciary, and most of the leading State governments being also in the hands of the same party,—it is almost inevitable that it should come before the country on its record rather than upon promises or pledges. The Republicans at Philadelphia saw this clearly enough, and realized the fact that in renominating President McKinley they were doing that which made it almost superfluous to go through the form of adopting a platform.

Their resolutions necessarily took the form of a somewhat eulogistic recital and memorandum. The natural issue before the country would seem to have been made at Philadelphia; and it could have been summed up in the query whether or not the country wanted four years more of McKinley Republicanism with all that is involved in that phrase. Under normal conditions it would have seemed the natural task of an opposition party to condemn the administration on its record, and to unite by all possible means the people who, for whatever reason, desired to vote against it. Normally, the Democratic party is an opposition body, pure and simple. This year its natural policy would have been to take the view expressed in the cartoon from the New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, which we reproduce herewith, and which appeared a few days after the nomination of McKinley and Roosevelt at Philadelphia.



REPUBLICANISM HAS COME TO THIS.

From the New Orleans *Times-Democrat* of June 23.



HON. J. D. RICHARDSON, OF TENNESSEE.

(Permanent Chairman of the Democratic National Convention.)

Silver as an Abnormal Issue.

The Populist movement, on the other hand, represents positive action in radical directions. In 1896 the spirit of Populism wholly captured the Democratic organization, and the Republican camp became the rallying-place for conservative opposition. The campaign of 1896 was fought, not upon what the Republicans proposed to do if they should come

into power, but rather upon what the Democrats proposed to do if they should win. The Democrats had determined to do something that was, to put it mildly, a highly experimental thing of a kind not paralleled in the recent history of any country. It was a proposal which, the great majority of the experts declared, would profoundly disturb business conditions. Under these circumstances, the contest was not one of a normal party or political character. The greater part of the leaders of the Democratic party whose reputations were national declined to support the Chicago platform and ticket, and either directly or indirectly helped to elect McKinley as the only means by which to defeat Bryan. So long as a great party seriously proposed to open the mints of the United States to the free coinage of silver, the business interests of the country regarded it as necessary to make every possible endeavor, regardless of ordinary party divisions, to keep that party out of power. The free-silver movement had begun as a non-political agitation on the part of silver-mine owners and the communities and regions interested in silver production. It had been taken up by the Populistic element in certain Western farming States, because that element had always favored cheap money and high prices. Ingenious arguments had been made to spread widely through the

West and South the conviction that gold had greatly appreciated relatively, and that this involved both hardship and injustice to agricultural producers and debtors—an injustice that would be evened up by opening the mints to the free coinage of silver. There is no intention, on our part, to intimate that this conviction was not held honestly and in good faith. If it had not been so entertained, there would have been no reason to take it seriously. It is ridiculous to suppose that there is not just as much decency and common honesty in one great party as in another. The danger did not lie in the bad intentions of a large fraction of the American people; for their intentions were above reproach. The danger lay rather in the attempt to make a political and a sentimental question out of a difficult and technical subject that on its theoretical side belongs to monetary science, and on its practical side to experts in public and private finance and business. The silver question, in point of fact, has had just as profound and anxious study during the three past decades in various other countries as in the United States; but ours, as it happens, is the only country that has been so unfortunate as to have the subject forced upon it as one of popular party controversy. Many other subjects were mentioned in the platforms of 1896, and some incidental attention was paid to the personality of candidates and other matters of detail; but the contest, as a whole, was waged purely upon the one precise proposition of the Democrats—viz., to open the mints to the free coinage of silver dollars at the ratio of 16 to 1. That proposition the country rejected; and business interests, which above all things seek stability of conditions, felt that they were justly entitled to the fruits of their victory.

The Mistake at Kansas City. It was hoped that the Democratic party would see the matter in that light in 1900. It was, of course, well understood that the Populists would reiterate their belief in free silver, although this arbitrary coinage dogma has nothing whatever to do with the essential principles of Populism. It was also well known that the Silver Republicans would refuse to admit that their cause was lost; but it was hoped in many quarters that the Democratic party would not this year allow Populists and Silver Republicans to write its platform and determine its position—rather that it would resume its old-time normal place as a true opposition party. But it did not turn out in that way. Mr. Bryan's renomination carried with it, against the real preferences and best judgment of more than half of the convention, the platform that

he insisted upon having if he was to be the candidate. In politics, times and seasons need to be consulted; and some order of exercises must be agreed upon if a party means to achieve results. The silver question divides American public opinion along one line of cleavage, and the so-called question of imperialism divides it along a wholly different line. Neither Mr. Bryan nor any other political leader can successfully unite those two wholly unrelated issues. If, indeed, the administration's policy of expansion, militarism, and treatment of territories as outside the pale of the Constitution properly constitute a paramount issue before the country this year, that fact of itself should furnish sufficient reason and excuse for frankly postponing the silver question. If, as is probable, the English Liberals will decide, a few weeks or a few months hence, to go before the country with a general attack upon the South African policy of the Salisbury administration, they will not attempt in the same campaign to contend for the immediate disestablishment of the Church or the abrogation of the House of Lords. Those questions are of such magnitude that in due season they must be faced squarely and fought out all by themselves. But it may be twenty or thirty years before the Liberal party can get around to the joining of issues on either the one or the other of these subjects. In like manner, if the Democrats were intending this year to make a successful assault upon the general policies of the McKinley administration and the Republican Congress as regards Porto Rico, Cuba, Hawaii, the Philippines, the Isthmian Canal question, and the undoubtedly close



"DANCE, OLD LADY, DANCE."—From the *World* (New York).

understanding that exists between our State Department and the English Foreign Office, it was a fatal mistake to mix that assault up with the demand for an immediate return to the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. Most of the influential men of the United States who are really opposed to the military and colonial policies of the Republican party are even more strongly opposed to the silver plank of the Democrats.

War Questions Had the Right of Way. The problems of money, banking, and finance are, always with us. But at such a time as the present, when no financial crisis exists, and general business is going on smoothly, it is perfectly feasible to postpone these problems in order to deal with the exceptional issues demanding immediate attention that have grown out of a foreign war. We had not had a foreign war for more than fifty years when we took up arms against Spain; and nothing could be more natural and proper than that the Presidential campaign immediately following such a war should be devoted to the questions of profound scope and importance that have grown in various unexpected ways out of the conduct and results of the armed conflict. At the last Presidential election there were not many people in the United States who knew where the Philippine Islands are. The campaign this year finds us trying to govern those islands in the distant tropics, with about 60,000 of our young American soldiers undergoing hardship there, and with no prospect of their early recall. Our new status involves vastly increased taxation and public expenditure. Surely all this extraordinary change in the conditions and the work of our federal government affords appropriate issues for discussion in the Presidential year. There ought to be only one question before the American people; namely, whether or not enough confidence is felt in Mr. McKinley and his ad-



GOV. C. S. THOMAS, OF COLORADO.

(Temporary Chairman of the Democratic National Convention.)



HON. W. D. OLDHAM, OF NEBRASKA.

(Who made the speech nominating Bryan.)

visers, and in the Republican majorities that coöperate with him in both houses of Congress, to justify giving Mr. McKinley another four years in the White House, and keeping the Republicans in the majority in Congress.

But the Democrats Have Chosen to Stake All on Silver. This, indeed, is what the Democrats themselves say in their platform.

But, having said it, they take all the force out of the statement by informing the country that if they are put in power to deal in a different way with those questions of militarism and territorial expansion, they will not confine themselves to that work, but will immediately set about trying to put the private business of the people of the United States upon the basis of the



confidence is felt in Mr. McKinley and his ad-

FARMER BRYAN: "Here's a little formality to be attended to first, gentlemen."—From the *Brooklyn Eagle* (New York).

silver dollar. This must, of necessity, change the fighting-ground altogether. The country decided, four years ago, that it would be extremely inconvenient to try the experiment of free-silver coinage; and the business history of the years that have elapsed since 1896 has obviously rendered it still more inconvenient to have such

What
Might Have
Been.
What would have happened if the Kansas City convention had acted otherwise? One man's opinion on that question is, perhaps, as good as another's. Our own view is that it would have strengthened the Democratic party enormously if it had adopted at Kansas City a resolution reading somewhat as follows:

We do not in any way abandon or disregard our former views and convictions on the important questions of the coinage and the currency. But we believe that patriotism as well as political expediency requires that we should subordinate these questions at the present time, in order that the country may have the opportunity to give its verdict squarely for or against the Republican policies that have grown out of the results of the war with Spain. We pledge ourselves, if put in power by the votes of the people, not to disturb the *status quo* as respects the monetary standard until we shall have had another opportunity to submit the silver question directly to the popular verdict—either in the Congressional elections of two years hence or in the Presidential campaign of 1904, as may hereafter seem advisable.

If Mr. Bryan personally had been willing to take this view of the situation, and had asked the Kansas City convention to adopt such a resolution, it would, in our opinion, have been adopted not only with absolute unanimity and with great enthusiasm, but it would have carried with it an air of responsible statesmanship that would strongly have impressed the country. It would have reassured Eastern Democrats, and would have brought them to the support of the ticket and platform with immense animation. It would have given entire consistency to the plan of nominating an Eastern Democrat for the Vice-Presidency. Nor would it, in our opinion, have alienated from the Democratic ticket any con-



IS SUICIDE A CRIME?

THOSE IN THE BACKGROUND: "It's sixteen to one he doesn't pull through alive this time."

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

an experiment put into immediate operation. To revert to our analogy: If the Liberals in England should declare in the approaching campaign that, while they regard the South African question as the paramount issue, they will, if put in power, proceed immediately to disestablish the Church and to abolish the House of Lords, it is as plain as the noonday sun that the election would not turn upon the South African question at all. In like manner, as matters now stand, there is no reason in logic, common sense, or practical conditions why the Presidential election in the United States this year should not turn upon what the people of the country must consider to be the really vital question that has been brought into the arena. Mr. Bryan himself thought the immediate free coinage of silver to be so important that he distinctly insisted that he would refuse the nomination if that subject were postponed. The convention decided in accordance with Mr. Bryan's views.



PRINCE TUAN BRYAN FORCING THE DEMOCRATIC DOWAGER-EMPRESS TO COMMIT SUICIDE.

From the *Journal* (Detroit).



SENATOR TILLMAN, OF SOUTH CAROLINA.
(Who presented the platform to the convention.)

siderable percentage of the pro-silver voters of the West. The Republicans are now definitely and permanently committed to the single gold standard. The Democrats would merely have put themselves in the justifiable position of dealing with one great issue at a time. Such a postponement, far from being a dodging of the silver question, might have been strongly defended as containing the only possible hope for the ultimate success of the silver cause.

As to Statesmanship, Consistency, and Fusion. If this is the year for defeating imperialism, it certainly is not the year for defeating the gold standard. To try defeating both at once can only mean failure. Issues of such magnitude cannot be bunched. The element of time cannot be disregarded. Those who believe implicitly in the fundamental and permanent truth of the 16-to-1 doctrine should have shown some breadth of view, some capacity for patience and foresight, and some talent in the direction of the larger sort of political strategy. The postponement of the silver question in this spirit, at Mr. Bryan's direct proposal, would have shaken nobody's faith in the sincerity and firmness of his views on the money question; but would, on the contrary, have added immensely to the belief of the country that Mr. Bryan is a practical statesman. Statesmanship calls for the ability to meet large situations as they arise. The war created exceptional condi-

tions, which had the right of way. And if a campaign is to be fought on war issues, it cannot be fought on the tariff question, or the silver question, or the trust question, or the income-tax question, or the negro question. It is said that Mr. Bryan held a certain theory as to what was required by his own personal consistency, and also that he saw no way to maintain the fusion of the Silver Republican group and the majority wing of the Populists in support of his candidacy except upon the pledge of immediate free-silver coinage. But his consistency would not have suffered much if he had recognized the fact that a war changes everything, and that it may well have compelled the postponement of various questions. The Populists and Silver Republicans, on the other hand, would probably have come to the sane and reasonable conclusion that after all the only way by which they could make their votes effective would be to support Mr. Bryan, and hold him in due time to the pledge that the silver question should have its inning.

What Could Bryan do if Elected?

It has been rather feebly suggested, in certain quarters, that Mr. Bryan's insistence upon the silver plank was merely for the sake of holding the votes of his pro-silver friends in the West and South, and to relieve him of embarrassment as the formal pro-silver candidate of two other parties besides the Democratic. According to this theory, his real intention is not to crowd the silver question to the front if elected. Those who have put forward this view go farther and try to show that a free-silver President, with a free-silver secretary of the treasury and a free-silver majority in the House of Representatives, could not do anything to change the practical monetary policy of the country, unless there were also a clear free-silver majority in the Senate. All this is skating upon very thin ice. It is impertinent in the highest degree to assume that Mr. Bryan, if elected, would not immediately do everything in his power by practical treasury methods to break down the present policy of treating legal-tender silver dollars as mere token-money redeemable in gold. It is only reasonable to believe that Mr. Bryan would have not only the purpose, but the power, if elected, to change very materially the existing methods, and to throw very great doubt in the minds of the commercial world at large upon the continuance of a gold standard in the United States.

The Panic Argument.

It is undoubtedly the general opinion of Eastern business men and financiers, as it is also the opinion of a great many Western business men, that Mr.

Bryan's election would frighten the business world into the most violent panic ever known in the history of our country. Panics are usually due to fear and distrust. We do not assert that Mr. Bryan's election ought to be followed by a wild and riotous stampede in Wall Street and a series of commercial collapses throughout the country. We have merely to record the fact that Eastern business men themselves confess that Mr. Bryan's election would make them either active participants or helpless victims in a tremendous panic. If the silver question were to be definitely postponed, and the campaign fought on the question of indorsing or condemning the McKinley administration, the question of private business prosperity would not be seriously involved one way or the other. It happens that we have had several years of good crops, high agricultural prices, and extraordinary industrial activity. A reaction is bound to come sooner or later; but it is the general belief of the commercial world that fairly good times may continue perhaps two or three years longer, if nothing is done to disturb the general conditions underlying business transactions. And so there are a great many people who are disposed to agree with Mr. Bryan in his views of what they choose to call imperialism, but who do not want to run the risk of an immediate change of our monetary standards. To put it bluntly, they prefer all the evils of the McKinley régime of imperialism to the sacrifice of the gold standard. They favor the abandonment of the Philippines and the other island acquisitions, but not at the expense of free-silver coinage or a financial panic and a collapse of "prosperity."

*How Tammany
Turned the
Scale at Kan-
sas City*

On the face of things, Mr. Bryan's position would seem stronger than that of almost any other man in the history of American politics. The Populists had taken him as their candidate in anticipation of the convention of his own party. The Silver Republicans held their convention at Kansas City in the same week with the Democrats, and unanimously indorsed him as the nominee. To all outward seeming, the Democratic party was completely under the spell of Mr. Bryan's influence. Yet it was evident enough that if the convention had acted upon its own real sentiments, it would have dropped the silver question. There was a protracted contest in the Committee on Resolutions, and the States whose committeemen opposed the free-silver plank had a majority of the members of the convention. As on many a previous occasion in political controversies, the great State of New York held a pivotal place. If the delegation from New York had stood firmly against silver, under the leadership of ex-Senator David B. Hill, it could have turned the scale and carried the convention—at least to the extent of omitting a specific free-silver plank. But Mr. Richard Croker, rather than ex-Senator Hill, controlled the majority of the New York delegation, and refused to allow Mr. Hill to serve on the resolutions committee, while making it plain that the Tammany influence was for Mr. Bryan's free-silver plank. Mr. Croker's recent utterances have shown that he is absolutely without any opinions or convictions whatever on the silver question, the expansion question, or any other national issue. Tammany is not a political or-



From a drawing by E. Fredericks.

Hon. David B. Hill.

Richard Croker.

Courtesy of the New York Journal.
Hon. William Sulzer.

UNPRECEDENTED DEMONSTRATION FOR HON. DAVID B. HILL AS HE ENTERED THE CONVENTION HALL.

ganization in the true sense, but a business association whose object is to profit through the influence that comes from exercising municipal authority in New York City. There is no reason to suppose that Tammany cares much to see Mr. Bryan elected. There is a good deal of reason to think, on the contrary, that Tammany this year, as in previous Presidential years, will take a strictly local and practical view of the campaign.

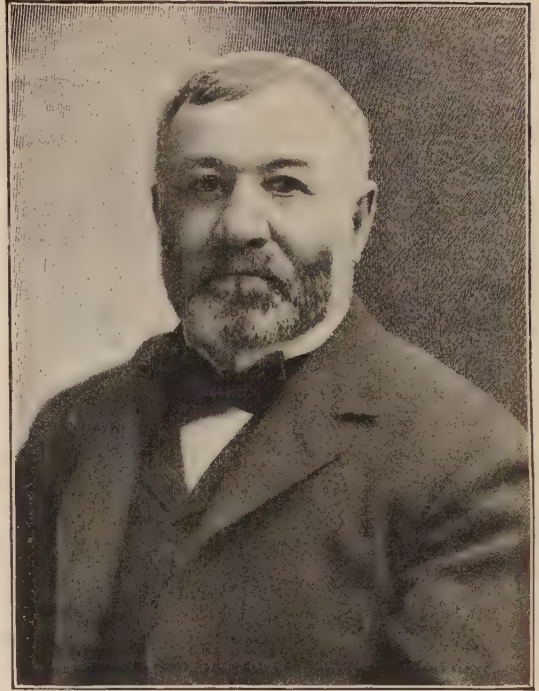
*The Party
and Its
Leaders.*

The South, for peculiar reasons unrelated to the questions discussed in the party platforms, will this year, as usual, support the Democratic ticket. There is no conclusive reason, however, for supposing that Southern Democrats care very much about the issue of "imperialism," or that they are clamorous for free silver. The instinctive feeling of the South, like that of the Pacific Slope, is



HON. DAVID B. HILL.

toward commercial expansion and the finding of foreign markets. The present make-up of the Democratic party is thus exceedingly difficult to estimate and understand. The old leaders have nearly all disappeared from the stage. Senator Jones, of Arkansas, who continues at the head of the National Committee, occupies the leading place, and almost as conspicuous is ex-Governor Stone, of Missouri. It is impossible to forecast intelligently the sort of cabinet that Mr. Bryan would appoint if he should be elected. As Mr. Walter Wellman sets forth in an interesting article contributed to this number of the REVIEW, descriptive of the Kansas City convention, the



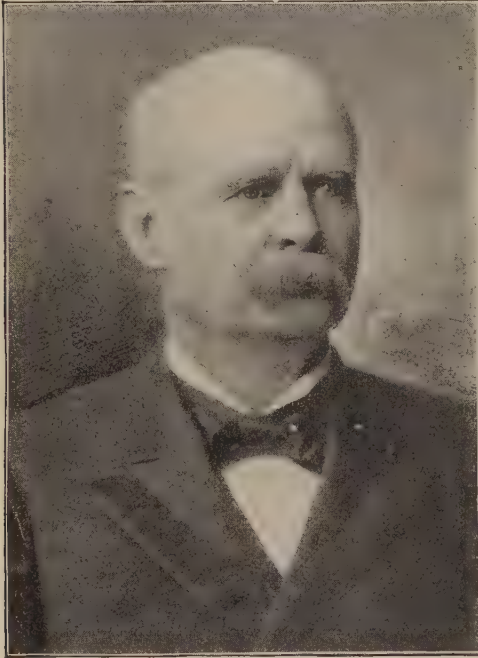
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MR. RICHARD CROKER.

(Whose influence prevented the rejection of the free-silver plank.)

very men most strongly identified with the support of Mr. Bryan's candidacy were anxious to have the silver question relegated to the background; and it was they who succeeded in having the convention declare "imperialism" to be the paramount issue. But Mr. Bryan has made it unmistakable that for him the silver question now, as four years ago, is the vital one. And so all other questions will take minor rank in comparison with the supreme question whether or not the country is willing to take the chances of Mr. Bryan in the White House. This focuses attention upon the Democratic candidate, and leaves McKinley, Roosevelt, imperialism, militarism, the English alliance, and all kindred issues rather in the shadow. If the silver question were postponed, McKinleyism would be under scrutiny, and the Republicans would have to take the defensive. But Mr. Bryan deliberately chose to take a position that wholly shifts the fighting-ground, and makes Bryanism the paramount issue. It may have been magnificent from the personal standpoint; but it was not normal politics, and it seemed to foreshadow inevitable defeat. No one can, at least, question the will-power of the Democratic candidate. To many minds, his inflexibility is his chief fault.

As to the Vice-Presidency. Mr. Bryan's personal preference in the matter of a candidate for the Vice-Presidency was well known. The Populists had nominated for that office Mr. Towne, of Minnesota, a Silver Republican who had supported Bryan in 1896, and whose only reason at that time for not enrolling himself as a



HON. ADLAI E. STEVENSON, OF ILLINOIS.
(Democratic nominee for the Vice-Presidency.)

Democrat was found in the advice of the Democratic leaders that he could help the Bryan cause more effectively by working as a Silver Republican. Mr. Bryan believed that several advantages would be gained by the nomination of Mr. Towne at Kansas City. He chose, however, not to insist; and the convention evidently considered that since in the platform, as well as in the selection of the head of the ticket, everything had been yielded to the radical element, it would be well to give the second place on the ticket to the other wing. Ex-Senator Hill, of New York, who was the most striking figure in the convention on the side of those who represented old-fashioned Democracy, would have been nominated for the Vice-Presidency by an overwhelming majority if he had not refused to take the place. Mr. Stevenson, of Illinois, who was elected Vice-President in 1892 on the ticket with Mr. Cleveland, was finally selected as a compromise candidate. He is not, however, a strict conservative. For a number of years, indeed, he

has been regarded as in sympathy with the views that are summed up in the word "Bryanism." It was as a pro-silver Democrat that he was appointed by President McKinley in 1897 as a member of the commission of which Senator Wolcott, of Colorado, was chairman to visit Europe in the interests of bimetallism. Of Mr. Stevenson's personality and career, we shall present a more extended account next month.

*The Double
Candidacy
Problem.*

Meanwhile, Mr. Bryan finds himself now, as four years ago, in association with two candidates for the Vice-Presidency. Our readers must remember that the situation is complicated by the fact that citizens do not vote directly for Presidential and Vice-Presidential nominees, but for groups of electors. In order to make their votes count for the common end of promoting the election of Bryan, Democrats and Populists must in each State unite on a common electoral ticket. This



HON. CHARLES A. TOWNE, OF MINNESOTA.
(Populist nominee for the Vice-Presidency.)

makes it difficult in the extreme to have two candidates for the Vice-Presidency. Mr. Bryan's programme should have been accepted as a logical whole at Kansas City, or else the convention should have acted on its own initiative from beginning to end. If the convention had shown the courage of its real convictions, it would have

carried the fight on the silver plank from the resolutions committee to the floor of the convention hall, and voted to postpone the coinage question for four years. Since, however, the convention accepted Mr. Bryan's silver plank, it ought, in consistency and good policy, to have made Mr. Towne the Vice-Presidential nominee. The outcome has encouraged the so-called Middle of the Road Populists, whose nominees are Mr. Wharton Barker, of Philadelphia, and Mr. Ignatius Donnelly, of Minnesota. This organization is now exerting itself to the utmost to draw away Populistic votes from the support of Bryan and Stevenson. There are two or three other less important Presidential tickets in the field; and of these we shall make more extended note in a subsequent number of the REVIEW.

The Platform in General. The silver question, to resume our discussion, is so intensely practical

that the many other issues set forth in the Democratic platform become, in comparison, merely academic and incidental. The convention was enthusiastic and its philippics were fierce. Nevertheless, the natural feeling of the country is that the opinions of a free-silver party on any other subject than the currency are irrelevant. If, indeed, the Democrats believe that "the very existence of the republic and the destruction of our free institutions" are involved in "the burning issue of imperialism growing out of the Spanish War," why should they have chosen this occasion to thrust the silver issue upon the country? They will not find it easier, as the campaign progresses, to answer this simple query. The platform antagonizes, in the most direct way, the Republican doctrine that the Constitution does not of its own force and vigor extend to the territories. President McKinley and the Republicans in general emphatically deny the principle that "the Constitution follows the flag." The issue involved in this question alone is great enough, in view of our existing situation, to hold the central place in a national campaign.

The Cuban Question. The platform demands the prompt and honest fulfillment of our pledge to the Cuban people, and arraigns the Republican administration for maintaining "carpet-bag officials" in that island, and holding on to an occupation that is no longer necessary. This plank is thoroughly unfair. It is not true that we have been holding on in Cuba for a long time after the restoration of order. We have been preparing, at a marvelously rapid rate, for evacuation. By the terms of the peace treaty, the Spaniards in Cuba were accorded a year in which to make final choice of allegiance. That

year ended only about three months ago. Meanwhile, we had taken a census and prepared for a voting-roll. Already almost all the officials in the island are Cubans. We have been doing everything humanly possible to create home rule in municipal and local government, and to prepare the way for Cuban home rule on the larger plane. Governor-General Wood and those associated with him are carrying on their work with remarkable skill and in a strictly non-partisan way. Should we be able to withdraw from Cuba at the end of another year, we shall have completed our work of restoration and guardianship there in a shorter time than any reasonable person acquainted with the situation could ever have supposed to be possible. The Democratic convention was guilty of a ridiculous and disgraceful aspersion upon the good faith of the people of the United States when it put the following statement into its platform:

The war ended nearly two years ago, profound peace reigns over all the island, and still the administration keeps the government of the island from its people, while Republican carpet-bag officials plunder its revenues and exploit the colonial theory to the disgrace of the American people.

The only real danger is that the reluctance of the administration to endure such taunts and unjust criticisms will lead to our premature retirement from an island which, in its present state, needs exactly the kind of steady assistance that its institutional life is now receiving. What our people are doing, for example, to create a common-school system in Cuba is of priceless value to the people of the island; and it would be disastrous to have it stopped at just the present stage. We have been unfortunate in a few of the men we have sent there; but the administration has shown no disposition to shield rascals. The Cuban postal scandal is the exception that proves the rule. The fifteen hundred Cuban school teachers at Cambridge, Mass., last month; the marvelously improved sanitary condition of Havana, and a dozen other items of similar importance that are to the credit of our Cuban administrators, sufficiently answer the charges that were preferred at Kansas City last month.

The Philippine Question. The Philippine question is brilliantly and strongly stated in the Democratic platform. The following paragraphs contain by far the ablest and most convincing statement that has been made, so far as we are aware, in opposition to our present policy:

We condemn and denounce the Philippine policy of the present administration. It has embroiled the republic in an unnecessary war, sacrificed the lives of many of its noblest sons, and placed the United States,

previously known and applauded throughout the world as the champion of freedom, in the false and un-American position of crushing with military force the efforts of our former allies to achieve liberty and self-government. The Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization; they cannot be subjects without imperiling our form of government, and as we are not willing to surrender our civilization or to convert the republic into an empire, we favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to give to the Filipinos: first, a stable form of government; second, independence; and, third, protection from outside interference, such as has been given for nearly a century to the republics of Central and South America.

The greedy commercialism which dictated the Philippine policy of the Republican administration attempts to justify it with the plea that it will pay; but even this sordid and unworthy plea fails when brought to the test of facts. The war of "criminal aggression" against the Filipinos, entailing an annual expense of many millions, has already cost more than any possible profit that could accrue from the entire Philippine trade for years to come. Furthermore, when trade is extended at the expense of liberty, the price is always too high.

We are not opposed to territorial expansion when it takes in desirable territory which can be erected into States in the Union, and whose people are willing and fit to become American citizens. We favor trade expansion by every peaceful and legitimate means. But we are unalterably opposed to the seizing or purchasing of distant islands to be governed outside the Constitution and whose people can never become citizens.

The platform might fairly have gone farther in pointing out the great force of young Americans now in the distant Philippines, and in exploiting the opinion of our generals that we will have to keep at least 40,000 men there for several years to come. The Republican reply to all this, of course, must be that the country has attempted step by step to meet its responsibilities; and that while it does not enjoy warfare and bloodshed in the Philippines or anywhere else, there could be nothing but dishonor and disgrace in the withdrawal from a task which has already been carried through its worst stages. The news from the Philippines is not altogether disheartening. There is a good deal of evidence to show that the country is quieting down and reverting to normal conditions. On that point we have direct private advices received late in July which lead us to believe that with a reasonable amount of wisdom the problem of complete pacification in the Philippines ought not henceforth to be one involving extraordinary difficulty. On June 21, General MacArthur promulgated an amnesty proclamation at Manila, under which a good many Filipino leaders have accepted the authority of the United States. Gen. Pio del Pilar, for example, is now working harmoniously with the American authorities, and has been traveling through outlying provinces

persuading the armed insurgents to accept the amnesty terms. It is declared at Washington that documents have been captured which show conclusively that Aguinaldo's plan was to keep the insurgent movement alive during the pending Presidential campaign, with the idea that a Democratic victory would mean the full triumph of the Filipino cause. The insurgent movement has disintegrated; and if American administrators show as much good judgment as English-



THE AMNESTY PROCLAMATION.

COLUMBIA: "Come, let's be friends."

From the *Times* (Minneapolis).

men, for example, would be likely to show under the same circumstances, another three years ought to see the Philippine Islands in a condition of contentment and prosperity unknown in the previous history of the archipelago.

In their platform adopted at Philadelphia, the Republicans, after admitting "the propriety of the honest coöperation of capital to meet new business conditions," proceeded as follows:

But we condemn all conspiracies and combinations intended to restrict business, to create monopolies, to limit production, or to control prices, and favor such legislation as will effectively restrain and prevent all such abuses, protect and promote competition, and secure the rights of producers, laborers, and all who are engaged in industry and commerce.

The Democrats at Kansas City were far more explicit and detailed in their condemnation of monopolies and trusts; but they also took pains to say that "corporations should be protected in

*The News
from Manila.*

*The
"Anti-Trust"
Planks.*

all their rights, and their legitimate interests should be respected." A considerable part of this Democratic plank is devoted to assertions that the Republican administration protects trusts "in return for campaign subscriptions and political support." It also attacks the Dingley tariff law as a "trust-breeding measure." But its principal claim to attention lies in its demand that the laws should provide for "publicity as to the affairs of corporations engaged in interstate commerce," and should require

all corporations to show before doing business outside of the State of their origin that they have no water in their stock, and that they have not attempted, and are not attempting, to monopolize any branch of business or the production of any articles of merchandise, and the whole constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce, the mails, and all modes of interstate communication shall be exercised by the enactment of comprehensive laws upon the subject of trusts.

Apart from the more explicit remedies pointed out by the Democrats, the two platforms show very much the same attitude toward the trusts. The question will have some part, doubtless, in the campaign, and it will be generally thought that the Democratic hostility to trusts is more genuine and deep-rooted than that of the Republicans. Nevertheless, the subject is not taking on decided shape as a party issue, and does not promise to become very conspicuous in the campaign, unless it shall appear that the trusts are themselves taking too much part in politics on one side or the other.

*The Trusts
and the
Public Mind.*

Fortunately, the discussion of the trusts is taking a somewhat cooler tone. People are beginning to express judgments instead of fears; and, as is usual, the knowledge which is the basis of judgment is dispelling fear. It is not that knowledge of the trusts shows them to be harmless;—quite the contrary. But it shows how to check the evil. Twelve or fifteen years ago, investigations by Congress and several of the State legislatures disclosed the criminal relations between the railroads and some of the great trusts, which at that time were technically trusts in legal, or, as it proved, illegal form. The interstate commerce act, and a plentiful crop of statutes aimed at "trusts," whose real nature the legislators did not understand, followed as a first result of the people's fear. The trusts, under the pressure of statutes and courts, changed their form; but their methods and effects remained unchanged. The financial crisis of 1893, followed by the period of depression of the three or four years following, naturally led business men to seek in every way possible to save expense. It was soon learned

that much could be saved by combination. The flush times beginning three or four years ago, with the large stock of capital lying idle for investment, naturally gave a great impulse to the movement toward consolidation. Speculation, which always is one product of prosperous days, stimulated the movement still more. The promoter saw his opportunity, the private bankers saw theirs. These influences acting together gave us the great crop of combinations of a year ago, with their reckless and pernicious stock-watering. People noted that companies were formed with capital stock amounting to \$50,000, -000, \$100,000,000, \$200,000,000, the total running high into the billions. They did not reflect that a large part of this capitalization was merely existing capitalization in changed form; that the birth of a new "trust" meant, usually, the death of one or of several other corporations. Their ignorance, in consequence, greatly magnified the facts. But the facts were bad enough. The banks soon learned them; they refused to float "industrials," unless real capital was back of them; and before the "scare" had reached its worst, a partial remedy for the real evil had begun to work.

*From the
Political
Standpoint.*

But a campaign was approaching. A scare could be used to advantage. Moreover, there was a real foundation for effort to correct genuine evil—great good fortune for the politician. The result has been, first, another large crop of statutes, sprung like the earlier ones from ignorance and fear, and a real evil that needed correction. Meanwhile, there was accumulating true information to serve as a basis for judgment. The evils had attracted the attention of scholars, here and abroad; for like phenomena appeared all over the civilized world. Several careful studies had been made pointing out causes, savings, the real sources of evil. The United States Industrial Commission began its hearings at Washington, which showed that many of the evils were imaginary, but showed where many of the serious evils lay. In January, Governor Roosevelt, in his annual message, pointed out briefly just what the evils are, so far as they have yet appeared; just how much of the fear was groundless, and indicated where the remedy was to be found. Of course, all these things had been touched here and there before. But this message was the first state paper to analyze the subject intelligently, and to explain just what the remedy of publicity meant and what it would do. Governor Roosevelt indicated also the limits of the service that can be rendered by present laws, and suggested what may yet be done by taxation or other means.

The report of the Industrial Commission, based on even a more thorough study, was to the same effect, but went more into detail in some lines, and especially called up again the evils of railroad discriminations. The people are beginning to understand the situation better. Few people now want to injure legitimate corporations, or capital honestly invested and managed. All really public-spirited men, Republicans and Democrats alike, wish to stop the many real evils of the corporations. Indeed, the essential principles of Governor Roosevelt's message and Mr. Bryan's Chicago address run much along the same lines, widely variant as are the specific remedies suggested. The people, too, will learn much this summer. There is ground for hope that, after the election fever is over, we shall get some sensible legislation next winter. The chief obstacles in the way will be—(1) the corporations whose secret powers need a real check which will not be welcome to such as are not run on the soundest business principles; and (2) those people who will still, in their ignorance, not be content with destroying evils, but who will try to curb corporations in some foolish way, with the result that, if they were to succeed, no honest, law-abiding citizen could well become a director of a corporation.

*The Boers in
Guerrilla War-
fare.*

The demands of the Chinese situation have not allowed England to abate a single particle of the effort and energy still needed in the South African War. The Boers are using with fearful effect the tactics so skillfully employed by General Gomez in Cuba. The two situations now present somewhat curious parallels. The Spaniards had about 200,000 troops in Cuba, and Lord Roberts commands a similar number in South Africa. The Cubans fought no pitched battles, but used guerrilla methods almost entirely, operating from the hills and holding no towns of importance. The Boers no longer hold the towns; they fight no regular battles, but show amazing daring and mobility as guerrillas. Following the example of Gomez, they also are allowing the climate to play havoc with their adversaries. The recent reports of sickness and deaths from fevers among the British troops are horrible. The scandals in the medical and hospital service are even worse, if possible, than those in our own army which so shocked the American people two years ago. The statistics of death and disease in the South African army, as reported by the war office at London, are confusing; but there seems at least nothing ambiguous in the statement of Mr. Wyndham, under secretary of war, to the House of Commons, on July 19, that

30,758 officers and men had been invalidated home from South Africa since the beginning of the war. The number of deaths from all causes, since hostilities began last October, is not deducible by us from the war office statistics.

*Some Points
in the
African News*

The Boers, in spite of English opinion that the war is practically ended, are said to have more artillery now than at the beginning of the contest, their captures of guns having been more numerous than their losses. It is estimated by experts that the Boers can hold out for from one to two years longer, and that in doing so they can subject the British not only to a continuance of the present heavy war expenditures, but also to a further fearful loss of life. About the middle of July, the Boers manifested remarkable activity within a few miles of Pretoria. Among other achievements they surprised the British garrison at Nitrals Nek, on the 11th, and captured two guns and about 200 troops. General Botha's movements were incessant, and his series of small successes gave fresh hope to his followers. Meanwhile, General De Wet had continued to draw attention to his operations in the mountainous region in the northeastern part of the Orange Free State—or perhaps we must now say the Orange River Colony, that being the new name the British have given to this annexed republic. The chief object of General Roberts last month was the capture of General De Wet's force; and, in pursuance of this end, converging columns were sent from different points. At the beginning of July, 35,000 British troops were arranged in a series of neighboring camps in that region. On the 3d of July, the Boers were driven out of Vrede, from which Steyn's government officials had previously removed to Bethlehem.



BOER SHARPSHOOTERS FIRING ON THE ARTILLERY AND CONVOY HORSES AT SANNA'S POST.



INSTANCES OF BOER METHODS ALONG LINES OF BRITISH COMMUNICATION.

Four days later Bethlehem was captured by the British, who attacked the place in two columns, General Paget being in command of the Munster Fusiliers and the Yorkshire Regiment, and General Clements of the Royal Irish Regiment. The possession of Bethlehem is of much importance to the British, inasmuch as it gives them control of the head of the railway to Ladysmith through the Van Reenan Pass. Before the capture of the town, President Steyn had fled to Fouriesburg, fifteen miles northeast of Ficksburg. Notwithstanding the efforts to hem in the Boers, 1,500 of them, with five guns, broke through the cordon between Bethlehem and Ficksburg on July 17, and struck out in the direction of Lindley. Whether or not General De Wet would again return to a point of safety, or would meet his Paardeberg, remained to be seen. In Cape Colony, where Sir Gordon Sprigg is now at the head of a new cabinet which has replaced the Dutch ministry of Mr. Schreiner, they are beginning to get ready in a grim fashion to try some hundreds of thousands of burghers for the crime of treason. There are several valid and practical reasons why it would be judicious to postpone, so far as possible, these treason trials until the Boers have been more completely subjugated. It is more important to consider the future harmony of races in South Africa than to look with too severe scrutiny into the past loyalty of the Cape Colony burghers.

The Boer Cause in American Politics. The Boer delegates, who had spent some weeks in the United States, returned to Europe early in July. They expressed themselves as well satisfied with their reception in this country. In our opinion, they had been remarkably successful in the efforts they made to secure the recognition of their cause in the platforms of the two great parties. It was known in advance that the Democrats would express, as they actually did, their "sympathies to the heroic burghers in their unequal struggle to maintain their liberty and independ-

ence." While viewing "with indignation the purpose of England to overwhelm with force the South African republics," the Democrats did not intimate that there was anything that we could do about it. The Republican party at Philadelphia really went a great deal farther. It indorsed the action that had been taken "when President McKinley tendered his friendly offices in the interests of peace between Great Britain and the South African republics." Further than that, it declared that "the American people earnestly hope that a way may soon be found, honorable alike to both contending parties, to terminate the strife between them." The significance of this lies in the fact that, although this plank had been inspected by high official authority at Washington, it pointedly refers to the conflict as one between sovereign nations, declines to recognize the British annexation of the Orange Free State, and declares American sentiment to demand a solution radically opposite to that which Lord Salisbury had already announced as the only one that England would consider. If the language of party platforms means anything, Englishmen must now understand that American public opinion in both great political parties alike explicitly disapproves of England's proposition to deprive the two Boer republics of their status as separate and independent nations.

Various Campaign Notes.

The formal notification of the Democratic candidates will not take place at their respective homes, but at Indianapolis, on August 8, where Mr. Bryan and Mr. Stevenson will meet the notification committee, and where their campaign will have its formal opening. The Republican campaign may be said to have had its initiation with the vigorous and aggressive speech of Governor Roosevelt at the meeting of the National League of Republican Clubs, at St. Paul, Minn., on July 17. Mr. Roosevelt is evidently going to be the chief platform figure of the Republican party this year, even as Mr. Bryan himself will be the



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GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT AND SENATOR WOLCOTT, AT OYSTER BAY, JULY 12.

principal speaker on the Democratic side. It is characteristic of Roosevelt that he develops extraordinary talent for any kind of work upon which he concentrates his efforts. We venture to say that the secret of it lies not so much in his versatility as in his unimpaired vigor and his acquired power of complete devotion to the thing in hand. A few years ago it was thought that he could not speak at all. Now the Republicans are seriously proposing to match him as a platform orator against Mr. Bryan. We publish elsewhere an article about Mr. Roosevelt's work

and on that occasion an attempt will be made to put a third ticket in the field. It will be time next month for us to make some note of the aspects of the various State campaigns. Suffice it to say that it now seems probable that Mr. B. B. Odell, chairman of the Republican State Committee, will be nominated by the Republicans to succeed Roosevelt as governor of New York. Mr. Perry S. Heath has resigned his position as first assistant postmaster-general to take a very active part in the Republican campaign as secretary of the National Committee.

as governor, written from full knowledge, and another article (by Mr. Jacob A. Riis) throwing much interesting and attractive light upon Roosevelt's characteristics as a man and a public servant. President McKinley and Mr. Roosevelt had received the customary formal notification of their nominations on July 12 at Canton, Ohio, and Oyster Bay, New York, respectively. Mr. McKinley's speech on that occasion was, in our opinion, a decidedly better and more symmetrical statement of the actual Republican position than had been prepared by the platform-makers at Philadelphia. Few men in public life are able to express things so persuasively as William McKinley. He availed himself of the opportunity given by the Democratic platform to bring the 16-to-1 issue into its due prominence. While most of the leaders of the Gold Democracy that promoted the Palmer-Buckner ticket in 1896 are going to support McKinley and Roosevelt this year, there remain some former Democrats who can countenance neither Mr. McKinley's "imperialism" nor Mr. Bryan's money plank. There has been called for August 15, to meet at Indianapolis, the so-called Liberty Congress,

*The
Situation
in China.*

Our immediate concern, as Americans, with the situation in China has only to do with the relief of such of our fellow-citizens as it may be possible to rescue. It is no part of our business to help conquer the Chinese; and much less is it likely to devolve upon us to help govern their country, or any part of it, in the future. The peril of Europeans in China has been brought about in great part by the outrageous encroachments of European governments. It was almost inevitable that, sooner or later, there must be a revolutionary reaction in China against foreigners and their innovations. Nothing could well be more worthy of stinging rebuke than the recent insolence of unscrupulous politicians—Lord Salisbury himself included—towards missionaries and their work in Oriental countries. There are two classes of people who criticise missionaries—the one class being made up of people who know nothing about missionary work, and the other of those who are seeking scapegoats for their own misdeeds. It was inevitable that China, like Japan, should imbibe modern ideas. The Chinese, though possessed of an ancient and elaborate civilization, were unprogressive. They were destined, by contact with the energetic and inventive men of other nations, to experience an awakening. Of all forerunners of Western ideas as to the meaning and value of life, the true principles of education, and the nature of individual and racial progress, the missionaries have been incomparably the best.

*As to the
Missionaries.*

So far as American missionaries are concerned, it is not in the least true to say that they have been merely trying to make Anglo-Saxon Presbyterians or Methodists out of men of Mongolian blood and instinct. There are some essentials of the highest civilization that we understand better than

do the Orientals; and among these are the proper care of the health of children, the honor and respect due in the family to women, the social value of truth and honesty. And there are other principles at the root of our civilization, quite apart from dogmatic theologies on the one hand, or steam-power and industrial organization on the other, that make us to some extent superior. It was not English missionaries who brought England's infamous opium war upon China; nor was it German missionaries who persuaded the Emperor William and his government to seize a Chinese seaport, and assume control of a great province on the pretext of compensation for the death of one or two missionaries at the hands of a mob. The United States has, for more than half a century, been honorably represented in China by men engaged in the missionary service—men whose admirable methods and rare tact have done more than anything else to promote good relations between this country and the great Chinese empire. If henceforth, however, in view of their deeply aroused bitterness against all foreigners, the Chinese will not tolerate missionary work from any outside source, it will not be the business of the United States Government to propagate Christianity at the point of the sword.

*The
American
Attitude.*

We have set up arbitrary though needful rules to prevent the Chinese flocking to this country, and we must not be too greatly surprised at the temporary dominance of the anti-foreign movement in China. Our government has in most respects shown a sense of fairness and consideration toward China that has distinguished us above all other great nations. We must, however, suffer in common with others for an uprising which we have done nothing to provoke. Unquestionably, our government will do what it can to rescue



THE WALFORD HART MEMORIAL COLLEGE AT TIENTSIN.



THE LONDON MISSION HOSPITAL, TAKU ROAD, TIENTSIN.

Americans who are in peril. In doing this it will not stand upon technicalities of international law that do not apply to the situation. It would be senseless to endeavor to inflict punishment, in a spirit of revenge, upon people who are in no way guilty. A majority of the Chinese provinces have had no concern in the revolution; and the indiscriminate slaughter of Chinamen by way of reprisals can have no encouragement either from our government or from the public opinion of our country. It is extremely unfortunate that European jealousies should have stood in the way of a prompt release of the foreigners in Peking. The Japanese, but for Russia's reluctance to consent, might readily have sent a sufficient army to Peking to protect the diplomatic representatives of the different foreign nations.

*Some
General
Remarks.*

We publish elsewhere an excellent review of the Chinese crisis from the pen of Mr. Stephen Bonsal, who represented us some years ago as first secretary of legation and chargé d'affaires at Peking, and who has exceptionally good knowledge of the problems of the far East. The international situation, as we go to press, is too complicated as well as too uncertain to justify the drawing of conclusions this month. Happenings on the border-line between Siberia and China's northern Province of Manchuria are shrouded in obscurity as yet, and newspaper rumors must be discounted.



VICE-ADMIRAL SIR EDWARD H. SEYMOUR AND STAFF.

England's position, like that of the United States, up to the present time has been that of a nation by no means disposed to enter upon formal warfare against China, but merely anxious to render a due and proportionate share of coöperation in the work of relieving foreigners and aiding to restore order at Peking. Japan, by reason of proximity and other obvious natural advantages, agrees to furnish the greater part of the necessary soldiery. Our own government will embroil itself just as little as possible in this grave and difficult business; but, on the other hand, it will dare to do its duty. Men who think more highly of their country than of petty politics will be careful not to criticise what our government is doing in China—that is, from a party standpoint, for the purposes of the pending campaign. The situation in China has scarcely anything to do with our being in the Philippines. Incidentally, it may be said that our possession of Manila gives us a base of our own from which we can, more conveniently than would otherwise have been the case, manage to provide our quota of warships and soldiery for the international police work in China that to a certain extent falls to our lot. It is to be noted, furthermore, that our position in the Philippines must add something, in the minds of European statesmen, to the force of the American disapproval of the plan of parceling out China among the European powers.



REAR-ADMIRAL GEORGE C. REMY, U.S.N.
(In command of our naval forces in Chinese waters.)

For the present, at least, it will continue to be the prevailing opinion of Americans that the Chinese ought to have an independent political future of their own, and that they ought to be so treated by other nations as to make it unlikely that their awakening and progress shall be a menace to the nations of Europe. We hear and read a

*China's Future
and the "Yellow Peril."*

great deal about the so-called "yellow peril;" but 400,000,000 Chinamen are altogether too numerous to be killed off. And nothing would so surely make soldiers of them all, and make them a deadly danger to Europe, as the policy of carrying fire and sword into their country. The slaughter of a million Chinamen would not perceptibly diminish the population; but it would quite suffice to arouse in China a spirit of militarism which might mean, within ten or fifteen years, a force of 40,000,000 Chinamen armed with repeating-rifles, machine-guns and rifled cannon, and able to shoot with accuracy. The opinion that the Chinese are poor stuff out of which to make soldiers has always been denied by the best experts, and it has been abandoned by everybody within the past month, which has brought them face to face with the seasoned soldiers of Europe and America, well equipped with modern weapons. The best way, in short, to prevent the Chinese from becoming a terrible menace to Europe is to interfere with them just as little as possible, and to allow them to adopt Western customs and inventions, more slowly or more rapidly, as they may choose. Their best mentors will probably be the progressive Japanese. The nucleus of progress, meanwhile, in China must be the great and growing element of the Chinese themselves known as the reform party.



THE TAKU FORTS AT THE MOUTH OF THE PEIHO.

(Bombarded and captured by the allies.)

The idea of checking the military development of China by an international agreement not to sell modern firearms to the Chinese is purely visionary. The only way to stop the sale of firearms to the Chinese will be for all countries to make a strictly governmental monopoly of the business of manufacturing and selling implements of warfare. So long as rifles are articles of private manufacture and of ordinary commerce, there is no way by which their ultimate destination can be controlled. Moreover, the Chinese are highly skilled workmen, who, if necessary, would soon learn to make all kinds of improved firearms in adequate quantities for themselves. In fact, they already have governmental gun factories that can do first-rate work. The best way for Europe to avert the "yellow



ON THE PEIHO, TIENTSIN, OPPOSITE THE BUND IN THE BRITISH CONCESSIONS.

(Tientsin is the port for Peking.)



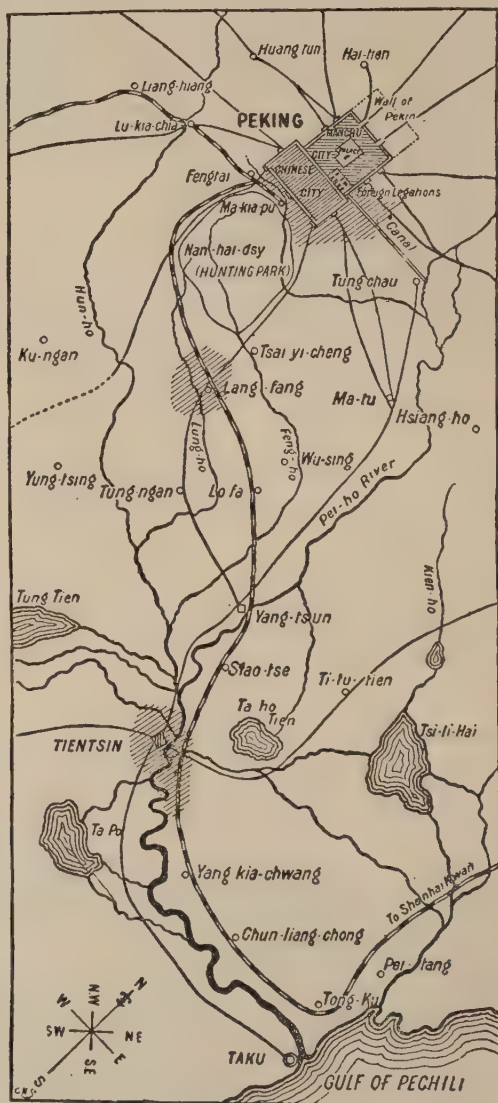
MAJ.-GEN. ADNA R. CHAFFEE.

peril" is to treat the Chinaman as a man and a brother. As to the immediate crisis, furthermore, it is well to withhold judgment until authentic news can be had.

*Armies
Heading for
the East.*

It is fortunate for the sensibilities of the civilized world that the actual course of events in China can only be guessed from the bewildering succession of contradictory reports that have been served up from Shanghai daily since the REVIEW OF REVIEWS went to press last month. At that time Admiral Seymour's force of English, Russian, German, American, French, and Japanese troops sent out to the relief of the legations was evidently in trouble somewhere between Tientsin and Peking. On June 26, the expedition returned to Tientsin. It had failed to come within twenty-five miles of Peking, had lost nearly 300 men in battle with comparatively enormous masses of Chinese insurgents and soldiers, and thought itself lucky to escape annihilation. Seymour's failure brought to the world the first realization of the overwhelming nature of the trouble. Gen. A. R. Chaffee was at once ordered to go from Manila to China to take command of the American troops there; 6,300 troops destined for the Philippines were ordered to proceed to China instead, in addition to the Ninth Regiment, sent from Manila; and preparations are being made by Secretary Root to make the United States force in China number 15,000 as soon as the remainder can be recruited and

equipped. Great Britain contributed 10,000 troops from India, Germany prepared to send 15,000, Japan and France provided for heavy reinforcements, and Italy dispatched three warships and 3,200 men to the East. On the 28th came the bad news that our famous battleship, the *Oregon*, en route for China, had run ashore on an island in the Gulf of Pechili; but a week later she was saved with no damages that could not be hastily repaired in the Japanese dry dock at Kure. Notwithstanding the rapidity of the conflagration, by the middle of July the



Courtesy of the Times, New York.

A MAP SHOWING THE ROUTE FROM TAKU TO PEKING.



SIR CLAUDE MACDONALD.
(British Ambassador at Peking.)

powers had assembled at Taku and Tientsin a force of about 30,000 troops, of which 5,500 were Russians, 20,000 Japanese, 2,600 British, 1,400 Americans, 1,000 Germans, and the remainder Austrians and Italians, while more than twice this number of European soldiers were preparing for Chinese service.

In the meantime, Chinese troops, consisting of soldiers in the regular army as well as Boxers, attacked the allies in Tientsin. On July 2, the women and children were sent away, and for the following ten days the Chinese bombarded the foreign settlement. On July 9, 11, and 13, there were heavy engagements. On the last date, Colonel Liscum, of the Ninth U. S. Regiment, was killed in an unsuccessful attempt of the allied forces to storm the native city of Tientsin. Next day the native forts were finally captured by the allies, with a total loss of about 875 men, of whom 215 were Americans. Doubtless the successful opposition to Admiral Seymour's relief force and the heavy loss inflicted on the allies at Tientsin operated to encourage the further spread of the anti-foreign movement. The insurrection appeared in Southern Manchuria, and the Catholic missions in Shantung were destroyed, with wholesale massacres of foreigners and native converts. Even more ominous were reports of the killing of mis-

sionaries in the populous Yangtse Valley, far to the south. To the north, even Korea was infected with the Boxer craze; and finally there came word, on July 15, that a Chinese force had invaded Russian territory and bombarded Blagoventschensk, the capital of the Russian Province of Amur. Two days later Russia declared that a state of war existed in certain districts of this province, where the rioters had destroyed the railroads and murdered Russian officials and workmen.



THE LATE COL. EMERSON H. LISCUM, U.S.A.
(Killed in the assault on Tientsin.)

*Wholesale
Slaughter
in Peking.*

As late as July 21 there was no really authentic news of any of the happenings of the past month in Peking;—not even of the fate of the legations and their guards. The world's capacity for horror will scarcely suffice to do justice to a final confirmation of the numberless rumors of the torture and massacre—after they had shot their women and children—of all the Europeans in the capital. The United States Consul-General at Shanghai reported, on July 3, that two legations were still standing in Peking; but he added that the Emperor and Empress-Dowager were prisoners in the palace, and that Prince Tuan and his Boxer soldiers were in control of everything. Prince Tuan, the father of the heir-apparent to the Chinese throne, is consistently described in all the reports from China as the relentless and savage enemy of the foreigners, who have, according to the same report, found a friend in Prince Ching. According to the reports

*Tientsin Cap-
tured by
the Allies.*

from Shanghai, on July 6 the Boxers, including their members among the Imperial troops, opened fire with artillery on the British Legation, to which the foreign residents of Peking and the legation guards had betaken themselves. The Shanghai story says that on the following day Prince Tuan's forces, aided by the Chinese General Tung Fuh Siang, overcame the defense of Prince Ching and his followers, battered down the legation walls with cannon, and put every foreigner to the sword in a debauch of unspeakable atrocities. At this writing there exists little ground for hope that this, or something like it, has not occurred. As early as June 24, Sir Robert Hart, the veteran commissioner of maritime customs, a man of iron nerve, possessing an unparalleled influence with the Chinese, sent out a note by a trusted runner, saying that the situation was desperate, and begging for immediate aid. On July 11 an Imperial decree purporting to come from Peking was given to the world by the Chinese foreign ministers. It admitted the earlier assassination of Baron von Ketteler, the German minister. This Peking decree, the only official statement of the Chinese Government's position that has been made, accuses the allied fleets of beginning the fight that ended with the capture of Taku, and promises to make every effort to protect the lives and property of foreigners from the so-called insurgents. The United States and France gave the Chinese ministers in Washington and Paris, respectively, cipher messages to be transmitted to their envoys in Peking; and on July 20, a week after



LI HUNG CHANG.

(From his latest photograph.)

these inquiries were sent, a cipher message was received by Secretary Hay from Minister Conger, as follows: "In British Legation. Under continued shot and shell from Chinese troops. Quick relief only can prevent general massacre." Unfortunately, this message was itself undated; and though in the first flush of relief at an evidently genuine communication from Mr. Conger, there

was a general acceptance of the theory that it was an answer to Secretary Hay's inquiry, all the evidence made public at the time of our going to press went to show that the cablegram was a long-delayed message, which was probably sent in the last days of June. Whoever was in power at Peking summoned Viceroy Li Hung Chang to the capital, and the old earl proceeded thence from Canton by way of Hong-kong—in all probability for the purpose of giving his astute mind to the task of devising means for lightening the retribution to fall on Peking. The English paid him official honor at Hong-kong, and gave him a naval escort on his way northward.



THE ENGLISH LEGATION AT PEKING.

(It was in this structure that all the foreigners in Peking took refuge from Prince Tuan's forces.)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From June 21 to July 20, 1900.)

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

June 22.—Porto Rico is created a customs-collection district by the Treasury Department.

June 25.—The Navy Department decides to put superposed turrets on three of the new battleships.

June 26.—Illinois Democrats nominate Samuel Alschuler for governor....Arkansas Democrats nominate Jefferson Davis for governor.

June 27.—Maine Republicans nominate Dr. John F. Hill for governor....Vermont Republicans nominate W. W. Stickney for governor.

June 28.—The Prohibitionists, in national convention at Chicago, nominate John G. Woolley, of Illinois, for President, and Henry B. Metcalf, of Rhode Island, for Vice-President....Michigan Republicans nominate Col. A. T. Bliss for governor....Minnesota Republicans nominate Capt. S. R. Van Sant for governor.

June 30.—The United States Treasury ends the fiscal year with a surplus of receipts above expenditures of \$80,000,000.

July 4.—The Democratic National Convention assembles at Kansas City.

July 5.—The Democratic National Convention adopts a platform and unanimously nominates William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, for President....Gen. Francis V. Greene is elected president of the New York County Republican Committee.

July 6.—The Democratic National Convention nominates Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, for Vice-President....The Silver Republican convention at Kansas City nominates William J. Bryan for President.

July 7.—The Silver Republicans nominate Adlai E. Stevenson for Vice-President.

July 11.—West Virginia Republicans nominate Albert B. White for governor....Maine Democrats nominate Samuel L. Lord for governor.

July 12.—President McKinley and Governor Roosevelt are formally notified of their nominations for President and Vice-President, respectively, by committees of the Republican National Convention....Nebraska Fusionists renominate Governor Poynter.

July 13.—Chairman Hanna announces the names of the members of the Republican executive campaign committee.

July 17.—Governor Roosevelt speaks at St. Paul on the issues of the campaign, under the auspices of the League of Republican Clubs....Kentucky Republicans nominate John W. Yerkes for governor.

July 19.—Kentucky Democrats nominate J. C. W. Beckham for governor....Florida Republicans nominate J. N. Coombs for governor.

July 20.—Nebraska Middle of the Road Populists name a State ticket.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

June 22.—The German Bundesrath passes the meat-inspection bill.

June 24.—New Italian and Portuguese ministries are completed.

June 26.—The British forces for the relief of Coomassie suffers a reverse at the hands of the rebellious Ashantees.

June 28.—After a debate in the French Chamber on army discipline, the Nationalists are defeated on a resolution by M. Sembat by a vote of 328 to 129.... Signor Villa is elected president of the Italian Parliament.



COUNT LAMSDORFF.

(Mentioned as the probable successor to Count Muravieff as Russian foreign minister.)

from the general staff, owing to differences with the new minister of war.

July 6.—In the British House of Lords, a motion to appoint a commission to consider the claims of Irish landlords is defeated.

July 9.—General Porfirio Diaz is reelected President of Mexico.

July 10.—The French Parliament is prorogued.

July 13.—Queen Victoria approves the selection of the Earl of Hopetoun as Governor General of the Australian Commonwealth.

July 17.—The Roumanian ministry resigns office.

July 18.—The Canadian Parliament is prorogued.

July 20.—The Cape Colony Parliament is opened.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

June 24.—The United States Government makes another demand on the Porte for the indemnity due for losses to American subjects during the Armenian massacres.

June 26.—Reports are received of the increase of import duties from 15 to 20 per cent. by the republic of Colombia.

July 3.—The British House of Lords passes the Australian Commonwealth bill....An imperial ukase is published in Russia providing for the partial abolition of the Siberian exile system.

July 4.—General Jamont, inspector-general of the French army, resigns



Courtesy of the New York Tribune.

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY AND MEMBERS OF THE NOTIFICATION COMMITTEE WHO WAITED ON HIM AT HIS HOME IN CANTON.

President McKinley will be readily recognized in the picture. At his left is Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts. Immediately behind the President is Frank Witherbee, of New York; 4, Senator Fairbanks, of Indiana; 5, Colonel Dick, of Ohio; 6, Senator Hanna; 7, George B. Cortelyou, the President's Secretary; 8, Charles G. Dawes, Comptroller of the Currency; 9, R. C. Kerens, of Missouri; 10, W. B. Heyburn, of Idaho; 11, Charles Emory Smith; 12, Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York; 13, Colonel Parker, of Hawaii; 14, Dr. Leslie B. Ward, of New Jersey; 15, L. B. Plimpton, of Connecticut.

June 29.—A convention is signed between France and Spain fixing the limits of their respective possessions in northwest Africa.

July 10.—A reciprocity agreement between the United States and Germany is concluded.

July 12.—The Italian Chamber of Deputies ratifies the commercial treaty with the United States.

July 14.—President McKinley issues a proclamation putting the new reciprocity arrangement with Germany into effect.

July 18.—The reciprocity agreement between the United States and Italy is signed at Washington.

THE CRISIS IN CHINA.

May 21.—The members of the diplomatic corps in Peking make a formal demand upon the Chinese Government to suppress the Boxer movement.

May 29.—In response to a request for aid from the United States Consul at Tientsin, Admiral Kempff sends 100 American marines and sailors from Taku, these being the first Caucasian troops to arrive at Tientsin.

June 10.—Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Seymour, commander-in-chief on the British China Station, starts from Tientsin for Peking with a relief force, numbering 2,000, composed of detachments from the allied ships.

June 12.—Telegraphic communication between Peking and the coast suspended.

June 13.—It is reported that the American Methodist mission at Tientsin has been burned, and that about 160 persons have been killed.

June 16.—The murder of Baron von Ketteler, the Ger-

man minister at Peking, is reported....Telegraphic communication with Tientsin is cut off.

June 17.—The Boxers begin a siege of Tientsin.... The Chinese forts at Taku fire on the foreign warships, which bombard and capture the fortifications.

June 18.—The British Government orders two regiments to proceed from India to Hongkong, Brig.-Gen. Sir Alfred Gaselee being appointed commander.

June 19.—The first attack upon the British Legation in Peking occurs....The foreign ministers in Peking are given twenty-four hours in which to leave the city, but they refuse to go.

June 20.—The naval officers of the allied powers in China issue a proclamation, stating that they intend to use armed force only against the Boxers and those people who oppose them in the march to Peking for the rescue of their fellow countrymen.

June 21.—The destruction of the American Consulate and much of the foreign concessions at Tientsin is reported.

June 23.—The foreigners in Tientsin are relieved by the allied force from Taku with small losses.

June 24.—Rear-Admiral George C. Remey, commander-in-chief of the Asiatic Station of the United States Navy, is ordered to go with the *Brooklyn* from Manila to Taku, and to assume command of the American squadron there, Rear-Admiral Kempff remaining at Taku as second in command....Admiral Seymour is surrounded ten miles from Tientsin, and a force is sent from Tientsin to relieve him....Sir Robert Hart, the Imperial commissioner of maritime customs, sends message from Peking saying, "Situation desperate; make haste."

June 25.—The Czar orders that the Russian troops in the Siberian Amur district be raised to a war footing.



DR. FRANCIS E. CLARK.

(Head of the Christian Endeavor movement. From a recent photograph taken in China.)

June 28.—The United States battleship *Oregon* runs ashore on an island in the Gulf of Pechili, 35 miles northeast of Chefoo....It is reported that the Presbyterian mission at Wei Hein, the largest one in China, has been burned.

June 30.—The British and Russian admirals at Taku decide that it is impossible to relieve Peking without a much larger force.

July 2.—Admiral Kempff reports the burning of the American, Italian, and Dutch legations at Peking.

July 3.—The foreign settlements at Tientsin are bombarded, and heavy shelling continues for the next ten days....At the departure of a German naval detachment for China, Emperor William declares that the powers do not desire the partition of China, but that the murder of the German minister must be avenged. It is decided to send 15,000 German troops to China....The British Parliamentary Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs announces that Great Britain has ordered 10,000 men from India to China....The French Minister of Foreign Affairs declares that France does not wish the disintegration of China, and does not desire war.

July 4.—The Chinese, numbering 10,000, under command of General Ma, and with much artillery, reoccupy the Tientsin arsenal....The French Minister of Marine orders two more cruisers to proceed to China.

July 5.—The *Oregon* is successfully floated off the rocks, and starts for the Japanese dry-dock at Kure....The Italian Ministry decides to order three more warships to China, and sanctions an appropriation of 3,000,000 lire for the expedition.

July 6.—The Boxers, under the leadership of Prince

June 26.—The Peking relief expedition, commanded by Admiral Seymour, returns to Tientsin, having encountered such strong and continued opposition that it is impossible to reach Peking by rail; the losses incurred in the expedition are stated as 62 killed and 230 wounded. Brig.-Gen. Adna R. Chaffee is ordered from the United States to China to take command of the American troops there.

June 27.—The Chinese arsenal northeast of Tientsin is taken by the allies.

Tuan, open fire with artillery upon the British Legation in Peking, where the allies are concentrated.... Emperor William, of Germany, promises to pay 1,000 taels (about \$720) to any one accomplishing the deliverance of any foreigner of any nationality who is still shut up in Peking.

July 7.—After an all-night bombardment, the Boxers force an entrance into the British Legation at Peking, and, according to report, all the foreigners are massacred. Prince Tuan is aided by rebels commanded by Gen. Tung Fuh Siang, and they are opposed by Imperial troops under Prince Ching and Gen. Wang Weng Shao....Italy decides to send 3,200 soldiers to China.

July 8.—The United States decides to send directly to China, instead of the Philippines, 6,200 troops which had been under orders for the East.

July 9.—A force of the allies, led by Colonel Dorward, commander of the British troops at Tientsin, attack the Chinese troops, capture four guns, and inflict a loss of 350 killed....The Ninth United States Infantry Regiment arrives at Taku from Manila. The American warship *Brooklyn* also arrives at Taku, and lands 350 marines....It is reported that the German Catholic and American mission stations in Shantung, and in Mukden, Manchuria, have been destroyed. The massacre of 40 foreigners and 100 native converts at Tai-Yuen-Fu, capital of the Province of Shansi, is reported....The Japanese Government decides to increase its force in China to 23,000 men and 5,000 horses.



REV. DR. W. A. P. MARTIN, PRESIDENT OF THE CHINESE IMPERIAL UNIVERSITY.

(Reported killed at Peking on July 12.)

July 10.—The allies at Taku and Tientsin on this date are as follows: Russians, 8,349; Japanese, 5,224; British, 2,575; Americans, 1,400; Germans, 1,036, and small detachments of Austrians and Italians, bringing the total up to 21,304....The United States Government makes public a statement of its position regarding China, which declares that no partition of China is

desired, and that the purpose of the United States is to rescue Americans in peril, protect American interests, and bring about permanent peace in China.

July 11.—The Chinese troops make an attack on the railway station at Tientsin, but are repulsed with a loss of 500 killed....An Imperial edict, dated June 29, and giving a statement of the Chinese Government's position, is made public....It is announced that Dr. Mumm von Schwarzenstein will be appointed German minister to China to succeed Baron von Ketteler.

July 13.—The allies storm the native city of Tientsin in two columns, but the attacks are repulsed with heavy losses. Among the Americans killed are Col. Emerson H. Liscum, of the Ninth Infantry, and Capt. Austin R. Davis, of the Marine Corps....It is reported that missionaries are killed and mission stations are destroyed at Honan and Hong-Chow in the Yangtse district.

July 14.—The allies resume the attack on the native city of Tientsin, and succeed in making a breach in the walls and capturing all the forts, including 62 guns. The Americans lost about 215 in killed and wounded, and the rest of the allies about 560....The Boxers become active in Korea and destroy a Catholic mission.

July 15.—A Chinese force invades Russian territory, and bombards Blagovestchensk, the capital of Amur Province.

July 17.—Certain parts of the Amur territory are declared by Russia as in a state of war from July 17....Li Hung Chang, having been appointed Viceroy of the Province of Chih, in which Peking is situated, leaves Canton for Hongkong, on his way to the capital....A statement is issued by the United States War Department, showing that the number of American troops in China, or on the way, or available, is 11,114.

July 18.—It is announced that the French Govern-



UNITED STATES CONSULATE AT CHEFOO, CHINA.

ment has sent a circular to the powers, proposing that the shipment of arms to China be prohibited....The appointment of William W. Rockhill as special envoy of the United States to China is announced.

July 19.—The Chinese are defeated at Blagovestchensk, and Russian troops are isolated at Harbin, in Manchuria.

July 20.—A message purporting to have been sent from Peking by United States Minister Conger about July 18 is received at Washington....The French Government receives a telegram from the Emperor of China, asking France to mediate between China and the powers.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

June 24.—Thirty-five persons are killed in a train-wreck caused by a washout on the Southern Railway in Georgia....As the result of a collision on the Chicago & Northwestern Railway near Depere, Wis., six persons are killed.

June 25.—The International Miners' Congress begins its sessions in Paris—73 delegates, representing 1,133,500 European miners being present.

June 26.—Twenty-five new cases of bubonic plague are reported in Rio de Janeiro.

June 28.—The Yale-Harvard 'varsity boat-race at New London, Conn., is won by Yale, Harvard winning the four-oar and freshman contests.

June 29.—A non-sectarian college of primary and secondary education is formally opened at Manila, with an enrollment of 500 pupils.

June 30.—The intercollegiate boat-race at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., is won by the University of Pennsylvania, Wisconsin being second, Cornell third, and Columbia fourth....A fire at Hoboken, N. J., destroys the piers of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company, and wrecks the steamships *Saale*, *Bremen*, and *Main*, causing the loss of about 175 lives and property amounting to \$7,000,000.

July 2.—The water-works reservoir at Grand Rapids, Mich., bursts, flooding a portion of the city and destroying about 100 houses.



THE STEAMSHIP "BREMEN."

(One of the three vessels wrecked by fire at the Hoboken piers on June 30.)

July 3.—Governor Roosevelt is enthusiastically received at the Rough Riders' reunion at Oklahoma City....A statue of Washington, the gift of American women is unveiled in Paris.

July 4.—A statue of Lafayette, the gift of American school children, is presented to the Republic of France....A trolley-car accident in Tacoma, Wash., results in the death of 35 persons and serious injuries to 60 others.

July 5.—Fire caused by lightning results in the loss of property of the Standard Oil Company at Bayonne, N. J., to the amount of \$2,500,000.

July 16.—In the international athletic games at Paris, Americans win 16 out of the 21 contests during three days....Christian Endeavor meetings are held in London.

July 17.—Mount Azuma, in Japan, is in eruption; 200 persons are killed or injured.

July 19.—Lord Roberts cables the occupation of Heckpoort by General Methuen.

OBITUARY.

June 22.—Judge L. H. Thompson, of the Vermont Supreme Court, 52....Jasper F. Cropsey, the artist, 77.

June 23.—Carl Sontag, the German comedian, 72.

June 24.—Martin J. Russell, editor of the *Chicago Chronicle*, 55.



THE STATUE OF LAFAYETTE.

(Presented to France by American school children.
Unveiled July 4, 1900.)

June 25.—Ex-Judge Mellen Chamberlain, of Chelsea, Mass., 79.

June 26.—Admiral Frederick A. Maxse, of the British Navy, 67.

June 30.—Rear-Admiral John W. Philip, U.S.N., 60.

July 4.—Sir Thomas Farrell, the sculptor, president of the Royal Hibernian Academy, 72.

July 5.—Justice Job H. Lippincott, of the New Jersey Supreme Court, 58....Dr. Henry Barnard, formerly a well-known writer on education, 90.

July 7.—Dr. John Ashhurst, Jr., a well-known authority in surgery, 61.

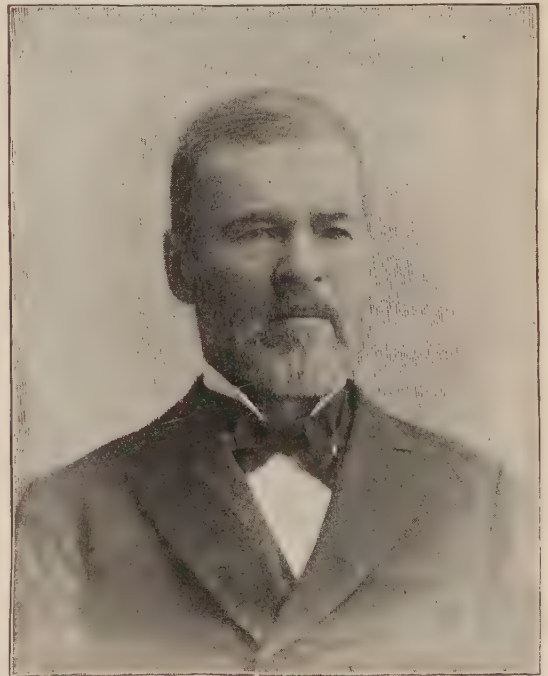


THE LATE ADMIRAL PHILIP.

McCormick, a prominent Pennsylvania iron manufacturer, 69.

July 15.—George Chance, a well-known labor leader, 57.

July 20.—Col. William Mason Grosvenor, a well-known financial writer of New York City, 65.



THE LATE SENATOR JOHN H. GEAR, OF IOWA.

(Senator Gear had been prominent in Iowa public life for more than thirty-five years. He had served as a member of the State Legislature, as Governor, as Representative in Congress, and, finally, as United States Senator. His sterling qualities had made him a power in the councils of State and nation.)

July 8.—Dr. Frederick Humphreys, an eminent homeopathic physician, 85.

July 9.—John L. Pennington, governor of Dakota Territory from 1874 to 1878, 75.

July 10.—Rear-Admiral George Cochran, U.S.N., 61.

July 12.—Col. James Alfred Dennison, an American who led two invasions into Abyssinia for the Khedive of Egypt, 54.

July 14.—United States Senator John Henry Gear, of Iowa, 75....Col. Henry

CURRENT HISTORY IN CARICATURE.



THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE.
From the *World* (New York).



DEMOCRACY'S IMPERIAL ANTI-IMPERIALISTIC NOMINEE FOR
PRESIDENT.—From the *Tribune* (New York).



BRYAN'S ULTIMATUM.
BRYAN: "If you take me, you'll have to take my platform."
From the *Herald* (New York).



UNCLE SAM: "Say, boys, why don't you ride an up-to-date
wheel?"—From the *Herald* (New York).



SUGGESTED CHANGES IN THE AMERICAN FLAG TO FIT ALTERED CONDITIONS.

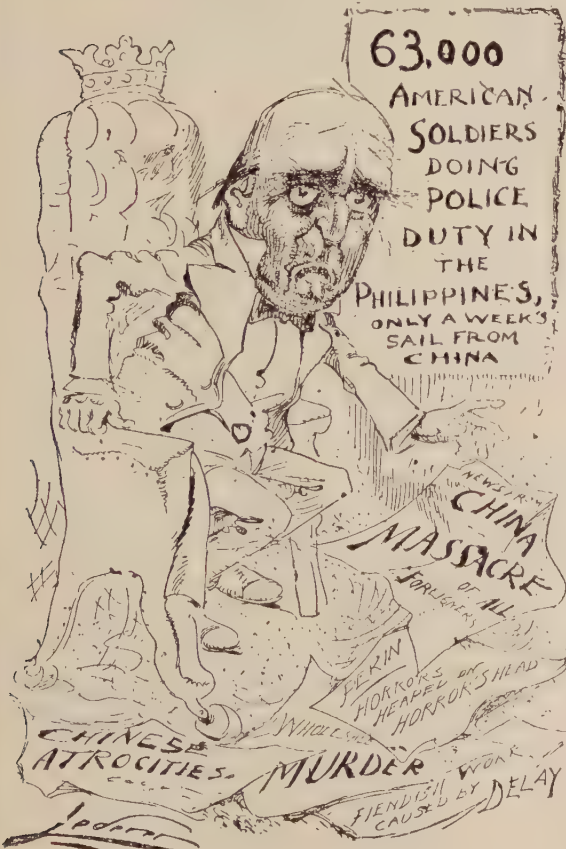
The stars of Old Glory will fade and give place to a single imperial star, if McKinley's views prevail.

From the *Times-Democrat* (New Orleans).

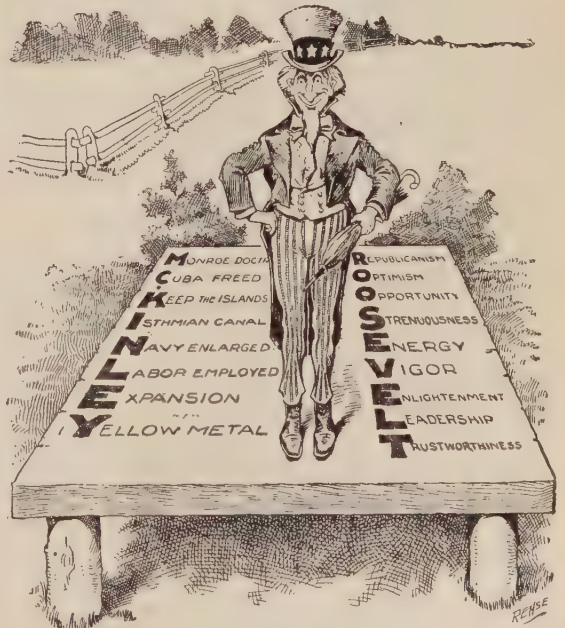


UNCLE SAM: "A man after my own heart! Equal rights for all, special privileges to none."

From the *Times-Democrat* (New Orleans).



TOO LATE.—From the *Chronicle* (Chicago).



UNCLE SAM: "The candidates are my platform."

From the *Pioneer-Press* (St. Paul).



WITHOUT-MALICE CARICATURE.

Mark Hanna.

From the *Chronicle* (Chicago).

THE NOTIFICATION AS IT REALLY WAS.

Mr. McKinley's friends enjoy a pleasant event on the Canton veranda.

From the *Journal* (New York).DAVID B. HILL IN HIS NEW RÔLE AS "THE ROUGHEST RIDER."—From the *Times* (Denver).THE TAIL NOW THREATENS TO WAGGLE THE DOG.
From the *Times-Democrat* (New Orleans).



BRYAN: "Two tails are better than one."

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

Mr. Bryan's Vice-Presidential partnerships are affording the cartoonists the same kind of amusement this year as in 1896, when the gentleman from Nebraska was associated with Mr. Sewall, of Maine, on one ticket, and with Mr. Watson, of Georgia, on another. This year, it is Mr. Stevenson, of Illinois, and Mr. Towne, of Minnesota. Possibly before this issue of the REVIEW appears it will have been decided to have Mr. Towne retire. Mr. Stevenson is represented by some of the cartoonists as in the process of transformation from an old-fashioned Democrat to one of the modern Populistic sort. Mr. Hill, who escaped the Vice-Presidential nomination, is represented in the last drawing on this page, as sitting in an astrologer's anteroom, with Governor Roosevelt, eager to ask questions about 1904.

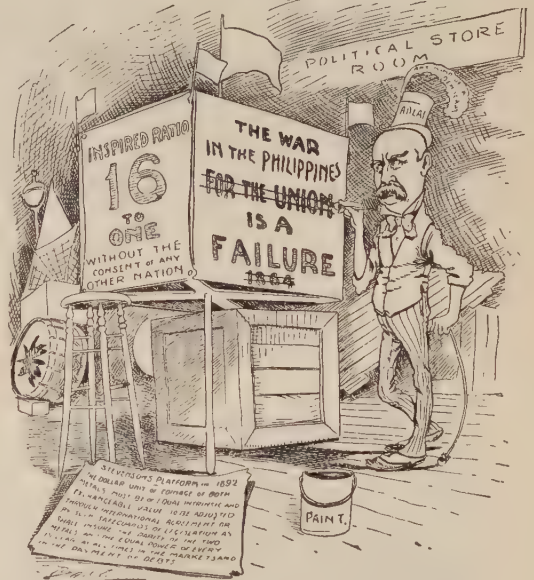


"I FOUND, IN THE COURSE OF POLITICAL EVENTS, IT BECAME NECESSARY TO POPULARIZE MY PARTNER."—W. J. BRYAN.—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).



TO AMPUTATE OR NOT TO AMPUTATE, THAT IS THE QUESTION. (Shakespeare as he would write it in 1900.)

From the *Brooklyn Eagle* (New York).



WORKING OVER SOME OLD POLITICAL PRINCIPLES.

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



AT THE ASTROLOGER'S.

From the *Brooklyn Eagle* (New York).



THE HARDEST ONE YET.—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

The American, as well as the European cartoonists, have found ample scope for all their ingenuity in the contradictory but alarming news that has come from China. The cartoonists have, for the most part, dealt more effectively with the situation than the editorial writers. There is a fateful chapter of history summed up in the little cartoon from the *Brooklyn Eagle* on this page, showing Japan fettered, while the jealous powers were wrangling and China was in conflagration.



IT'S UP TO THE CHINESE MINISTER.

THE POWERS: "If a long-winded proclamation can reach us from Peking, why not information about the safety of the foreigners?"—From the *Times* (Minneapolis).



FACE TO FACE.—From the *World* (New York).



SHAMEFUL!—From the *Brooklyn Eagle* (New York).



CHINA: "It was real kind of you, gentlemen, to show me how to use these things."—From the *Pioneer-Press* (St. Paul).



EUROPA (to the Chinese): "I am afraid I shall have to teach you manners,—even as I taught the Sultan,—unless you behave yourself."—From *Moonshine* (London).



THE CHINESE RETALIATE!

CHORUS OF THE POWERS: "How disgraceful! when we attack him, he defends himself!"

From *La Silhouette* (Paris).



THE GREAT CHINESE BOXING MATCH.

From *Jugend* (Munich).



BAD FOR THE DRAGON!—From *News of the World* (London).



LOOK OUT, IT IS FALLING!

While the powers are supporting the lower part, the upper stories seem likely to fall upon them.

From the *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).



TO PEKING.

The success of the common action of the powers is assured, because of their trust of each other.—From *Ulls* (Berlin).

The European cartoons reflect a good deal of the sentiment expressed in the Emperor William's famous drawing of some four and a half years ago. Some of our readers will remember that we made use of it for our frontispiece in January, 1896. We bring the picture to mind again by a smaller reproduction, which will be found at the top of the opposite page. The Emperor William did not make the finished drawing, but furnished a rough sketch and an explanation of his idea, and the final work was done by a well-known artist, Knachfus. The allegorical figures represent the civilized nations of Europe, in front of which stands unmailed the winged archangel Michael, holding in his right hand a flaming sword. "His countenance," to quote the semi-official explanation that was given to the German press in 1895, "is turned toward the female group. His features reflect grave energy, and his outstretched left hand, which points to the ap-



A LEGACY OF DISCORD.

CHINAMAN: "You allee chop-chop me now, but welly soon forrin devil chop-chop forrin devil!"—From *Punch* (London).

proaching horror, also emphasizes the invitation to prepare for the sacred conflict." The dark clouds in the distance represent the conflagrations that mark the path of Chinese invaders whose mighty hosts are intent upon the destruction of Europe. The Chinese dragon carries the image of Buddha. Beneath the cartoon the Emperor wrote an inscription which called upon the nations of Europe to join in the defense of faith and home. In view of recent happenings, this cartoon has a greater interest than ever. We reproduce beneath the Emperor William's design a new version of it from the *Amsterdammer*, in which Confucius is represented as calling upon the Asiatic peoples to defend their sacred possessions from the threatening invasion of the Christian nations of Europe. This satire is better justified by facts than the Emperor's prophetic warning.



"NATIONS OF EUROPE! JOIN IN DEFENSE OF YOUR FAITH AND YOUR HOMES!"

Cartoon designed by Emperor William in 1895.



CONFUCIUS: "People of Asia, defend your sacred gods!"—From the *Amsterdammer* (Holland).

A new edition of the Kaiser's well-known cartoon.

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION.

BY STEPHEN BONSALE.

THREE years ago, one of the few men who can claim to know something about China stood with me on the Anting gate of Peking—the gate from which Admiral Seymour has recently been driven back with his relief column. We were discussing the situation created for China by the results, or rather by the consequences, of the war with Japan. Incidentally, we were amusing ourselves by watching the antics of the Manchu Bannermen, who, as is their custom, were going through a monthly drill on the plain outside. As these tatterdemalions charged toward the gate, the battalions of the “infuriated tigers” and the “enraged elephants” in advance, my companion said:

“What a hollow humbug of a nut the Chinese question is! We handle it very gingerly, and with right. No one can tell what will come out of it, but some day the brittle nut will be shattered by a sharp, decisive blow. It will fall into a thousand pieces, and there will be much dust, as there should be; for, with China falls the oldest kingdom in the world.”

The blow has been delivered, and the prophecy of my friend brilliantly verified; yet I can take but little satisfaction in his successful exercise of a rare gift, because he is one of the devoted band of Europeans and Americans who are, at the present writing, still besieged in the Legation Quarter at Peking—once the imperial city of the great Khan, but to-day at the mercy of an ignorant mob.

So swift has been the march of events, so headlong the advance on the capital of the revolutionists, that only two or three days elapsed between the first announcement that a band of Boxers had burned a village twenty miles from Peking and the news that the Peking Government had gone over to the insurgents, and that the imperial troops as well as the revolutionists were besieging the foreign legations. When the curtain lifts, we can only hope that it will disclose to view a gallant band of survivors who have triumphed over the numbers of their lawless assailants; though at the present writing, July 16, it must be confessed, there is little news upon which to base this comforting hope. As the miserable incompetency of the Emperor and his advisers becomes apparent, as I read again the Emperor's pitiful edict of abdication, which I shall reproduce on another page, I cannot but think that

if one hair of the head of a single foreign ambassador, or of a member of his family, of the many who are besieged to-day in Legation Street, is hurt, Kwang Su will never have a Manchu successor, and that perhaps the immemorial words with which, since the time of Solomon, the Emperor of China has been proclaimed the Son of Heaven in the coronation-hall have been heard for the last time in the mysterious precincts of the Purple Forbidden City.

From June 24 to this writing, we have received no news of undisputed authenticity from Peking. The situation was then considered desperate by those besieged in the legations. Their only hope was in an immediate rescue by the relief column from Tientsin. Since then Admiral Seymour has been compelled to retreat, and the stories of the final massacre of the besieged received in Shanghai and Canton are becoming more circumstantial. The consuls in the treaty port seem to have given up all hope, and agree that we shall never know more than we do at present of the last moments of Mr. Conger, Sir Robert Hart, Sir Claude Macdonald, and all the foreign ministers, their official families, the guards, and other refugees who when least heard of were fighting their hopeless fight against overwhelming odds in the British Legation. If this news should in the main prove true, the Chinese Government, by the connivance of its officials in the acts of the Imperial troops and the Boxers, has placed itself beyond the pale of civilization. In the annals of history throughout the darkest ages, there is no record comparable to this as an outrage upon humanity and international usage. In modern times the tragedy of Cawnpore was, after all, the uprising of a half-subdued race against hated masters. The murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari, the British agent in Kabul, was the act of the savage Afghans, who merely acted as they had been taught to act—to strike when they had the power. But, so far as we know at present, there is nothing to be offered in extenuation of the tragedy at Peking. The murder of Baron von Ketteler in front of the foreign office and on the public street may have been an accidental explosion of anti-foreign feeling on the part of an assassin, which perhaps could not have been foreseen and prevented by the government to which he was accredited, but the subsequent tragedy at the British Legation is

lacking in all the elements of a deed done in hot blood. It was coolly and deliberately planned and persisted in with diabolical steadfastness of purpose for many days. Owing to the heroic resistance of our people, the invaders of the extra-territorial soil—as much a part of England as Westminster—were repeatedly driven back, and there was much time for wiser counsels, if any were offered, to be heeded. The delay, however, was utilized in a different manner, and the destruction of the legation and the massacre of its gallant defenders was only finally accomplished by utilizing the resources of the Peking arsenal. The walls of the legation were battered down by the Imperial siege trains, manned by Imperial uniformed troops.

It should ever be present in our minds that this massacre was not the act of Redskins or Congo savages. It was accomplished under the leadership of some of the highest officials of the Chinese Government. And the act is approved by a people who for four thousand years have observed in some measure the usages of public law, the sacredness of the person of the ambassador, and the inviolability of the precincts of a legation. The people who stormed the legations in Peking and put their occupants to death knew that they were not engaged in simple manslaughter; and, when the time comes, their punishment should be measured out to them accordingly.

THE LESSON OF THE REVOLUTION.

Before endeavoring to trace the course of recent events in China with the purpose of throwing some light on the present situation, I must point out what, to my mind, is the most dangerous feature of the revolution with which we are now brought face to face. Two years ago, any naval or army officer would have staked his life and reputation upon getting into Peking from Tientsin with but five hundred Europeans or Americans behind him, all the military forces of the Chinese Empire notwithstanding. To-day we know that Admiral Seymour, a gallant and resolute officer, has, with a column of nearly three thousand picked men, not only failed to reach the capital, but been driven back with considerable loss to his base, after having been cut off from all communication with it for nearly ten days. The relief column was composed of the best material; and in Captain McCalla, of our Navy, Admiral Seymour had a lieutenant second to none. These gallant sailors and marines carried with them a number of field-guns and Gatlings, and they were spurred on to the most determined effort by the news of the desperate straits to which the occupants of the legations in

Peking had been reduced by the besieging revolutionists; and yet, after narrowly escaping a disaster, the relief column retreated upon Tientsin. The conclusion is forced upon us that they failed because they met Chinese soldiery of very different caliber from what they had expected, with every reason, to meet; and it is this feature of the situation which I must dwell upon as being, in my opinion, more alarming than the actual news from Peking, unpleasant to read as that is. Travelers from the West generally disagree upon every Chinese question save one. They have been unanimous in pronouncing the Chinese Army as worthless, and holding its organization up to contempt. It is true that some of the foreign officers who, from time to time, of recent years, have been intrusted with the education of Chinese recruits, have in some measure dissented from this sweeping opinion. In the fall of 1896, I met in Nanking half a dozen German officers who had, at the close of the war with Japan, been lent to the Viceroy of Nanking for the purpose of drilling his troops. I was surprised to find how enthusiastic they were, and with what sincere admiration they spoke of their pupils. The ranking officer of this military mission said to me: "The Viceroy seems to prefer to send us rickety old men or half-grown boys; but when we do succeed in getting recruits such as should only be called to the colors,—namely, the physical *élite* of men between the ages of 20 and 35,—it is surprising what excellent material they are."

However, as all "China hands" will admit, this is an exceptional view of Chinese military efficiency; and, after all, it does not go very far. All Europeans and Americans who have been in China recently will be more inclined to indorse the following opinion of her defensive conditions and the efficiency of her soldiers, which has lately appeared in the *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen*, of Germany, from the pen of Baron von Reitzingen, a major on the German General Staff, who has studied the military conditions of China very exhaustively.

"In some Provinces," he says, "the soldiers are armed with ancient halberds, or antiquated lances and pikes. In some with Martini rifles, which, owing to neglect, in a very few months are little more effective than the pikes. One year Krupp guns are ordered, the next Armstrongs, and the year after Nordenfelts. The guns are brought out, remain lying about somewhere, and in a short while it is quite impossible to use them. . . . Judged by our conceptions, the Chinese troops are, to all intents and purposes, quite untrained, badly armed, and consequently utterly useless."

These conclusions refer to the Manchu troops as well as to the "Green Banners"—Chinese troops recruited and supported by the Provincial viceroys. A month ago I should have agreed with Baron von Reitzingen, as has every other traveler in China who has put the results of his observations on paper, and with Lord Charles Beresford, whose witty if somewhat inopportune stories as to the efficiency of the Chinese soldier are just getting into circulation. No one, however, can read Admiral Seymour's soldierly account of his defeat, which so nearly ended in disaster, without understanding that his column was not confronted by the miserable Bannermen, but by soldiers who fought well and intelligently. Indeed, I am of the opinion that one can best obtain an idea of the extent and strength of the Boxer Revolution, and see how fraught it is with danger to Western interests in the East, by comparing Baron von Reitzingen's academic conclusions of three months ago with Admiral Seymour's account of actual experiences.

THE RULE OF THE EMPRESS DOWAGER.

In the midst of the confused avalanche of rumors that come to the Western papers from Hongkong and Shanghai, there are several which have been substantiated by official dispatches, and which show, even could we completely discard all the others as being without foundation, how serious is the problem which the chaotic state of China presents to the civilized world. If it should be true (and at the present writing there is little reason to doubt the report) that Baron von Ketteler, the German Ambassador, has been murdered in the streets of Peking by Imperial troops, while on his way to the foreign office on official business, it is certain that the satisfaction to be demanded by the Berlin Government for this outrage will not stop short of the overthrow and expulsion of the Manchu dynasty and the dismissal of the authorities through whose connivance or weakness this attack upon the sacred person of a public minister has been made possible. The action which Germany will have to take brings the whole question of the settlement of China on the carpet. Optimists have held, for some time past, that such a settlement could be effected by the exercise of great caution and deliberation without provoking a conflict between the powers interested; but under the present circumstances, and in view of the drastic measures which Germany will now be forced to take, there is little or no hope of such a peaceful issue. To-day, China has in fact, if not at law, declared war upon the civilized world. The capital has fallen into the hands of the insurgents, and the leading dignitaries of the

empire are making common cause with the Boxers. Many of our legations have been burned, and the lives of some, if not all, of the representatives of the Western powers have been taken. When Peking is relieved by the allied forces, even if,—the whole truth being known,—there shall be found to be no further additions to the chapter of crime, the radically antagonistic views of the powers as to the way in which the extraordinary situation should be dealt with will become glaringly apparent. After the government which is so thoroughly discredited both in China and abroad has been removed, what then? It would be a daring prophet, indeed, who would venture to answer that query. One thing only is certain. The Imperial Government of Peking, if it is still there, stands convicted of bad faith and of an almost incredible weakness; and the situation must be faced without placing the least reliance upon its promises and protestations.

At this juncture, it seems to me advisable to look back over the last few years in China to see whether some light may not be cast upon the present situation by an examination of the events which have led up to it.

The history of China, for the past thirty or forty years, is but the story of the eventful life of the Empress Dowager, Tze-Hsi-Tuan-Yu. It cannot but strike the observer as curious that in the far East of Asia, where the social position of women is one of such distinct inferiority, that many strong characters who have at times dominated the situation should have been members of the slighted if not despised sex. The high-class Chinese, who would never think of referring in the most indirect way to his wife; who would lose caste should he wear mourning for her, or appear at her funeral, or allow her taking off in any way to disturb the even tenor of his way, —would seem hardly more successful than his more courteous Western brother in escaping a petticoat government. I refer, of course, particularly to the Empress Dowager and the late Queen of Korea, who, in the eyes of at least one admiring Western statesman, are the only two men that the far East of Asia has produced in our generation. In 1861 the Senior Dowager Empress, as she was then and is now (which would go to show that her almost undisturbed supremacy in Chinese affairs is not due to charms of person), made her first state-stroke, and gave the Peking court a taste of her mettle. With the assistance of Prince Kung and the other Dowager Empress, Tze-An, she seized upon the reins of state after the death of her husband, the Emperor Hien Fung. The Empress Dowagers ruled very happily and to their own satisfaction—at least, until 1873, when Tung Che, the son of Hien Fung,

came of age. He died in 1875, and there were those in Peking who said that the Empress Dowagers assisted him "to ascend upon a dragon and become a guest on high." Tung Che left no heirs; but shortly after his death, his widow, Ah-Lu-Te, announced that she had hopes of presenting her spouse with a posthumous child. Soon after this the Empress-widow disappeared. It was announced that she had committed suicide, and so the posthumous heir never came into the world. The choice of Emperor then falling to the family council, the present Emperor, Kwang Su, was selected. As he was only three years old at the time, his choice assured to the Empress Dowagers another long lease of unrestricted power under the form of a regency. It is a very difficult task to explain the Chinese ideas of succession; but it will suffice to state here, that the designation of Kwang Su, which fitted in so admirably with the views of the Empress Dowagers in regard to a perpetual regency, was not a popular one. It ran counter to the dynastic traditions and pious prejudices of the Chinese; and many of the court astrologers, when consulted as to the promise of the new reign, are reported to have shaken their heads dubiously—though, like wise men, they held their peace, it being known that the Empress had very practical views on the duty of soothsayers. The objection seems to have been that Kwang Su, being of the same generation as his ill-starred predecessor, Tung Che, the "blessed continuity" of the dynasty was interrupted; it was held by many that the father of Prince Tuan, the leader of the revolutionists of to-day, should have been raised to the throne, and in this disappointment may be found the inspiration of Prince Tuan's present attitude and some explanation of the present dynastic situation. In the eyes of many Chinese, then, Prince Tuan is not only popular because the enemy of the "foreign devils," but because he is thought to have a more divine right to the throne than any other member of the Imperial Clan; but the Empress had the situation well in hand, and the matter ended with ominous whisperings. Her gentle colleague, Tze-An, died in 1881, and the Empress Dowager Tze-Hsi ruled the empire alone until 1889, when Kwang Su came of age. The Emperor soon showed himself mentally and physically a weakling. Most of his edicts were written by the Dowager, and no important measure was promulgated without the announcement being publicly made by the young Emperor that he had consulted the Princess-Parent, and that his decree was her will; and it soon became apparent that, while Kwang Su occupied the throne, the Empress Dowager ruled as before.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE JAPANESE WAR.

The Empress Tze-Hsi is admitted to be, even by her most bitter enemies, an able woman. The court of the Emperor was deserted, while the palace quarters of the Empress Dowager were crowded. It was recognized by every one that the nomination of her gatekeeper, or the good offices of her band of eunuchs, was the only path to appointment and official promotion. The outbreak of the Japanese War found the Empress Dowager at the zenith of her power, and the Emperor in the greatest obscurity. It was said, indeed, that the sum of money allotted Kwang Su by this female usurper was so small that at times he experienced the greatest difficulty in meeting the expenses of his shabby court. At this time, perhaps merely out of avarice, which is said to be her besetting sin, the Empress celebrated a jubilee of some kind; that is, an opportunity was given the officers of the empire to send her presents, something additional and over and above the regular percentages they were paying on the perquisites of their offices. The Japanese War rather interfered with the brilliancy of the jubilee pageant; but the Empress was not to be diverted from enjoying to the full the solid business advantages of the occasion. While many of the *fêtes* were dispensed with, in view of the invasion of the "despised dwarfs," it was noticed that such viceroys and other high officials who were so careless as not to send handsome presents to Peking very shortly afterwards lost their places. The war was precipitated by the Dowager Empress herself, who sent more troops to Korea when her representative there and the Grand Secretary Li had given the most solemn assurances to Japan that no more should be sent. It is well known by what energetic measures the Japanese met this breach of faith—how the transport *Kowshing* was sunk, and war declared.

By many travelers in China it has been maintained that the humiliating disasters of the war with the Rising Sun Empire passed almost unnoticed in Peking, and were never heard of at all in the more remote Provincial capitals. Such is not my opinion; and the best proof that such was not the case is shown by the fever of reform and of new methods which, immediately after the conclusion of hostilities, overspread China. For a time the throne was bombarded with rescripts and prayers from the Provincial officials, calling upon the Peking authorities to modernize their methods and place the empire in a better state of defense. Even that champion of conservatism, Chan-Chih-Tung, the Viceroy of Nan-king, respectfully addressed the throne, asking

that gun-foundries be built and powder-mills erected and railways constructed between the various Provinces. "Unless these reforms are carried out with great dispatch," admonished the Viceroy, "we shall be undone." Other powerful agencies were at work on the regeneration of China, the least potent of which was probably the friendly advice of those of the powers who wished for the maintenance of the *status quo* rather than a partition of the vast empire. Up to this time almost the only source of information in regard to current events open to the Chinese was the *Peking Gazette*, the oldest newspaper in the world by several centuries. Unfortunately for China, the *Peking Gazette* has never deigned to publish a "foreign" page, and very rarely any reference; and this, always couched in the most contemptuous terms, is made in its columns to the "despised outsiders." After the war with Japan, however, newspapers printed in Chinese were smuggled into the country from Hongkong and Shanghai, and they soon obtained a very large circulation. Despite the very severe edicts issued by the Empress Dowager, and the fact that many coolies caught circulating the papers were put to death, the innovation could not be checked. Further, modern books and scientific treatises were translated from the French, English, and German into literary Chinese, and were eagerly bought by the *litterati* and the "budding students" whose mental pabulum had hitherto consisted in the "Analects" and the "Book of Kings." A translation was made, by a clever Hongkong Chinaman, of the views expressed by prominent Western writers on the situation in China; and 300,000 copies of this volume were sold in three months. News of the proposed partition of China was, in this way, widely diffused. The strenuous efforts made by the Imperial Government to suppress this, as well as all other publications of an enlightening nature, met with no success. Many of the quaint wooden presses of the kind upon which the *Peking Gazette* has been printed for centuries were burned, it is true; but new types were quickly secured, and there being no law of copyright, every printer who secured a copy of a salable book did not hesitate to print another edition of it.

REFORM AND REGENERATION.

It was not long before these changes and the spirit of unrest that was abroad in the Provinces found an echo even in Peking. Officials, at first of but petty rank, but gradually of greater prominence, made it known that they were not averse to a change of methods in all branches of administration; and, for a wonder, these hardy

reformers, who were encouraged by many of the missionaries and supplied with funds by Chinese who had found wealth, and security, and knowledge, beyond the seas—in Hongkong, the Malay Peninsula, Java, and the Straits—were not summarily dealt with. In the popular unrest and dissatisfaction, the Emperor saw an opportunity of emancipating himself from the petticoat government of the Empress Dowager, under which he had suffered in silence so long; and accordingly, he allowed it to be known that he was not at all unfriendly to the new ideas or the Western learning. In response to this invitation, efforts—under the circumstances, very daring efforts—were made by the leading reformers to get into communication with the nominal Emperor, but with little success; for it is said that, on the few occasions when the desired audience was obtained, the reformers could see upon the audience-curtain the shadow of the Empress Dowager, who was there to listen, and consequently few or none were bold enough to unburden themselves of the matters so near their hearts. Official China soon fell into two camps. The reactionary Empress Dowager was supported by nearly all the office-holders, who saw their sinecures threatened and the *régime* under which they had prospered in danger of being swept away. Those who wanted office, and quite a number of the younger mandarins and *litterati*, who were far-sighted enough to see that China was fast approaching anarchy or a partition by the powers, rallied round the Emperor. When the moment was ripe for action, the Dowager Empress set about her task with characteristic energy. For some years past, she had not concealed her growing opinion that the Emperor was unworthy to rule. His health left much to be desired, and no heirs were born to him. This latter misfortune so weighed upon the mind of his real mother that in 1896, when she suddenly died, it was pretty generally believed in Peking that the unfortunate woman had committed suicide to avoid the contemplation of the neglected tombs (for who, in default of children, would burn incense or prayer-papers before her ancestral tablets?), and to escape the bitter reproaches of the Empress Dowager.

THE DETHRONEMENT OF THE EMPEROR.

Tze-Hsi was probably honestly disappointed at the non-appearance of an heir; for it is said that her preferred plan for regaining complete and uncontested control of affairs was to administer poison to the Emperor as soon as a child was born to him, and then take his heir under her wing; in other words, to enter upon another regency, the third in her lifetime. The Emperor's failure to have issue, and his leaning

toward the new learning, proved, however, useful weapons in the Dowager Empress' hand. On September 22, 1898, she boldly seized the Imperial Seal. The Emperor himself announced his dethronement, and a number of the more prominent reformers were put to death, while not a few sought safety in flight to foreign countries. The Emperor proved so docile in her hands that the Empress did not take the trouble to put him to death. It was, perhaps, thought that in such an event the powers might intervene; but, be this as it may, Tze-Hsi decided to attain her ends by legal methods, and her final triumph was announced in an edict issued in January, 1899, of which the poor Emperor had signified his approval with a touch of the vermilion pencil. This formal abdication and recognition of the successor chosen by the Dowager Empress was immediately placarded throughout the Empire and published in the *Peking Gazette*. It reads:

While yet in our infancy, we were, by the grace of the Emperor Tung Che, chosen to succeed him in the heavy responsibilities of head of the whole empire; and when his Majesty died, we sought day and night to be deserving of such kindness, by energy and faithfulness in our duties. We were also indebted to the Empress Dowager, who taught and cherished us assiduously; and to her we owe our safety to the present day. Now, be it also known, that when we were selected to the throne, it was then agreed that if ever we should have a son, that son should be proclaimed heir to the throne. But ever since last year [1898], we have been constantly ill; and it was for this reason that, in the eighth month of that year [the date of the *coup d'état*], the Empress Dowager graciously acceded to our urgent prayers and took over the reigns of government, in order to instruct us in our duties. A year has now passed, and still we find ourselves an invalid: but ever keeping in our mind that we do not belong in the direct line of succession, and that, for the sake of the safety of the empire of our ancestors, a legal heir should be selected to the throne, we again prayed the Empress Dowager to carefully choose from among the members of the Imperial Clan such a one; and this she has done in the person of Pu Chun, son of Tsai Yi, Prince Tuan.

We hereby command, accordingly, that Pu Chun, the son of Tsai Yi, Prince Tuan, be made heir to the late Emperor Tung Che.

While these events were taking place at court, news came in from the Provinces which, had the Manchu dignitaries paid any attention to it at all, would have convinced them that discontent was widespread, and that the common people of the coolie class, so long treated as an insignificant factor, was about to take a more important part in the administration of affairs. But the Manchu mandarins paid so little heed to the signs of the times that, to many of them, the final outbreak was as great a surprise as it was to the Western world. Last autumn missionaries and travelers from the North brought to Peking and to the

treaty ports the first announcement of the new secret society which was every day increasing the number of its adherents. The society was known, indifferently, as the "Long Swords," or the "Boxers." By some, the drilling and the athletic exercises which they practised were the subject of humorous comment; but from their earliest appearance on the already stormy political horizon it was evident to intelligent observers of the situation that they were men of action, and were likely to take an energetic part in the settlement of the Chinese question, which could not be much longer postponed.

RUSSIAN RESPONSIBILITY.

The fact that the "Boxer" society made its first appearance in Manchuria has given rise to the supposition that the agitation which has grown to such an extent as not only to overthrow the government of China, but to menace the peace of the world, was fomented by Russian emissaries with the purpose of advancing Russian interests of selfish aggrandizement. It has been no secret for any one conversant with the real condition of China that the shadow of the Siberian army corps along the Amoor and the Ussuri has overhung the whole of northern China for many years past, and that since Russian and French intervention compelled Japan to retrocede the Liatong Peninsula, Russia has in fact, though not in name, exercised all the rights and attributes of sovereignty throughout Manchuria; that is, in so far as the conditions have not been perfectly lawless—in so far as the rights and duties of sovereignty have been exercised at all. But when this has been said, all has been said that would go to attach the responsibility for the Boxer uprising to Russia. As a matter of fact, the Russians have been the greatest losers so far by the uprising; and their Manchurian railways in construction have, it is said, been completely destroyed.

Again, the fact that the uprising comes at a moment when England is greatly embarrassed in South Africa,—at a time when she will not have at her command all her resources to defend her interests in China,—is accepted by some as proof positive that the Russian Bear is the instigator of all the troubles. My personal opinion, which I give for the little it is worth, is that Russia and Russian intrigue have nothing whatever to do with the agitation which would seem, in the last few days, to have revolutionized the empire. Russian policy in China was eminently successful even before, and long before the Boer war England was yielding every disputed point, until at last Russia was permitted to seize Port Arthur; though, only a few days before that event, sev-

eral of Lord Salisbury's ministers had stated publicly that this was one of the questions upon which Great Britain would fight rather than yield. Russian diplomacy was paramount in Peking, and the Asiatic department of the Petersburg Government had only to prefer a request to have it acceded to. Yet at a juncture like this, we are told by the Shanghai correspondents that the Russians fomented the rebellion in order to overthrow a government which could not have been more subservient.

Russia has everything to lose and nothing to gain by the uprising which has precipitated the settlement of the China question ten years before its time. She had every reason for wishing to prolong the period of dry-rot in China, and postpone the catastrophe until her finances are in better shape and her strategic railways in Siberia and Manchuria completed. It is absurd to think that Russian statesmen, who were approaching their goal and obtaining all that they coveted without opposition, should instigate a revolution which brings every power that has treaty relations with China into her game. These other powers, it is needless to say, will not work unselfishly toward that solution of the problem most favorable to Russian interests. Russia, by her substantial advances on the north, the evidences of her complete, if unrecognized, sway over the Northern Provinces, may have given the Chinese their first serious alarm, and incited the Boxer uprising as a measure of self-defense. But in no other way can responsibility be ascribed to her.

THE GROWTH OF THE BOXERS.

In my mind, there is no doubt that the genesis and the wonderful spread of the Boxer society were spontaneous. There seems to exist in China, as well as in the West, great ignorance of the tenets of the Boxer faith, which have proved so popular, so inflammatory,—so vitalizing, I had almost said,—since, whether for good or for evil, it is undeniable that they have galvanized the corpse of China into very unpleasant and most unexpected manifestations of life. The fact, and it is a fact, that 10,000 European and American troops are hemmed up in Tientsin, and that there is more serious talk of an evacuation of the place than an immediate advance upon Peking, is wholly incomprehensible to the present writer. While the society may have other objects in view, one at least they have accomplished—their desire to force the Peking Government to assume a more unfriendly attitude toward the outside powers. We have no means of knowing how much of a resistance the Boards of Government and the Manchu dignitaries in

Peking made to the demands of the revolutionists; but we do know that ambassadors of the Western powers have been attacked at the gates of the Purple Forbidden Palace, and that everywhere relief parties were confronted by the allied forces of the Imperial troops and the insurgents, and have been everywhere repulsed.

Looking back over the history of China during the last generation, we find much support for the theory that the Boxer insurrection has not been fomented either by the Peking authorities or by agitators in the pay of a foreign power. When, in 1860, the Imperial Chinese Government was discredited abroad and weak and powerless at home, the Taiping Rebellion swept over the Central Provinces of the empire very much as the Boxers are doing in the North to-day. It may be, as some think, that the Taipings, as well as the Boxers, organized primarily for booty alone; but, at the same time, they have both found it wise and popular to put into their platform a plank pledging themselves to the most radical and energetic treatment of the "foreign-devil" question.

It was in 1850, shortly after China had emerged from the Opium War, so humiliating and damaging to her prestige, that the Taipings were first heard of. They sprang from nowhere, apparently, like the Boxers of to-day; and it was only years afterward that any details in regard to the origin of the movement could be secured. The uprising at first took the very curious form of a mock Christian crusade, and the inland Provinces of Central China saw its inception. The Peking Government, busily engaged in other quarters, paid little attention to the matter until apprised of its seriousness by the fall of the Southern capital, Nanking.

The promenade which the English and French forces made through the country in the year 1860, and the burning of the Summer Palace, still further discredited the Imperial Government, and gave unexpected strength to the "Heavenly King" and his fighting "Wangs," who had made much headway during the ten years of their revolt. Finally, the Taipings were dispersed by the friendly offices of the powers and the loan of foreign officers, the principal of whom was "Chinese" Gordon. I have called attention to the Taiping Rebellion with no intention of dwelling upon this interesting page of Chinese history, but simply to point out that, as the Opium War and the march on Peking in 1860 made possible the Taiping uprising, so the disastrous results of the war with Japan, when their details became known in the Provincial centers of China, together with the territorial encroachments of Russia on the north,

of France on the south, and of Germany in Shantung, have so weakened and discredited the Peking Government that to-day its easy overthrow by the Boxers should cause little surprise.

Several of the foreign ministers—notably, it is said, Sir Claude Macdonald—represented to the ministers of the Yamen for foreign affairs the unhappy effect the agitation, if not suppressed, would exert on the relations of China with other countries; but their words of warning were without effect. Such representations were listened to with studied courtesy, and that was all. It is evident now that many of the most influential leaders of the Peking court have taken means to ingratiate themselves with the leaders of the Boxer movement. Among those who have cast anchors to windward, first and foremost are undoubtedly the Empress Dowager, Prince Tuan (the father of the heir-apparent), and possibly even Prince Ching. But with the exception of Prince Tuan, there is no reason to believe that any prominent official in Peking instigated the rebellion. The Dowager Empress naturally tried to keep on good terms with such a formidable body of her subjects. At the same time it is probable that she tried to keep the agitation within legal bounds, and protect the foreigners from their ferocity until by doing so she endangered her own position.

THE DOWAGER EMPRESS AND THE ANTI-FOREIGN MOVEMENT.

A few days ago, I received a letter from Peking that was mailed before the outbreak—upon which, however, it sheds some light. It was written by a member of one of the foreign legations, and consequently echoes the opinion of the best-informed diplomatic circles in Peking; but, as my correspondent was aware that I am acquainted with the tortuous, undignified, and most unreliable channels through which the foreign legations receive the greater part of their information of what is occurring in the Purple Forbidden City of the Palace, he adds: "Of course, it may be a yarn; and yet, there is much confirmation of the story to be found, if you examine closely the events of the last three months." The yarn that has wandered into Legation Street is to the effect that the Dowager Empress has joined the Boxers. Certain it is she has recently received many members of the organization with every appearance of marked favor. When a high official, a censor from the Province of Chili, was enjoying an audience lately, she is reported to have inquired:

"What is your opinion of the Boxers? Do you think they would join my troops to expel the foreign devils?"

"I am certain of it," replied the censor. "Our high purpose is set forth in the tenets of the society: 'Protect, to the death, the members of the Heavenly dynasty; and torture for the intruding foreign devils.' We are organizing and arming; we will be prepared."

"I am afraid you will get us into serious trouble before the country is ripe for an uprising. You Boxers of Shantung and Chili need conservative leaders," she added.

But the Empress was none the less pleased; for the next day she promoted the censor to be Governor of Peking.

After the burning of Tung Chow (the Peiho River port, about eight miles from Peking), and the sacking of the large town of Paoting-Fu, with which the revolution began, the Empress Dowager is reported to have still praised the Boxers, and to have condemned the Chinese troops who had opposed them. In deference to the unanimous representations made by the members of the diplomatic corps in Peking, the Empress "edited" her edict. She described the Boxers as honest, well-meaning men, but regretted that they had been "misguided." Then the wires were broken; the Russian wire over Manchuria, curiously enough, being kept intact many days after all communication between Peking and the Yellow Sea ports had been interrupted. Admiral Seymour, in his attempt to rescue the legations and the foreign residents of Peking, was driven back; and, up to the present writing, we have only the wildest and most unreliable rumors as to what has happened in Peking since the outbreak. To my mind, the facts of the situation are sufficiently alarming without allowing one's self to be depressed by the rumors. Peking is in the hands of the insurgents. Perhaps even now the representatives of the West, as were their predecessors—Sir Harry Parkes and Captain Loch—in 1859, are being exposed to the mockery of the Peking populace from the places of torture in the old bell-tower. There is no one who, knowing the cool and unemotional fiber of Sir Robert Hart's courage, and reading the dispatch with his countersign containing the last reliable news that reached the naval commanders in Tientsin on July 2, nine days in transmission from Peking: "Situation here desperate. Hasten!" would not in his heart be glad if the first news we learn from the beleaguered inhabitants of Legation Street is that they have suffered no worse fate than an ignominious imprisonment. In the meantime, the world will await with impatience the assembling of the troops that are coming together from the four corners of the globe, without which it would be folly to attempt to reach Peking.

THE SECRET SOCIETIES.

We shall hear more about the Boxers. At the present writing, we could not possibly know less. Until a few months ago, when these wild sectaries swept down upon the capital over the bleak plains of Northern China, not a word had been printed in the empire in regard to a movement which was spreading over the Provinces like wildfire. It is, perhaps, not an exaggeration to say that within a month as many as 4,000,000 active members were enrolled. Right here it should be remembered that the Chinese have the specialty of secret societies. To conspire in secret comes as naturally to them as to ventilate his grievances in a town-meeting to the Anglo-Saxon. The Triad Society, which was founded many hundred years ago to bring about the overthrow of the Manchu invaders and restore the Mings, still exists, and is probably more widespread through China than even the Boxers as yet; and there are hundreds and thousands of other societies, more or less secret, which have millions and millions of members, who do not seem to lose interest in the propaganda which they are engaged upon even when, as in the case of the Triad, nothing active is attempted in hundreds of years. Every Chinaman belongs to a number of these societies, some of which are criminal, like the High-Binders, of whom the San Francisco police know something; but generally they are benevolent, and exist for the purpose of mutual assistance in sickness and in death. In a society honeycombed in this wise, it is not difficult to understand the rapidity with which the Boxer movement has spread. Lodges of the old societies often joined the new one as a unit, and adherents were recruited by tens of thousands in a day.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE QUESTION.

While the powers, as yet, are very far from being in a position to impose terms upon the Chinese, speculation is rife as to the basis upon which the settlement will be made. There can be but two solutions of the question—the partition of China among the powers, or the maintenance of the integrity of the empire with some up to the present uncompromised member of the Imperial Clan upon the throne.

THE ACTION OF THE POWERS.

Up to the present it is impossible to define even the probable action of the powers. They seem to be acting in harmony, as yet, though with great slowness. It seems to be generally recognized that the question of the punishment for the Peking massacres should be treated

independently of the question as to how the far Eastern nuisance is once for all to be abolished, and a stable government capable of keeping treaty obligations and maintaining law and order established.

It would be childish to deny that the position of the powers who are desirous of maintaining the integrity of China has not been greatly weakened by the events of the last two months. Many members of the Imperial Clan undoubtedly, when the truth is known, will be found to share with Prince Tuan the responsibility of the massacre. By whom, then, can the powers who wish to maintain the *status quo* replace the present Emperor, who is admitted to be physically and mentally unfit to rule? If it be true that Prince Ching, a member of the Imperial house, and a minister of the Tsungli-Yamen, was wounded in an attempt to relieve the legations, here is a brave man who could be placed on the throne. I met him several times when in China. He is about sixty years of age, and was regarded as an amiable and conservative official, with whom the relations of the foreign ministers were invariably satisfactory. But in the existing reign of anarchy at Peking, it is more than likely that for these very qualities his life will be taken.

While awaiting further news of the fate of Minister Conger, it is interesting to watch the preparations of the German Government for armed intervention in China. The Berlin authorities, it should be remembered, were in receipt of a circumstantial account of Baron von Ketteler's death three weeks ago. When the first detachment of marines left Wilhelmshafen, the Emperor, addressing his men, said: "You must place the German flag upon the walls of Peking. There we will dictate peace." When the East Asian squadron sailed from Kiel on July 9, he said: "You are sent to avenge the German blood which has been spilt. I shall not rest until I have forced China upon her knees, until her power is subdued." If these words mean anything at all, they mean that Germany has renounced the policy of the *status quo*, and that for the future she will avowedly work for the partition of China as secretly and unofficially as she always has done.

We must, in this question of the future of China, not lose sight of the fact that important commercial and political interests of the United States demand the maintenance of the empire. Russian China, French China, German China, spell so many markets closed to us. The attempt which has recently been made by the State Department to secure assurances from the powers that, in case they should take over, each its sphere of influence,—Russia Manchuria, Ger-

many Shantung, and France Yunnan and the South,—the present rate of import duties upon our trade shall not be increased, is laudable but not at all practical. No great power is likely to enter upon the government of any part of China by abdicating in advance the most important attribute of sovereignty; and even if such an assurance were given, it would not be regarded as having binding force. When France assumed a protectorate over Algiers, and later Tunis, she entered into all manner of promises as to the maximum of duties to be levied, and made the most solemn protestations that foreign shipping should not be discriminated against; but to-day, these promises and protestations are in the waste-paper basket. Not a foreign ship can trade in Algiers or in Tunis; and to-morrow, even were the answers to Mr. Hay's circular letter as precise as they are vague, such would be our experience with a Russian China, a French China, and a German China.

Even if we had the antecedents of a country which always consulted the best interests of its neighbors in formulating a tariff—which we have not—how long would Germany let our goods into Shantung at 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, when, across the Yellow Sea at Manila, German products might be paying 40 per cent. We have no more right to demand that Germany, France, and Russia should, when they enter upon actual

possession of their Chinese spheres of influence, not raise the custom duties than they would have to say that we have not the right to abrogate whatever treaty rights they may have enjoyed in Porto Rico or in the Philippines under the Spanish régime.

If Great Britain, Japan, and the United States unite in maintaining the integrity of China, the scheme of partition will not succeed. It is true that Japan would like, for many reasons, such a lodgment on the mainland as a slice from the *corpus* of her traditional enemy would give her. But what Japan most wants is to block the game of Russia, France, and Germany, the unholy alliance, as it is called in Tokio, which robbed her of the fruits of her successful war. The especial grievance of Germany, the murder of her ambassador by, it is still said, Chinese troops, complicates the situation a great deal. As it required quite a chunk of Shantung to satisfy Germany for the murder of a missionary by robbers, it may be thought in Berlin that all China is not large enough to repay for the outrage committed upon the sacred person of her representative. The situation is certainly grave; but there is no reason to doubt that, if England, Japan, and the United States only stand together, they can preserve China from the avowedly predatory powers, and keep open to trade, under civilized conditions, the last great market of the world.

THE KANSAS CITY CONVENTION.

BY WALTER WELLMAN.

THE two great national political conventions of 1900 afforded interesting contrasts, coincidences, and studies. At Philadelphia, the Republican convention was businesslike. One did not need personal acquaintance with many of the delegates to become convinced that it was to a great, perhaps an unusual, extent an assemblage of business men. Most of them appeared to be successful men—practical men; men not much given to emotionalism, and not at all to that form of demonstration known as convention hysterics. The result was that at Philadelphia the Republicans did not make much of a display of what we press writers call enthusiasm—not nearly so much as was made at Kansas City. In truth, the Republican gathering was rather cold and not easily roused. By obviously organized effort, something akin to an old-time demonstration was made over the mention of

President McKinley's name; but there was not much heart in it. It was a matter of form as much as anything else, and men cheered and paraded, and lifted on high the standards of the States, because that is quite the proper thing to do at a national convention, and most people feel that they have not gotten their money's worth without it. On the whole, the Philadelphia convention passed off in quite a businesslike fashion. There were not many speeches—only such as the managers wished to have made. Everything was in good running order. The discipline was well-nigh perfect. With the exception of a little hitch over the platform, every one appeared to be thoroughly satisfied with the outcome.

At Kansas City, we saw quite a different sort of affair. That convention was not nearly so well in hand. It was an assemblage of earnest

and enthusiastic men, prone to much speech-making, and not so much addicted to running with the political machine and submitting to the dictation of leaders as are their rivals of the other party. Excepting the great delegations from New York, Illinois, and perhaps one or two other States, where the Democrats imitate the Republican style of politics, much individualism was apparent. It struck me that there were at Kansas City many more lawyers than at Philadelphia—young country lawyers, who love to make speeches and dabble in the game of politics. At Kansas City, the lawyer appeared to take the place which the successful business man had occupied at Philadelphia. On the whole, the personnel of the Democratic convention was seemingly of a slightly higher grade than that of the Republican assemblage. The advantage was on the other side as to the Northern States; but the Southern representation at Philadelphia was, as usual, more or less of the rotten-borough order.

At Washington we have an axiom, trite but true, that responsibility always exerts a sobering effect upon men chosen to public station. The sense of responsibility may have sobered the convention representatives of the party in power. As a rule, a party that is out and trying to get in displays more enthusiasm than the one that is in and trying to stay there; and this principle extends in a most important sense to the elections, and sometimes dictates the result. But beyond this I am satisfied, from close observation, that the Democrats have within them more genuine feeling and a greater tendency to display it in effective fashion. This is a temperamental fact. It is due largely to the greater amount of individualism within the Democratic ranks. It is due, in part, to the fact that the Democratic party is essentially a party of protest, of dissent, of close adherence to the old principles, the maxims and axioms of the fathers and of the Constitution; and this implies more sentimentality, more emotionalism, freer utterance. Add to this that fighting or unyielding quality of the American character which nerves men after a defeat, and makes them desperate, defiant, and shoutful, and we can readily understand why the delegates at Kansas City expressed themselves in a way which by comparison caused their rivals at Philadelphia to appear like a stage army.

Nor must we forget the audience. At Philadelphia most of the spectators were from the staid City of Brotherly Love. Beyond a few hundred of Mr. Quay's personal and political followers, most of the people in the acres of seats appeared to be society folk. What could you expect in the way of enthusiasm from such a source, contrasted with the lusty-lunged farmers from

about Kansas City, the sun-browned men of the wind-swept prairies? All these things combined to make the anti-imperialism demonstration at Kansas City notable and memorable in the history of such scenes in American conventions. I have never seen a more magnificent spectacle than that presented when 20,000 spectators joined 2,000 delegates and alternates in synchronously swinging more than a score thousands of little starry flags, and in singing, after the swelling strains of the horns, "My Country, 'Tis of Thee."

Politically, it seemed most significant that it was in aid of this demonstration over "the paramount issue of the campaign" that the managers of the convention let loose all their wealth of spectacular effect, such as the 20,000 little flags and the great-lettered banner which hung from the roof directly over the heads of the distinguished people upon the platform, and which was unfurled like a giant curtain at the critical moment. According to programme, all this was to have come at the nomination of Mr. Bryan; but the men who had the convention in hand, though Bryan men fairly and honestly enough, were not in favor of Bryan's silver plank, and naturally improved this opportunity to emphasize their hope for the passing of silver to the rear in the coming campaign.

Psychologically, the two conventions were in striking contrast, and their spiritual attitudes were wholly typical of the temperament and traditions of the parties behind them. The Republicans were content with what is, and determined to hold fast to well enough. The Democrats were seeking something to deplore. At Philadelphia the keynote was business prosperity. There was nothing selfish or sordid in the spirit shown. No one appeared to be glad simply because he had thrived during the last few years. On the contrary, there was what might well be termed a combination of political self-assurance and general altruism—an easy assumption that all this prosperity had been brought about by Republican rule and Republican legislation, and a joyful celebration of the good times that had come to the masses of their countrymen. Business is certainly the dominant note in America this day, and, far from being ashamed, these Republicans gloried in it. Their President they looked upon as the incarnation of commercial growth and prosperity, and their greatest enthusiasm was shown at mention of the gigantic figures which summarized the beneficence of his reign. The problem of the future of the Philippines they looked at like business men. That was a responsibility which they had not sought, but which circumstances had thrust upon them. Now that they were in the trouble, they proposed to see it

through—to do their full duty by their new wards, and at the same time, if possible, make a good thing of it for themselves. At Philadelphia, too, there was a calm note of confidence in American character, in American institutions, and American executive ability—the optimism of success.

It was wholly different at Kansas City. There appeared a distinct reaction against the commercialism of the age. The man who managed and voted in that convention represented, consciously or unconsciously, the under-dog elements of society—the elements which are in a state of discontent. Democracy is distinctively the party of protest, and it was easy to see that it must have something to protest against. Of course, it could not protest against general prosperity. It dare not protest against commercial expansion, which is one of prosperity's agencies. But as the representative of elements whose strongest instincts are not commercial, whose usual spiritual state is one of discontent because some part of the people are too prosperous and growing rich too rapidly, it must protest against something. It must sound some sort of an alarm. It must strike some keynote that should serve to hold the men and women who, as one of the most conspicuous friends of Mr. Bryan said to me, "are the people who turn from the commercialism of the day and make popular the romantic or historical novel—the people who are weary of the everlasting jingle of the dollar and the pride of power, and who instinctively take noble deeds and lofty sentiments for their ideals." Hence the sweeping denunciation of commercialism and its twin agencies, militarism and imperialism; and hence the wave of enthusiasm, amounting almost to frenzy, which swept through the convention hall when the platform-makers harked back to that good old phrase, "consent of the governed," and the little flags and the great banner and the band were turned loose to fill space with flying things, and produce the extraordinary spectacle of a score of thousand of people all thinking the same thing at the same instant, and each in his way trying to outdo his neighbor in giving frantic vent to his emotions.

Three distinct and powerful factors were at work underneath the surface in the Democratic convention. One was this reaction against the commercial and materialistic spirit of the age, and a desire to return to the simple faith of the fathers. Another was a recoil of the old-time Democracy from the wild excess which it entered upon at Chicago four years before. In 1896 Democracy had left its ancient moorings and joined hands with the Populistic, paper-money, inflation, free-silver, semi-socialistic third party.

It had staked upon that and lost. It appeared at Kansas City eager to retrace its steps. It wanted no more Populite alliance. It wanted no more free silver, except in the mild way of a reaffirmation of the old platform for consistency's sake. Anti-imperialism, anti-militarism, anti-commercialism, and anti-materialism generally were all joyfully welcomed. They fitted its mood. They restored the party to its natural and most effective posture, with its right hand resting upon the sacred book and with its left wildly gesticulating its opposition to the dreadful tendencies of the foe.

But the third factor in the situation would not let these two reactions run together and wholly have their way. Mr. Bryan was that third factor, and he proved stubborn and powerful. When the convention assembled, more than three-fourths of its delegates were found in favor of dropping silver by means of a simple reaffirmation. Among those who took this stand were Mr. Bryan's convention managers, Chairman Jones and former Governor Stone, of Missouri. Mr. Bryan commanded these men to turn about face and put silver in; he made compliance with his will a test of loyalty. They obeyed. Through them others were worked upon with the same pressure. Mr. Bryan threatened to refuse to be the candidate unless his wishes were complied with. He threatened, moreover, that if the managers failed to obey, he would proceed to Kansas City by special train and appear before the convention in person, and appeal from leaders to delegates with his eloquent voice. Mr. Bryan won the remarkable victory of forcing a great convention to do his bidding—even though, in the opinion of a majority of the delegates, hope of success in November was sacrificed to obedience to Mr. Bryan in July.

I have talked with Mr. Bryan since the convention, and I know he is well content with his work. He not only believes that he did the right thing, but that he is entitled to the increment of a good action, and will get it. Not the least part of his motive was a desire to place himself in vivid contrast with a conception which many people have formed of his rival for the Presidency. To all who look upon Mr. McKinley as deficient in moral backbone, Mr. Bryan tried to say, by his heroic mastery of the elements of reaction and silver conservatism at Kansas City: "Behold me! I am strong enough to keep the faith; I am not an opportunist; I stand by my principles at any cost." Mr. Bryan thinks he has gained immeasurably in public esteem by this attitude. He believes he has made a moral hero of himself.

Mr. Bryan is in earnest. If his party thinks it has sidetracked silver, and if successful at the polls will be able to bury it in some dusty legislative pigeon-hole, it is reckoning without Mr. Bryan; for he tells his friends that, after he is inaugurated, he will insist that Congress repeal the gold-standard law and enact a free-coinage 16-to-1 statute. Unless his friends induce him to desist, he will say so in his speech of acceptance; and at the same time he will renew his allegiance to the income-tax proposal, which was omitted from the platform, greatly to his regret and surprise.

Putting in silver again was Mr. Bryan's only triumph at Kansas City. There were several other things he wanted which he did not get, and to secure what he did he was compelled to show his hand in a manner which even Mr. McKinley would not have dared to do at Philadelphia. Bryan coerced his managers and his followers as to 16 to 1, but he failed to receive the nomination on the Fourth of July, as he had hoped; he failed to receive an expected and desired invitation from the convention to appear before it, and he failed to bring about the nomination of his favorite candidate for the Vice-Presidency, Mr. Towne, the former Republican.

It is a remarkable coincidence that in neither convention of this year did the unanimously named nominee for President secure the running mate of his choice. Mr. Bryan had agreed to go to Kansas City and speak to the convention, if a resolution of invitation were passed by the delegates. He was warmly favorable to the nomination of Mr. Towne, his personal friend; and it was believed that Mr. Bryan's presence in Kansas City previous to the nomination of the second-place candidate would result in the selection of Towne. The night Bryan was nominated, the friends of Towne had ready a resolution inviting Mr. Bryan to speak to the convention the next day. This resolution was intrusted to ex-Governor Stone, who quietly kept it in his pocket. Another Towne delegate attempted to offer a similar resolution, but Messrs. Jones and Stone instructed the chairman not to recognize him, and to declare the convention adjourned. All this time Mr. Bryan, at Lincoln, was prepared to take special train for Kansas City, and was much chagrined when he learned the convention had adjourned over without inviting him to appear before it.

Next day, Mr. Stevenson was named for Vice-President. He had from the first had the support of Mr. Bryan's own managers—Messrs. Jones, Stone, Johnson, and others. In this we see evidence of the strong individualism and sturdy independence which prevailed among the

Democrats. These managers could not defeat Bryan's silver plank without disloyalty to their chief; but, sharing in the reaction of their party against ultraism and Populism, they did feel free to defeat Towne, the nominee of the third party. They felt at liberty, also, after whipping Mr. Bryan's silver plank through the committee on resolutions by two votes out of more than fifty—these two furnished by such outlying bailiwicks as Hawaii and Alaska—to bury that plank in the body of the platform; to declare imperialism the paramount issue, and to set in motion all the stage effects at their command to give emphasis to the declaration. Mr. Bryan, as a candidate for the Presidency who hopes to win, has much to thank his managers for.

It is another interesting coincidence that in neither of the great conventions of 1900 did the nominee for President secure adoption of the platform which had previously received his approval. It is well known that a member of President McKinley's cabinet, Postmaster-General Smith, drew after much consultation a platform which was submitted to the President, revised and approved by him, and carried to Philadelphia and placed before the committee on resolutions. It is also known that the platform which was reported to and adopted by the convention was quite another document in text, and that important and significant omissions had been made from the declarations contained in the approved original—notably an expression concerning the constitutional question raised by the Porto Rico legislation, an omission which President McKinley bravely supplied in his speech of acceptance.

The original text of the Democratic platform was written by another journalist—Col. Charles H. Jones, of St. Louis. He sent his draft to Chairman Jones, who in turn sent it on to Mr. Bryan two months or more before the convention. Mr. Bryan made some changes and several important additions. He reiterated those planks of the Chicago platform dealing with silver, with the income tax, and with government by injunction. Only the silver plank was left in by the committee.

This year's national conventions have been singularly unfruitful of men. At Kansas City the reaction toward old-line Democracy which modified the platform and nominated Stevenson gave David Bennett Hill a temporary conspicuity far beyond his relative importance. There was admiration for him because of his well-remembered slogan, "I am a Democrat," and because also he was ready to make a square and manly fight for averting the silver mistake which Bryan insisted upon.

MR. BRYAN AT HOME.

THERE is one feature of the present Presidential campaign which is matter for universal gratification. No member of any party needs to suppress his conscience in order to defend the private life of his candidates. All the candidates on the Presidential tickets are men whose private lives realize the high ideals of the great mass of the American people. Mr. McKinley's devotion to his invalid wife has won for him the warm affection of political opponents; and Mr. Bryan's devotion to his home has endeared him to his Republican neighbors.

Mr. Bryan was married in 1884, three years after his graduation from college, and one year after his admission to the bar. His wife, Mary Baird Bryan, is one year younger than himself, and attended the Presbyterian Seminary in Jacksonville, Ill., during the same years that her husband was attending the Illinois College in the same city. Mrs. Bryan was the daughter of a merchant in the village of Perry, Ill.—her family, like that of Mr. Bryan, belonging dis-



HON. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.



MRS. WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

tinctively to what are called the middle classes, no member thereof having attained great wealth, and none having been reduced to abject poverty. Even since their marriage they have continued their student life together—Mrs. Bryan, during the years immediately following, studying law with her husband as instructor, pursuing the course prescribed in the Union College of Law, Chicago, and being admitted to practise before the Supreme Court of Nebraska in 1888. She did not, however, study with any idea of practising law, but merely to keep in touch with her husband's work.

Three children have been born to Mr. and Mrs. Bryan, all of whom are still living. The oldest, Ruth Baird, is now nearly fifteen; the second, William Jennings, Jr., is eleven; and the youngest, Grace Dexter, is nine. "The older girl," Mrs. Bryan has justly observed, "is very much like her mother: the younger strongly resembles her father, and the son seems to be a

(The portraits in this article are from new photographs by Townsend, Lincoln, Neb., and are reproduced through the courtesy of Mrs. Bryan, who furnished them at the request of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS.)



William Jennings Bryan, Jr.



Ruth Baird Bryan.



Grace Dexter Bryan.

MR. AND MRS. BRYAN'S THREE CHILDREN.

composite photograph of both parents." Mrs. Bryan is one of many thousand refutations of the old fear that the higher education of women would lessen their interest in the affairs of home. She illustrates the truth that the stronger a woman's interest in the serious things of life, the greater will be her devotion to the supreme interest of every serious woman. Mrs. Bryan has been to her children their constant companion, and her unity of interest with them has been as marked as her unity of interest with her husband.

The Bryan home at Lincoln was built by Mr. Bryan soon after he entered the practice of law at that place. It is a comfortable dwelling, but not in any way a pretentious one. The large library in which Mr. Bryan spends most of his time has, as its most notable feature, three large portraits of Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln—Jefferson, significantly enough, occupying the cen-

tral place. The books that fill the shelves are, in the main, devoted to political economy and American history, though some of the standard novelists are also represented. It is, however, distinctively the library of a serious man, with whom the political life of his own country is the absorbing passion.



RESIDENCE OF THE BRYAN FAMILY, AT LINCOLN, NEBRASKA.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

BY JACOB A. RIIS.

I AM asked to tell what I know of Theodore Roosevelt, being his friend, and why he should be elected to the high office his countrymen have thrust upon him. But before I do that, let me, as a citizen of his State, record my protest against his being taken from us before he was half done with his work as governor of New York, and get my mind freed on the subject. We cannot spare him at all. Whatever we shall do with the factory law, which was just from a dead-letter becoming an active force; with the tenement-house problem, which means life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to a million wage-earners; with the franchises and the trusts, whom he gave the cold shivers by proposing to deal *justly* by them—whatever the bosses will do with us when he is gone who dealt justly by them also, I don't know. I know what happened in the police department when he was gone. May it help us to understand that the Roosevelts and the Warings of our day are sent to set the rest of us to work, and that for us to stand by and see *them* do it, merely applauding and calling them

good fellows, is not the meaning of it and not sense. Only when we grasp that is their real work done, and we need have no further fear of the bosses. There! I have said it; and, having said it, shall do what it is the business of every good New Yorker and every good citizen anywhere to do: take off my coat and help put Theodore Roosevelt where the mass of his countrymen want him, even though I have to give him up. As I understand it, that is the American plan.

I remember well when we first ran across each other. Seen him I had before, heading an investigation committee that came down from Albany with true instinct to poke up the police department. I had followed his trail in the legislature, always exposing jobbery, fighting boss rule, much to the amazement of the politicians who beheld this silk-stocking youngster, barely out of college, rattling dry bones they had thought safely buried out of the reach of even old hands at that business. They comforted themselves with the belief that it was a fad and would blow over. It did not blow over. They lived to rue the day, some of them, when they "picked him up" as a handy man in a faction fight. They got rather more fight out of him than they bargained for. But they might have spared themselves their self-reproaches. They were not to blame. Having come of age, he went to the primary to do his duty as a citizen, and "got in" through the first door that offered. They could not have kept him out had they tried. He would have battered down the door. They know that now.

But about that meeting. It was soon after I had published "How the Other Half Lives." I had been reading some magazine articles of his that kept growing upon me the oftener I turned



HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, IN 1895.

(At his desk at police headquarters, New York City.)

them over, when he came to the *Evening Sun* office one day looking for me. I was out, but he left his card with the simple message that he had read my book, and "had come to help." That was the introduction. It seems only a little while ago, and measured by years it is not long; but what has he not helped with in New York since? We needed to have the police made decent, and he pulled it out of the slough of blackmail it was in. It did not stay out, but that was not his fault. He showed that it could be done with honest purpose. While he was there it was decent; and, by the way, let me say right here that there is a much larger percentage of policemen than many imagine who look back to that time as the golden age of the department, when every man had a show on his merits, and whose votes are quietly cast on election day for the things "Teddy" stands for. I doubt if there is a man with a clean record in the whole eight thousand who would not welcome him back. The crooks are to be excused for hating him. They have cause.

We had been trying for forty years to achieve a system of dealing decently with our homeless poor. Twoscore years before the surgeons of the police department had pointed out that herding them in the cellars or over the prisons of police stations in festering heaps, and turning them out hungry at daybreak to beg their way from door to door, was indecent and inhuman. Since then grand juries, academies of medicine, committees of philanthropic citizens, had attacked the foul disgrace, but to no purpose. Pestilence ravaged the prison lodgings, but still they stayed. I know what that fight meant; for I was one of a committee that waged it year after year, and suffered defeat every time, until Theodore Roosevelt came and destroyed the nuisance in a night. I remember the caricatures of tramps shivering in the cold with which the yellow newspapers pursued him at the time, labeling him the "poor man's foe." And I remember being just a little uneasy lest they wound him, and perhaps make him think he had been hasty. But not he. It was only those who did not know him who charged him with being hasty. He thought a thing out quickly—yes, that is his way; but he thought it out, and having thought it out, suited action to his judgment. Of the consequences he didn't think at all. He made sure he was right, and then went ahead with perfect confidence that things would come out right.

The poor man's foe! Why, the poor man never had a better friend than Theodore Roosevelt. We had gone through a season of excitement over our tenement-houses. The awful exhibits of the Gilder Committee had crowded

remedial laws through the legislature—laws that permitted the destruction of tenement-house property on the showing that it was bad. Bad meant murderous. The death records showed that the worst rear tenements killed one in five of the babies born in them. The Tenement-House Committee called them "infant slaughter-houses." They stood condemned, but still they stood. A whole year was the law a dead-letter, until, as president of the police board, Roosevelt became also a member of the health board that was charged with the enforcement of the statute. Then they went, and quickly. A hundred of them were seized, and most of them destroyed. In the June number of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* I gave the result in the case of a single row, the Barracks in Mott Street, which Mr. Roosevelt and I personally inspected and marked for seizure.* The death-rate came down from 39.56 in the thousand of the living to 16.28—less than the general death-rate of the whole city!

That work stopped too. They are seizing no more rear tenements since Tammany came back. It has been too busy putting up the price of ice, that means life in these hot summer months to the poor man's babies, whether in front or rear tenement. I should have liked to see Theodore Roosevelt run on his record in our State this fall against the ice-trust conspiracy—the man who saved the poor man's babies against the villains who would see them perish with indifference, so long as it paid them a profit. It would have been instructive—mightily!

I had watched police administration in Mulberry Street for nearly twenty years, and I had seen many sparring matches between working men and the police board. Generally, there was bad faith on one side; not infrequently on both. It was human that some of the labor men should misinterpret Mr. Roosevelt's motives when, as president of the board, he sent word that he wanted to meet them and talk strike troubles over with them. They got it into their heads, I suppose, that he had come to crawl; but they were speedily undeceived. I can see his face now, as he checked the first one who hinted at trouble. I fancy that man can see it, too—in his dreams.

"Gentlemen," said Mr. Roosevelt, "I have come to get your point of view, and see if we can't agree to help each other out. But we want to make it clear to ourselves at the start that the greatest damage any working man can do to his cause is to counsel violence. Order must be maintained; and, make no mistake, I will maintain it."

*I was, at the time, executive officer of the Good-Government Clubs.



MR. ROOSEVELT'S SUMMER HOME, OYSTER BAY, LONG ISLAND.

I tingled with pride when they cheered him to the echo. They had come to meet a politician. They met a man, and they knew him at sight.

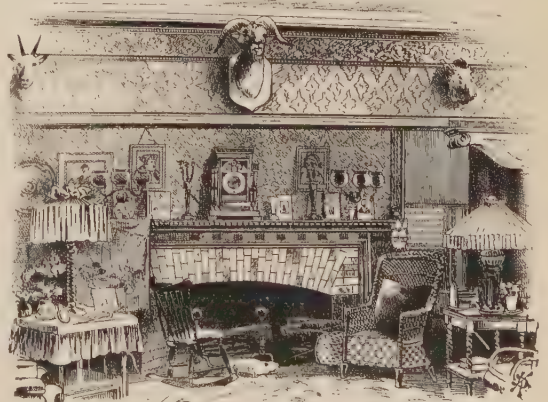
It was after midnight when we plodded home from that meeting through snow two feet deep. Mr. Roosevelt was pleased and proud—proud of his fellow-citizens. “They are all right,” he said. “We understand each other, and we shall get along.” And they did get along, with perfect confidence on both sides. The scoundrels in and out of the newspaper business who sat in the chimney-corner that night took it out in declaring that Roosevelt had gone to a dive—a “Seeley dinner show.” It happened that there was a music hall on the ground floor of the building in which the labor men met. Roosevelt never took any notice of their attacks. He had other things—real things, to do; and for the man who didn’t fight fair, he had only contempt. He never struck a foul blow in his life, no matter how hot the fight.

I read a story when I was a boy about a man who, pursued by a relentless enemy, dwelt in security because of his belief that his plotting could not hurt an honest man. Mr. Roosevelt constantly made me think of him. He spoke of it only once, but I saw him act out that belief a hundred times. Mulberry Street could never have been made to take any stock in it. When it failed to awe Roosevelt, it tried to catch him. Jobs innumerable were put up to discredit the president of the board and inveigle him into awkward positions. Probably he never knew of one-tenth of them. I often made them

out long after they were scattered to the winds. Mr. Roosevelt walked through them with perfect unconcern, kicking aside the snares that were set so elaborately to catch him. The politicians who saw him walk apparently blindly into a trap and beheld him emerge with damage to the trap only could not understand it. They concluded it was his luck. It was not. It was his sense. He told me once after such a time that it was a matter of conviction with him that no frank and honest man could be in the long run entangled by the snares of plotters, whatever appearances might for the moment indicate.

So he walked unharmed in it all. Bismarck confounded the councils of Europe at times by practising Roosevelt’s plan as a trick. He spoke the truth bluntly when the plotters expected him to lie, and rounded them up easily.

One charge his enemies made against him in which there was truth. It summed itself all up in that with a heat that was virtual acknowledgment of its being the whole arraignment: that there was always a fight where he was. “Always trouble,” said the peace-at-any-price men, who counseled surrender when Roosevelt was fighting for a decent Sunday through the enforcement of the law compelling the saloons to close. “Never any rest.” No! There was never any rest for the lawbreakers when he was around, nor for



A FIREPLACE IN THE LIBRARY AT OYSTER BAY.

those who would avoid "trouble" by weakly surrendering to them. Roosevelt gauged New York exactly right when he set about his turbulent programme of enforcement of law. The scandal was not that we were being robbed by political cutthroats, but that we submitted tamely. The formula we heard so often from his lips in the years that followed—honesty, manhood, courage—was the exact prescription we needed. We in the metropolis are abundantly able to run the robbers out of town and keep them out by just following the road he made for us when he ran them out of the police department. But he made it, fighting. It was true that there was never any rest while he was at it, night or day. When he had battled all day in Mulberry Street, he would sometimes get up at two o'clock in the morning and go out on patrol to find out the policemen who were stealing the city's time. I loved to go out with him on these trips, not merely because I loved to be with him wherever he was, but because of the keen enjoyment he took in his work and in every faithful policeman he found on his post. Some well-fed citizens who hated to have their rest disturbed sneered at these nocturnal excursions; but they slept more securely in their beds because of them. It became suddenly possible to find a policeman anywhere at any hour of the night in New York. Within a year after the old Tammany *régime* had come back, an epidemic of night fires that cost many lives brought from the firemen the loud protest that policemen were not awake, and the chief found it necessary to transfer half the force of a precinct for sleeping on post.

No;—there was never any rest when Roosevelt was around. There was none in Congress during the six years he was a civil-service commissioner under Harrison and Cleveland; and as a result, where there had been 14,000 places under the merit and capacity rules of the commission when he came in, there were 40,000 when he went out. To that extent spoils politics had been robbed of its sting. There was even less repose in the navy department when he went there as assistant secretary, fresh from the fight in Mulberry Street, to sharpen the tools of war. It had a familiar sound to us in New York, when we heard the cry go up that Roosevelt wanted a row, and didn't care what it cost. He was asking, if I remember rightly, for something less than \$1,000,000 for target practice on the big ships. The only notice he took of it was to demand another \$500,000 about the time he got Dewey sent to the East. I was in Washington at the time, and I remember asking him about that. Commodore Dewey was sometimes

spoken of in those days as if he were a kind of fashion plate. And I remember his answer, as we were walking up Connecticut Avenue:

"Dewey is all right," he said. "He has a lion heart. He is the man for that place."

Not many of us will quarrel with him about that now, or about the wisdom of shooting away that million in target practice. It made "the man behind the gun," of whom we are all so proud. The fact is that Roosevelt, so far from being a hasty man given to snap judgments, is one of the most far-sighted statesmen of any day. He has shown it in everything he has taken hold of. It was in Washington as it was in New York. The thing that beclouds the judgment of his critics is the man's amazing capacity for work. He can weigh the pros and cons of a case and get at the meat of it in less time than it takes most of us to state the mere proposition. And he is surprisingly thorough. Nothing escapes him. His judgment comes sometimes as a shock to the man of slower ways. He does not stop at conventionalities. If a thing is right, it is to be done—and right away. It was notably so with the round-robin in Cuba asking the Government to recall the perishing army when it had won the fight. People shook their heads, and talked of precedents. Precedents! It has been Roosevelt's business to make them most of his time. But is there any one to-day who thinks he set that one wrong? Certainly no one who with me saw the army come home. It did not come a day too soon.

Roosevelt is no more infallible than the rest of us. Over and over again I have seen him pause when he had decided upon his line of action, and review it to see where there was a chance for mistake. Finding none, he would issue his order with the sober comment: "There, we have done the best we could. If there is any mistake we will make it right. The fear of it shall not deter us from doing our duty. The only man who never makes a mistake is the man who never does anything."

When he had done his work for the ships and resigned his office to take the field, the croakers shouted that at last he had made the mistake of his life;—all to get into a scrap. His men didn't think so when he lay with them in the trenches before Santiago, sharing his last biscuit with them. They got to know him there, and to love him. I know what it cost him to leave his sick wife and his babies. I wanted to keep him at home, but I saw him go with pride, because I knew he went at the call of duty. He thought the war just and right. He had done what he could to bring it on as the only means of stopping the murder in Cuba, and he went to do his share



MR. ROOSEVELT'S RANCH ON THE LITTLE MISSOURI, IN THE BAD LANDS.

of the fighting as a matter of right and of example to the young men to whom he was a type of the citizen and the patriot. As that type, when he came home, we made him our governor in New York State. We ran him on the pledge of his record—the pledge of honesty, manhood, and courage; and he kept the pledge. I shall let some one else tell the story of that. Just let me recall the last trip we took together, because it was so much like the old days in Mulberry Street. There had arisen a contention as to whether the factory inspector did his duty by the sweat-shops or not, and from the testimony he was unable to decide. So he came down from Albany to see for himself. It was a sweltering hot day when we made a tour of the stewing tenements on the down-town east side. I doubt if any other governor that ever was would attempt it. I know that none ever did. But he never shirked one of the twenty houses we had marked out for exploration. He examined the evidence in each, while the tenants wondered who the stranger was who took so much interest in their affairs; and as the result he was able to mark out a course for the factory inspector that ought to double and treble the efficiency of his office and bring untold relief to a hundred thousand tenement-house workers—if it is followed when Roosevelt is no longer in Albany. That will be our end of it: to see to it that he did not labor in vain.

That is Roosevelt as I saw him daily during those good years when things we had hoped for were *done*. There stands upon my shelves a row of books, more than a dozen in number, beginning with the "Naval War of 1812," written

when he was scarcely out of college, and yet ranking as an authority, both here and abroad, including the four stout volumes of "The Winning of the West," and ending with his "Roughriders," the picturesque account of that picturesque regiment in the last war, which testify to his untiring energy as a recorder as well as a maker of history. The secret of that is the story of the police force and the sweat-shops over again: his enjoyment of the work. If I were to sum the man and his achievements up in a sentence, I think I should put it that way. But that would not mean an accident of the Dutch and Huguenot and Irish blood that go to make up his heredity. It would mean of itself an achievement. Theodore Roosevelt was born a puny child. He could not keep up with the play of other children, or learn so easily as they. He had to make himself what he is, and with the indomitable will that characterized the boy as it does the man, he set about it. He became at once an athlete and a student. When he joins the two, he is at his best. His accounts of life on the Western plains, of hunting in the Bad Lands of Dakota, where he built his ranch on the banks of the Little Missouri, are written out of the man's heart.

Mr. Roosevelt's recent protest against the impertinent intrusion of the camera fiend upon the seclusion of his home life at Oyster Bay was perfectly characteristic of him, and of his way of saying the right thing at the right time. The whole country applauded it. In his home Mr. Roosevelt ceases to be governor of the Empire State, and becomes husband and father, the com-

panion of his children, who treat him like their big, overgrown brother. His love for children, especially for those who have not so good a time as some others, is as instinctive as his championship of all that needs a lift. I doubt if he is aware of it himself. He does not recognize as real sympathy what he feels rather as a sense of duty. Yet I have seen him, when school children crowded around the rear platform of the

"He was the finest man I ever knew. He was a merchant, well-to-do, drove his four-in-hand through the park, and enjoyed life immensely. He had such a good time, and with cause, for he was a good man. I remember seeing him going down Broadway, staid and respectable business man that he was, with a poor little sick kitten in his coat-pocket, which he had picked up in the street."

The elder Theodore Roosevelt was a man with the same sane and practical interest in his fellow-man that his son has shown. He was the backer of Charles Loring Brace in his work of gathering the forgotten waifs from the city's streets, and of every other sensible charity in his day. Dr. Henry Field told me once that he always, occupied as he was with the management of a successful business, on principle gave one day of the six to visiting the poor in their homes. Apparently the analogy between father and son might be carried farther, to include even the famous round-robin; for, upon the same authority, it was the elder Theodore Roosevelt who went to Washington after the first Bull Run and warned President Lincoln that he must get rid of Simon Cameron as secretary of war, with the result that Mr. Stanton, the "Organizer of Victory," took his place. When the war was fairly under way, it was Theodore Roosevelt who organized the allotment plan, which saved to the families of 80,000 soldiers of New York State more than \$5,000,000 of their pay; and when the war was over he protected the soldiers against the sharks that lay in wait for them, and saw to it that they got employment.

That was the father. I have told you what the son is like. A man with red blood in his veins; a healthy patriot, with no clap-trap jingoism about him, but a rugged belief in America and its mission; an intense lover of country and flag; a vigorous optimist, a believer in men, who looks for the good in them and finds it. Practical in partisanship; loyal, trusting, and gentle as a friend; unselfish, modest as a woman, clean-handed and clean-hearted, and honest to the core. In the splendid vigor of his young manhood he is the knightliest figure in American politics to-day, the fittest exponent of his country's idea, and the model for its young sons who are coming to take up the task he set them. For their sake I am willing to give him up and set him where they can all see and strive to be like him. So we shall have little need of bothering about boss rule and misrule hereafter. We shall farm out the job of running the machine no longer; we shall be able to run it ourselves.

When it comes to that, the Vice-Presidency is not going to kill Theodore Roosevelt. It will take a good deal more than that to do it.



THE LATE THEODORE ROOSEVELT, ESQ.
(Father of Governor Roosevelt.)

train from which he had been making campaign speeches, to shake hands, catch the eye of a poor little crippled girl in a patched frock, who was making frantic but hopeless efforts to reach him in the outskirts of the crowd, and, pushing aside all the rest, make a way for her to the great amazement of the curled darlings in the front row. And on the trip home, on the last night of the canvass of 1898, when we were at dinner in his private car, busy reckoning up majorities, I saw him get up to greet the engineer of the train, who came in his overalls and blouse to shake hands, with such pleasure as I had not seen him show in the biggest meeting we had had. It was a coincidence and an omen that the name of the engineer of that victorious trip was Dewey.

That bent of his is easily enough explained. There hangs in his study at Oyster Bay, apart from the many trophies of the chase, the picture of a man with a strong, bearded face.

"That is my father," said Mr. Roosevelt.

ROOSEVELT'S WORK AS GOVERNOR.



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HON. THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

A WRITER in a recent number of *McClure's* speaks of Governor Roosevelt as a practical experiment in politics. It seems almost absurd to one who has watched the governor's career, who has seen him fight the political battle for practical good government from the time that he was a member of the Assembly up to the time that he took the gubernatorial chair,—to speak of him as an experiment. There was no doubt as to the attitude that the governor would take on all important measures which were brought to his attention. His whole life was an earnest that he would be not only honest and efficient, but that he would be creative. He would not be content merely to approve or disapprove such measures as were brought before him, but would have policies and ideas of his own. It was known that he would consult with the regular organization, for he himself had said so. For the same reason it was known that he would consult with independents, good-government clubs, mugwumps, and Democrats. In fact, it was well known that, from whomsoever the governor thought that he could derive intelligent information, he would unhesitatingly avail himself, no matter what the political affiliation of the indi-

vidual might heretofore have been. His advent into the gubernatorial chair with his positive character, with his broad intellectuality, and, when he gets down to business, his entirely self-containedness, was no experiment either in practical politics or, in what is still more important, practical statesmanship. We are accustomed to speak of the periods of time occupied by the executive as "the years of his administration;" and it is the administrative work which in the long run tells. This may not be seen at first; but as the years go by it is more plainly discernible, and the good or bad administration will show its fruition long after the individual has ceased to occupy the executive chair. The administrative work of Governor Roosevelt and his colleagues in the several departments will bear the closest criticism, and when they shall have been judged by their works will be found to have measured up to a very high standard of honest and efficient government. In no other administration has the work of the attorney-general's department been so magnified and brought into public notice. The board of claims, of which the public has little knowledge, has been overburdened with thousands of claim-cases; and yet, notwithstanding the work that department has been called upon to do, it is due to the efficiency of the attorney-general's department to be able to say that less than one-tenth of the claims which have been adjudicated have been found against the State. The attorney-general has been called upon to act as special counsel in numerous instances—in the Gardiner investigation; in the matter of the grand jury of New York City; in the matter of the Syracuse investigation, and other similar investigations which have been necessitated during the past two years, and which have been carefully supervised. And not one dollar's worth of money has been expended for which vouchers have not been received and honest money paid. The comptroller's office has most carefully safeguarded all the State's financial interests, and has performed the maximum result with the minimum of expenditure.

In the department of the secretary of state, the work of indexing old patents and papers of the State, which for a hundred years have lain in the archives of that department unindexed, is being accomplished, and when completed will be the most valuable historical work that the State affords. This work has been done under the direct supervision of the secretary of state. The

receipts of this office have been largely in excess of the amount in any previous administration, and have been more than sufficient to pay all the salaries and expenses of the department. This could not have been done had it not been for the very careful and conscientious manner in which Mr. McDonough has carried on the work.

The State engineer and surveyor has entirely ignored politics in his choice and selection of subordinates, and has completely overturned established methods and reformed his department in a manner of which any State might well be proud.

The faithful, efficient, and honest administration of the canals has been a matter of public comment. The most competent authorities, without regard to party, have united to commend the department as by far the most conservatively and efficiently managed of any for many years.

The same can be said, to a smaller degree, of the department of public buildings.

Early in his administration, Governor Roosevelt adopted the holding of cabinet meetings once a week, at which all the heads of departments were present. The governor was thus brought into contact with those officers elected with him, and was able to keep in touch with those who were responsible for the various State departments.

In the matter of impressing his ideas upon legislation, there are some peculiar instances—matters of public importance, which were little noticed at the time in the public prints. One of the first of these was the bill for the prevention of the desecration of the American flag. In this the governor took a peculiar interest.

Although not a professional agriculturist, either in a political or actual sense, the governor has recognized the all-important part which the agriculturists play in State polity, and whenever occasion has occurred he has espoused the cause of the farmer and the market gardener. Amendments to the agricultural law are frequently seen in the session laws of 1899 and 1900. The governor has been particularly interested in the beet-sugar culture and the products of the dairy, while in season

and out of season he pressed laws preventing the adulteration of food products, the danger of fertilizers which were below standard, improper feeding-stuffs, and other fraudulent products, whereby farmers and market gardeners in the past have suffered at the hands of unscrupulous and designing men. The betterment, by proper and legitimate means, of the life conditions of the wage-workers who reside in tenement districts has been his peculiar care.

The amendments to the labor law, which the governor initiated and urged to a successful termination, will be of the greatest benefit, and will right, and are now righting, grave wrongs. He makes it his business to see that these laws are properly enforced, and is holding the factory inspector to strict accountability for the same. More recently, he secured the passage and signed the Tenement-House Commission bill, which commission is now thoroughly investigating that subject; and when its labors are completed there, the tenement population of New York and other cities will find themselves in a much better position than they have ever been before. Particularly have the beneficent results of this legislation been found in the sweat-shops of New York City; and hundreds and thousands who have been suffering in those polluted holes are reaping the benefit of the governor's wise foresight and sturdy action.

The enactment of the code of game-laws is very largely the result of the governor's own work; not the least item of which was the pas-



GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT AT HIS DESK.



COL. W. J. YOUNGS, THE GOVERNOR'S SECRETARY, EXAMINING A BILL.

sage of the law that prevents the taking of game out of the State, thereby preventing evil-disposed persons from shooting and taking game out of season, and taking it out of the State to avoid detection. When these game-laws shall have been understood by the people, they will realize the immense amount of labor which has been expended upon them, and which must result in better care of all kinds of fish and game, some varieties of which were being very rapidly depleted. Those who are unacquainted with the vast area of the tract of land known in New York State as the forest-preserve can little dream of the hours of patient toil which the governor has spent wrestling with this subject. Thousands of acres of land are now being cared for, and cared for in reality—not by implication only, but actually cared for as the result of the forestry laws which he has placed upon the statute-books, with the coöperation of those who have the preservation of the forests at heart.

When entering his office, the governor found, on making an examination of the various appropriation bills which had previously been passed, that lump sums were given to the heads of departments, thereby permitting careless expenditure of money unless very carefully safeguarded. The appropriation bills of 1899 and 1900 show in this respect a very marked improvement, inasmuch as the items in the appropriations for the various departments show upon their face the individual expenditure—a record which is open to inspection and the light of day.

Another very important bill which will work much benefit to the various State departments is the bill relating to the classification of expenses and salaries in the various departments. When

this bill shall be put into active operation, a much more methodical system of expenditures and salaries will be adopted, and there will be far less friction than formerly in the several departments.

Another very important financial bill, which has not been spoken of by the press, but which is of far-reaching importance to the people, is the itemized monthly account of public officers—a law that has resulted in a very large saving to the State.

In no special department has the governor shown a more active interest than in the volunteer fire departments. The several laws passed in 1899 and 1900 show conclusively that he has had a high regard for those guardians of the lives of the people and their property.

The franchise-tax law, by which \$200,000,000 was added to the taxable property of the State, has been so frequently commented on that it would seem needless to say anything about it; it is the most important law that has been put upon the statute-books for years.

The civil-service law, by which a consistent and practical form of civil service has at last



ATTORNEY-GENERAL JOHN C. DAVIES IN HIS OFFICE.

been enacted, commends itself to all thinking people of both parties.

For New York City, the governor has had a special care. It was the city of his birth, and it would be unnatural if he did not watch, with jealous interest, anything that affected it. When the Ramapo Water Company undertook—by means which were, to say the least, doubtful—a discreditable business, a message was sent to the legislature providing that a bill should be passed

to prevent any such outrage to be foisted upon the public; and it was the governor's individuality and strength of character that passed the Ramapo bill through both branches of the legislature. The comptroller of New York City complained that large sums were taken from the city treasury by confessions of judgment which he was powerless to prevent, and the strong hand of the governor stretched itself forth, and what was known as the "Confessions of Judgment" bill was passed by both branches of the legislature and became a law.

The complaint of stench which arose from Barren Island, sickening and discomforting thousands of people in the boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens, and even permeating the borough of Manhattan, received his most careful attention, and through his instrumentality a law was passed to abate those obnoxious gases and stench.

For a long time it has been the policy of the land board to make grants of land under water to riparian owners in fee. It was found that very large tracts were thus being ceded by the State from which neither the State nor its people received very much benefit. Under Governor Roosevelt's active operation, all this has been changed; and such grants are now made to the holders thereof as leases, which are to revert to the State after a certain number of years. It can readily be seen the very great benefit which this will be to the State at large.

Applications for pardons, executive clemency, and requisitions for extraditions have taken hours and hours of his time and attention. He holds the employees of his department to strict accountability, but allows them wide latitude of judgment. When directing anything to be done, he simply tells the official to do it, leaving him to his own resources as to the most methodical and practical means of accomplishment.

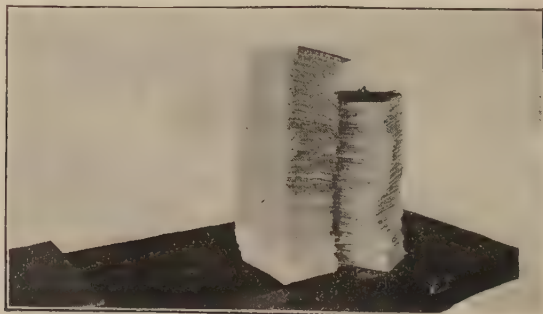
These are but a few of the meritorious measures that the governor has aided and abetted; but if he has done much for the people in the

laws that have been enacted, he has also done much to prevent unjust bills from becoming laws. There is no person or municipality, however small, that has not felt his protecting care; and there is no corporation, however large, which he has not treated with fairness, with courtesy, and with consideration, and from which he does not exact the same treatment in return. It is apparent, therefore, that all the governor asks is to be met half way. Equity and justice to him are synonymous terms. He has seen to it that all persons and all aggregations of individuals receive courteous treatment and strict equity and justice in their ordinary pursuits; and this he has not done negatively or underhandedly, but positively, openly, and uprightly. Pages might be written of the untiring hours of labor that he has spent in the executive department—in many instances long after other State officials have gone to their homes, planning and thinking as to methods to be performed, policies to be enacted, and lines of conduct to be followed out. The matter of appointments to the various boards and to various official positions he has given his most earnest and intelligent care. He has counseled alike with political Jew and political Gentile, and those who had no political religion at all. He has done nothing hastily; to all matters he has given the most patient thought and careful examination. He has examined into every detail of the executive department; nothing has been too small for his personal attention.

Always courteous to those about him, he brooks no unnecessary delay in the transaction of the public business; but, grasping a situation quickly, he disposes of the matter in hand, and quickly changes the conversation to other topics. He demands of all his subordinates full value of labor for money received, but is ever ready to recompense the laborer for the full value of his work. He has not striven to make the public service perfect, but he has striven to make it better; and he will leave the gubernatorial chair having raised to a great degree the tone of official life.



A BASKET OF BILLS FROM THE LEGISLATURE.



THE EXECUTIVE FILES.



Copley Print, Copyright, 1899, by Curtis & Cameron.

Copyright, 1899, by Kenyon Cox.

"COMMON LAW," PANEL IN THE FRIEZE BY KENYON COX.

THE NEW APPELLATE COURT-HOUSE IN NEW YORK CITY.

A SUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENT IN MUNICIPAL ARCHITECTURE.

BY ERNEST KNAUFFT, EDITOR OF THE "ART STUDENT."



Copyright, 1900, by A. Bogart.

HINDOO LAWGIVER—
"THE LEGENDARY
MANU." BY AUGUSTUS
LUKEMAN.

MADISON SQUARE, New York, bids fair to become a marked art center, for across from the Dewey Arch,—which, it is to be hoped, may be made permanent,—and a stone's throw from St. Gaudens' "Farragut," and under the shadow of his "Diana," is the just completed Appellate Court-house, one of the most attractive buildings in the city of New York.

It was built under conditions more favorable than usual for public buildings. There was no competition. The architect, James Brown Lord, was chosen by the judges because of his previous work; an appropriation of

\$700,000 was put through the legislature after Mr. Lord's plan had been approved by the judges. Even in the contracts, the city was not obliged to accept the lowest bid, but was free to decide upon the competency of the bidders.

Mr. Lord chose some twenty-five artists and sculptors whom he thought best fitted to execute given portions of the work, and to their sympathetic coöperation with him is due the harmoni-

ous ensemble. In the courtroom one sees what is apparently the work of one man; we never dream that the work of six painters compose the decorations. So, too, in every part of the building all is unity; there are no hiatuses of monotonous blank spaces.

The architectural embellishments are, like the sculptures on the Dewey Arch, connected with recognized basal architectural forms. The major effect of Mr. Charles R. Lamb's design lay in his taking the Arch of Titus as a model for his framework, and seeing to it that our best sculptors adorned it; and Mr. Lord's success is due to his selection of a standard Corinthian model and choice of appropriate ornament. The façade of the building is of New England marble.

When we stand below and look aloft at the statues, the sky seems by contrast to be equal to the intense lazuli of the Italian sky; and we picture to ourselves how delectable our city might be made if her sky lines were improved by the buildings shedding their pressed metal copings and replacing them with figures like these.



ANGLO-SAXON LAWGIVER
—"ALFRED THE GREAT."
BY J. S. HARTLEY.



Copyright, 1900, by A. Bogart.

GREEK LAWGIVER—"LYCURGUS," BY GEO. E. BISSELL.



GALLIC LAWGIVER—"LOUIS IX." BY JOHN DONOGHUE.

Mr. H. W. Ruckstuhl, who was in charge of the sculptural adjuncts, explains their motives as follows: Wisdom and force alone produce the triumph of law—the prevalence of justice, the prevalence of peace, and finally the fruits of peace. Hence "Wisdom" and "Force" are at the foundation of the Court-house. (They are modeled by Mr. Ruckstuhl himself.) From these two columns lead the eye up to a tympanum containing an allegory of "The Triumph of Law." (By Charles Niehaus.) This is crowned by a group of "Justice." On the east a similar group of "Peace" is placed.

The central group above, "Justice," by Daniel French, is worthy of the author of "Peace" on the Dewey Arch, statue of "Liberty" at the World's Fair, "Washington" at the Paris Exposition, and "Death Staying in the Hand of the Sculptor" in Boston.

Of the eight statues on this front, that nearest the west corner is "Mohammed," by Charles A. Lopez, author of the Dewey Arch group, "The East Indies." "Moham-

med," in long Oriental robes, carries a scimitar. It is calm and reposeful; it may be viewed perfectly from every side, no disturbing line being visible from any point of view. Next comes "Zoroaster," by E. C. Potter.

"Alfred the Great" is, by J. S. Hartley. He is dignified and picturesque in detail. Next comes "Lycurgus," by George E. Bissell. To the right of French's group is another Grecian figure—



ENTRANCE FIGURE—"FORCE," BY H. W. RUCKSTUHL.

(The head is a composite of Grant, Miles, and Admiral Bunce.)



Copley Print, Copyright, 1899, by Curtis & Cameron.

Copyright, 1899, by E. H. Blashfield.

"THE POWER OF THE LAW," BY EDWIN H. BLASHFIELD.

"Solon," by Herbert Adams; "Louis IX.," by John Donoghue, and "Manu," by August Luke-man. Above the windows of the portico are reclining figures of Morning, Noon, Evening, and Night, by M. M. Schwartzott.

At the Madison Avenue end, four caryatides, by Thomas Shields Clark, representing seasons;



MR. JAMES BROWN LORD.

support the cornice. Above them is the group of "Peace," by Carl Bitter. To the left is "Confucius," by Philip Martiny. The right arm and the embroidered sleeve that covers it are finely modeled. To the right of "Peace" is the figure of "Moses," by William Couper.

As we enter the building, we see opposite the doorway a narrow frieze painted in the Pompeian manner, with flat tints of frank greens, yellows, and blues. It is "The Laws of Nations," by H. Siddons Mowbray, and shows his inimitable draughtsmanship. By some peculiar chronology, it begins with Mosaic law; then Egyptian, Greek, Roman, law in the abstract; Byzantine, Norman, and common law; a winged female figure, carrying a scroll, connects the different periods. At first sight the decoration is stiff and flat, and the more animated groups of Robert Reid and of W. L. Metcalf seem of greater interest; though, in reality, they have the character of large easel paintings, while Mr. Mowbray's painting is essentially mural decoration. The figures of "Justice" and "Law," by C. Y. Turner, are opposite on the southern wall.

The courtroom is lit by a round dome of white

and amber glass designed, with the side windows, by Maitland Armstrong. Facing the judges' dais are three large panels, and behind it a frieze by Kenyon Cox. North and south is a frieze by Joseph Lauber, typifying the attributes of righteous judgeship, "Truth," "Perspicuity," etc., and at east are two long panels by George W. Maynard, representing the seals of the State and of the City of New York.

Kenyon Cox represents, with great seriousness of purpose, "Statute Law," "Plenty Rewarding Industry," and "Peace and Commerce," etc. Academic draughtsmanship, careful distribution of drapery, well-balanced composition, and fullness of symbolism bespeak a master craftsman.

Of the three large panels, that at the right is



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MOSLEM LAWGIVER—
"MOHAMMED." BY
CHARLES A. LOPEZ.



NEW YORK APPELLATE COURT-HOUSE.

(Twenty-fifth Street façade.)



JEWISH LAWGIVER—"MOSES." BY WILLIAM COUPER.

by Edwin H. Blashfield. It shows saliently his love of the Renaissance detail, and no familiar modernity of type disturbs its ideal sentiment.

On the left, E. H. Simmons' "Justice" stands with her arms round the shoulders of "Peace" and "Plenty." "Plenty" holds fruit, and to her right are a laborer and his wife with a baby in her arms, and at her feet a child is playing with a rabbit, with its pink eyes particularly well painted, and a fox. In the brocade draperies of "Peace" and "Plenty" Mr. Simmons has done his best painting; the color is of a russet tint, in perfect harmony with the marble of the walls. In Mr. Walker's central panel,

"Justice" stands in the middle, as in the others; but in place of the floating figures above is the inscription, "Doth Wisdom not cry and Under-standing put forth her voice? By me princes rule, and nobles, even all the judges of the earth."

The judges' dais is of dark carved oak. The ceilings of both courtroom and the entrance-hall are embossed gold, in perfect keeping with the dark saffron Siena marble, of which all the walls are constructed. Though the sumptuousness of the gold decoration perhaps pleases the average



ENTRANCE FIGURE—"WISDOM." BY H. W. RUCKSTUHL.

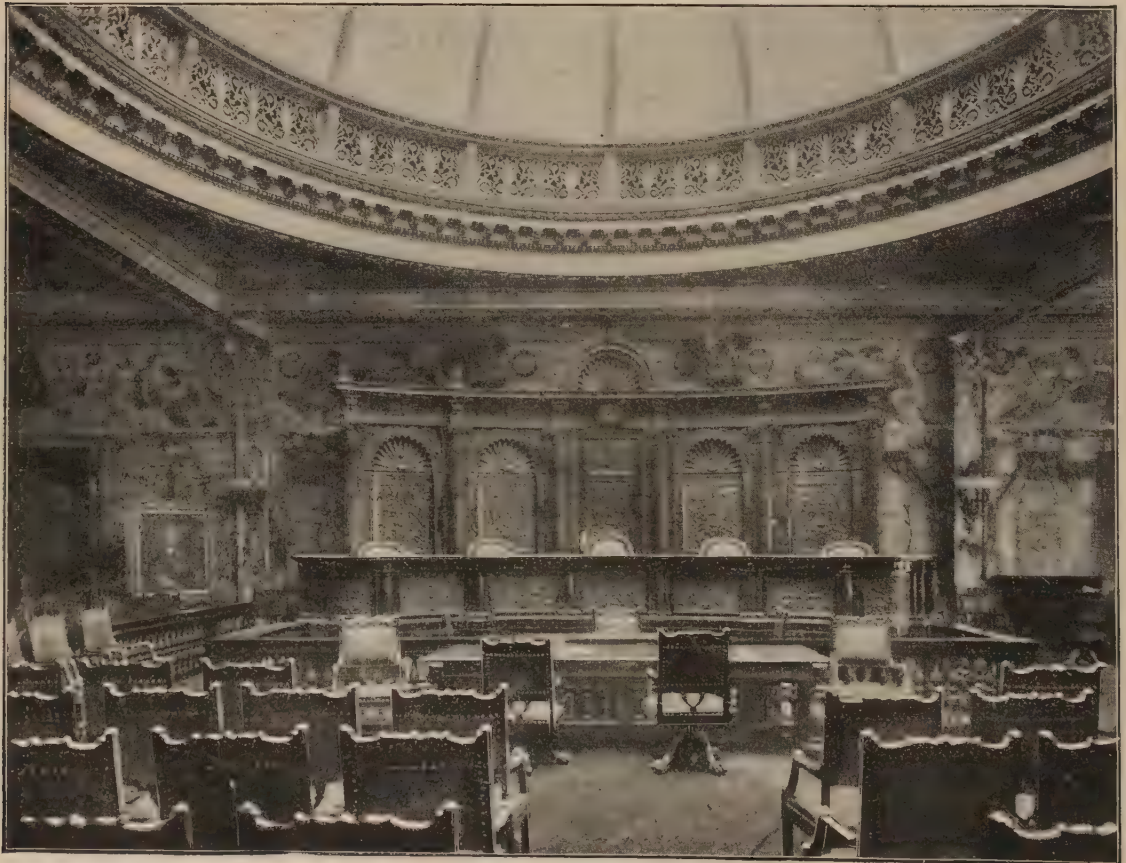


Photo by H. H. Sidman, New York.

JUDGES' DAIS, COURTROOM, APPELLATE COURT-HOUSE.

visitor most, it is a less intellectual kind of ornament than the paintings. Now our painters have only arrived at success in giving intellectual pleasure through their study of nature. Had they been content to mechanically repeat stock forms of their predecessors, no matter how beautiful their color, their work would be tame in comparison with the present result. And it is to be hoped that subsequent American architects may approach an American form of architecture—retaining, perhaps, the proportions of the classical, but adding American motives in detail and ornament—and enrich the interiors, not with the classical egg and dart and acanthus, but with apple and pine and oak motives modeled by American artist-artisans from nature, so that every detail may bear the ear-marks of a “temperament.”

It has been remarked that Mr. Lord is not, like most of his contemporaries, a Parisian-trained architect. A Princeton graduate, he received his architectural training in New York; but it must

be recorded that he has made use of foreign travel—going, when the Court-house was under consideration, to inspect French municipal buildings, and reconsidering his design in consequence.

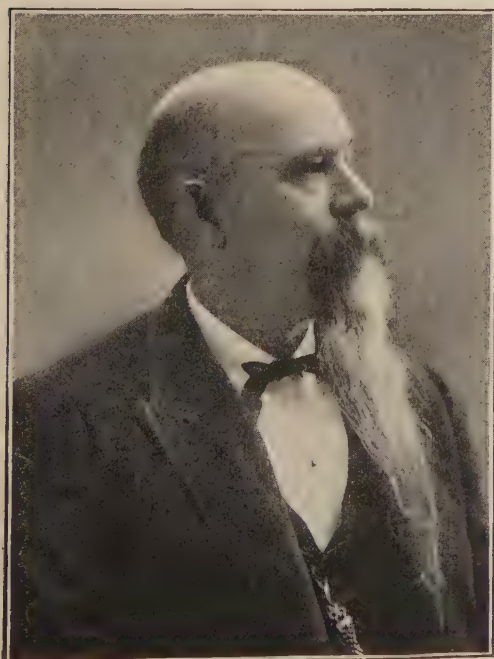
In the details of the interior, Mr. Lord has with great acuteness given us a full measure of ornament, without letting the ornamentation encroach upon utility. The elevator does not seem like a packing-box in a parlor, but harmonizes with the rectilineal features of the hall that are accented by the use of pilastered piers.

In the list of examples of imposing architecture that have been erected in New York in recent years, the Columbia College Library, by McKim, Mead, and White; St. Luke's Hospital, by Ernest Flagg; Manhattan Hotel, by J. H. Hardenberg, and the new wing of the Metropolitan Museum, by Richard M. and R. H. Hunt, belongs the Appellate Court-house, by this young architect, who promises to become the American Palladio.

THE EMBELLISHMENT OF A MICHIGAN TOWN.

WHAT CHARLES H. HACKLEY HAS DONE FOR MUSKEGON.

BY ARCHIBALD HADDEN.



MR. CHARLES H. HACKLEY.

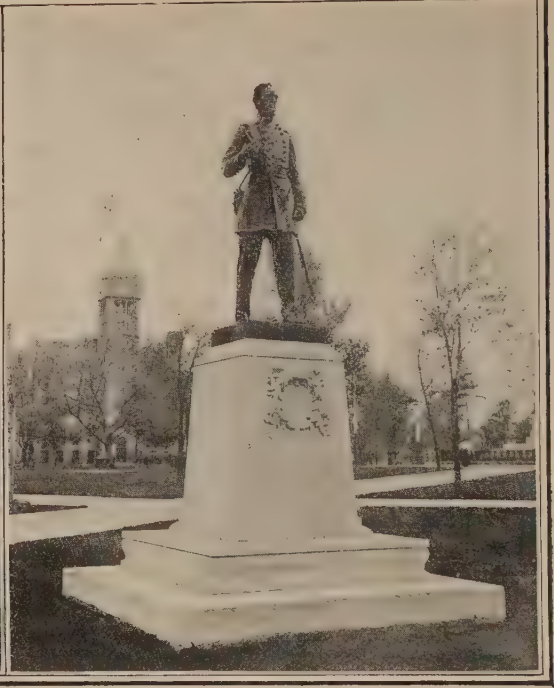
WHERE, fifty years ago, in the dense pine forests of western Michigan, there was a pioneer village of a few hundred people; where, twenty years ago, was a bustling lumbering town, with forty-five sawmills, a population of 11,000, and, for a few brief years, the fame of cutting 700,000,000 feet of lumber annually, making it the largest primary lumber market in the world,—stands to-day, on a bay at the mouth of the Muskegon River, the city of Muskegon, with a fine harbor and a population of 25,000. In most respects, it differs little from many other lake and lumber towns.

Since the decadence of the lumber industry, it has been built up by general manufacturing and trade. During the earlier days many fortunes were made here, and taken away by their possessors to other and larger cities to be invested and enjoyed. A few, however, of the older generation have remained and help make the new Muskegon. Foremost of these is Charles H. Hackley, whose gifts to the city give Muskegon its unique character.

Mr. Hackley came to this place in 1856, at the age of 19 years, and began to work in a sawmill as a day-laborer. His energy, integrity,



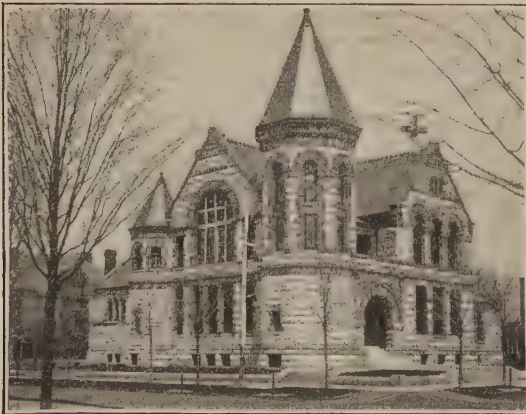
STATUE OF ADMIRAL FARRAGUT. BY CHARLES NIEHAUS.



STATUE OF GENERAL SHERMAN. BY J. MASSEY RHIND.

tact, shrewdness, and the wise use of great opportunities have enabled him to reach a high place as a man of business and capitalist. But it is not in his accumulations, but in his distributions, that Mr. Hackley is notable. Within the past twelve years, outside of his private charities, he has used over \$500,000 in promoting the higher life of the city—by beautifying it, adding to its intellectual and educational facilities, and stimulating the patriotism of the people by great works of art.

His first gift to the city, made in 1888, was a free public library, in which are now over 30,000 volumes and 10,000 pamphlets, costing \$125,000. In 1889 he bought up a block in the center of the city and transformed it into a park, with a soldier's monument in the center. Two years ago, he authorized a committee to erect bronze statues of Lincoln, Grant, Farragut, and Sherman in this park. These figures—the Lincoln and Farragut, by Charles Niehaus; the Grant and Sherman, by J. Massey Rhind, both eminent



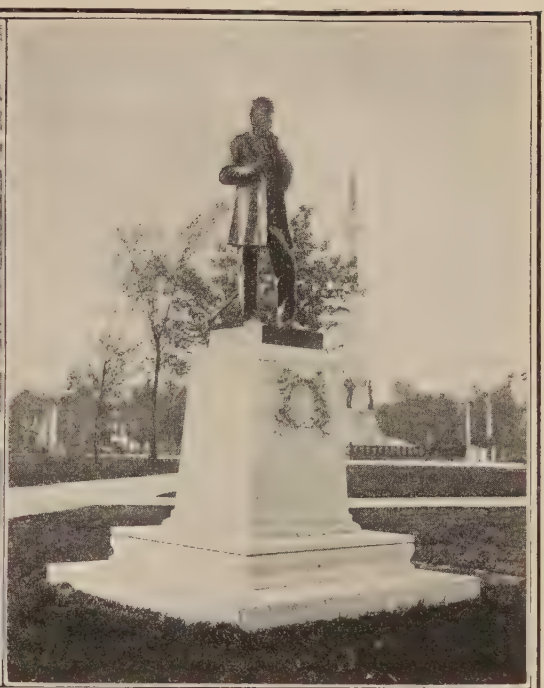
THE HACKLEY PUBLIC LIBRARY.



THE HACKLEY MANUAL-TRAINING SCHOOL.



STATUE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN. BY CHARLES NIEHAUS.



STATUE OF GENERAL GRANT. BY J. MASSEY RHIND.

sculptors of New York—are now in place, and were both unveiled with appropriate ceremonies on May 30, ex-Senator John Patton, of Michigan, delivering the oration. As works of art these compare favorably with anything in this country. The park is endowed, and the total expenditure upon it has been \$110,000.

In 1891 he presented the board of education of the city with \$75,000, to be used as an endowment fund for the library. This fund was used by the board to erect two handsome school buildings, one of which bears Mr. Hackley's name.

In 1895 he announced his intention to erect a manual-training school, "wherein the boys and girls of the city of Muskegon may receive, free of charge, such instruction and training as is

afforded in manual-training schools of the best class in this country."

This building, completely equipped, cost \$70,000, and \$30,000 more will be spent in enlarging it in the immediate future. Mr. Hackley has paid the entire cost of maintaining this school, and has provided an ample endowment.

In the library, the schools, and the park, with their endowments, considerably over \$500,000 has been expended.

Only the first-fruits of this wise and generous outlay have been seen as yet, but these are prophetic of a great return in future years. Meanwhile, in the gratitude and esteem of his fellow-citizens, and the satisfaction of seeing his money do its beneficent work, Mr. Hackley is enjoying his later years as few millionaires do.



A NATIONAL ART EXHIBITION.

BY WILLIAM ORDWAY PARTRIDGE.

SOME time ago, as a delegate from the Sculpture Society to the Architectural League, and as a guest at the dinner, it was my privilege and pleasure to speak briefly upon the advisability of instituting an annual national exhibition on much the same lines as the Paris Salon or the English Royal Academy, but comprehending and exploiting allied branches of art. By the courtesy of the editor of this magazine, I am now enabled to set forth more fully the call for such an exhibition, the advantages that must accrue to our land through its institution, and the folly of remaining dependent on the Old World in art matters.

Before going on to discuss the point which is the *raison d'être* of this paper, let us look at the different art societies that are now existent in New York and the objects for which they stand. We have, roughly speaking, in the Empire City about sixteen societies devoted to the advancement of art in its various forms. Not all hold exhibitions, but many of them are constantly turning out graduates, a certain percentage of whom earn their livelihood in some field of pure or applied art. The chief of these societies are the National Academy or Academy of Design, the Art Students' League, the Society of American Artists, two societies of water colorists, one of mural painters, the National Sculpture Society, and three or four architectural societies.

The two first named are concerned mostly with teaching; and they are ably seconded by the Artist Artisan Institute, the Cooper Union, the Chase Schools, and the school carried on by teachers who formerly belonged to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The others are societies manned and officered by artists, and appeal for encouragement through their exhibitions to the art-loving public. Clubs like the Salmagundi and Kit-Kat, which are composed largely of artists, also hold mixed exhibitions, and the National Arts Club devotes itself especially to the needs of industrial and applied art.

The National Academy of Design is the oldest of our art societies, and held its first exhibition in a small room in 1826. After a checkered career, it is now on the eve of securing a permanent and worthy habitation for its treasures and its schools. It has recently thrown open its galleries to the public on Sunday afternoons, and the wisdom of this step has been evidenced by the numbers who throng to the doors. It holds

annual exhibitions in the spring, and awards various valuable prizes to the productions of American artists. Valuable features governing the awarding of these prizes are, that no competitor may take the same prize twice or more than one prize in the same year, and the exclusion of academicians from competition.

The Society of American Artists is comparatively young, having but recently passed its majority. It has a vigorous membership of about one hundred and twenty, and its whole energy is thrown into its yearly exhibitions in the spring. At this exhibition, or just prior to its opening, two valuable prizes are awarded—one for pure landscape and one for composition containing one or more figures, both to be the work of an American artist, and an age-limit of forty is placed on the landscape award.

The Architectural League of New York was organized, in 1881, for the purpose of promoting architecture and the allied fine arts. It insists that sculpture and mural painting shall be represented by its two vice-presidents, and it holds monthly meetings for the discussion of subjects connected with the public art of New York City. It holds annual exhibitions, generally in the latter part of winter, and the wide range of its interest is exemplified by the numerous branches of pure and applied art represented, embracing even wall-paper and studies in burned wood. The league awards two medals and two prizes every year, the subjects for competition being annually announced.

In 1893 the National Sculpture Society was formed to promote the art which its name indicates, but in a sense that may truly be termed national, since it seeks lay as well as professional members. It depends chiefly on its annual exhibitions to create a wider interest in the art of pure form, and in arranging its exhibits has carried the skill of the landscape gardener into play, thus giving to sculpture its true artistic setting. While it awards no prizes as yet, it has brought within reach of the art-lover many delightful examples of art-work, and its advice is always at the service of committees in search of suitable designs for statuary, monuments, or street decoration.

The National Society of Mural Painters is of comparatively late origin. Its object is "to promote the delineation of the human figure in its relation to architecture, whether rendered in

pigment, stained glass, mosaic, tapestry, or other mediums." There are three grades of membership,—professional, lay, and honorary,—but the society aims to be more strictly professional than its brother organizations. It does not hold an annual exhibition, but it awards a valuable scholarship, which enables the successful competitor to study abroad for three years. It aims at the rational decoration of public buildings, and stands for the beautifying of the architectural works of the country at large.

Let no one say that, in literature and commerce, we have any reason to hang our heads when contrasted with other nations. Emerson, Longfellow, Poe, Whittier, Lowell, are but a few stars from the galaxy of American writers, and Edison, Whitney, Fulton, Bell, Morse, Agassiz, need fear no comparison with the commercial and scientific benefactors of other races. In the graphic and plastic arts I could cite many names that have won international eminence, but have never yet been able to point to honors won in their own land—the land that should be the first to honor them. We are not acknowledged to be great in art, because we have not dared to assert our greatness.

In seeking to crystallize the art and art feeling of our land into permanency of form and color, we naturally look upon the process from three points of view—the ideal, the practical or commercial, and the educational. It would be possible to write a book upon the ideal aspect of a nationalized art. Here we can only briefly touch upon the vital points. We can never and shall never have a national art until our painters and sculptors realize that all national art is racial, and that it is born of the soil and environment. This is not to say that our artists must paint nothing but American subjects, although there is a superabundance of material in our land. It is to say that, before we can have a national school, we must have a racial view of things; in other words, we must have an American method of viewing and treating the things we depict, whether in stone or in color—be the subject a Venus or a Zeus, a Venetian scene or an English landscape, a Dutch interior or a French idealism. And before our artists can acquire a racial way of treating their themes, before they can establish a national viewpoint or school, they must live and learn in their own land, and instead of imbibing the spirit of the French or Italian school, must be imbued with the American *genius loci* and be governed by it. Not till then shall we have a school that can properly be termed American. The faith that brought our Puritan ancestors to these shores and gave them strength to endure climatic rigor and native

hostility; the purity of aim and life that characterized the beginning of this Republic; the broad sympathy and keen intellect that have been the distinguishing traits of Americans,—all these things will manifest themselves in our art methods, and should result in a spirit at once pure, severe, and idealistic.

The men who say that this land of ours is exhausted in subjects simply reflect their own spiritual exhaustion. There never was, and never can be, a land richer in material for painter and sculptor. From the Aztec down through the North American Indian to the present time the accumulated matter has grown and swelled till the efforts of a century would but discover the abundance. Yet, as we have said, it is not necessary, to the founding of a national school, that our artists shall depict only American subjects, though it is absolutely certain that with the founding of that school will come the apocalypse of America in art. We need an American point of view; and until American artists are encouraged to study and live in their own land by the certainty of being able to exhibit and sell their work, we shall never attain that raciality which is the first cause.

So much for the ideal aspect. Now as to the commercial. It is a conservative estimate when we reckon the average floating number of American art students in France, Italy, and Germany at 5,000. Five thousand American men and women spending their time and money abroad to the imbibing of French, Italian, or Dutch ideals; many thousands of dollars lost to our land commercially and no compensating national artistic gain! It can be said, without fear of confutation, that part of Paris lives off the American art colony. And the same in degree is true of Milan, Florence, Munich, Rome, and the Midi. To a great degree this is unnecessary. We have in this land artists who are fully competent to teach the artistic youth of America those fundamental principles of drawing and coloring, of line and of form, which animate all art worthy of the name. The Paris Salon, the London Academy, are the channels through which small fortunes flow into the coffers of French and English tradesmen. A yearly American salon, held in New York, would mean hundreds of thousands of dollars to the business men of America; it would enable the latter through the accretion of wealth to indulge more largely in the purchase of works of art, which in its turn would stimulate painters and sculptors to larger and more abundant work, since the demand was increasing—in fact, the inevitable law of commerce would act and react on the commercial side of art as it does on everything which is bought and sold.

And now as to the educational aspect. It is gratifying to know that we have already a system of art instruction in our schools. But what is the use of laying a foundation in youth, if we do not in manhood add the superstructure? All the art impulse that 99 per cent. of our citizens ever receive is in their childhood. There is nothing here in our land, as there was in Greece, to impel the manhood of the nation to the cultivation of the beautiful. To the development of all that goes to beautify the daily life of a nation one thing is essential: beauty in art, and abundance of such art, must surround the citizens of the land in their pursuits. The effect of the continual meeting with the beautiful in architecture, public statuary, and pictorial art in the shops is educative to a degree that is only discernible as the generation ripens. There is an earnest desire met everywhere, though hardly understood, to have what is beautiful; and under the new educational influence that an American school of art is bound to exercise, benign and far-reaching results may be foretold—results which must crystallize into a national art that need fear comparison with no other. It will be an art built up on its own particular lines of progress, but it will be indivisibly bound up with the patriotic idea.

So much for the three principal aspects of the advisability of an American salon. Let us now consider the situation to-day and see how the time points to, and demands the establishment of, such an institution. Never in the history of the world, much less in art, have a multitude of small entities accomplished a great and homogeneous result. We have numerous art societies here in America, but though they may have fostered the respective lines of art for which they were founded, they have not succeeded in producing any enduring result—any result to which Americans can point with pride as significant and representative of our ideals in art, as was the World's Fair. "*E pluribus unum*" should be our motto in art as on our flag. Union is always strength, and the energy that is wasted on these many small societies, if concentrated upon the organizing of an annual national exhibition, would produce, before the nation and before the world, an enduring monument of artistic endeavor.

Ten years ago the time was not ripe for such an endeavor, but the Centennial had given the impulse, the World's Fair gave the sense of power, and the present calls loudly, in the opinion of all who have the knowledge to judge, for the embodiment. The institution of a national salon does not mean the extinction of the various art societies in their separate vogues. Rather

would it call for them to be inspired with new life, for to their fostering care would this great Exhibition—this *Olympia artium*—look yearly for fresh manifestations of American genius. Long life, and new vigor, by all means, say I, to each and every one of them.

And to American artists, what an inestimable boon! There in the spacious court of the Madison Square Garden—a perfect spot—to be able to exhibit to the world at large the ideals of American art, free from the cabals and cliques that infest and paralyze the small societies, certain of fair play and the reward due to merit, feeling that at last there is a national home for art, encouraged to higher and more earnest work by the increased rewards that present themselves, free to live, learn, and produce in their own land the ideas that haunt their lives, and knowing that American art, so long an airy nothing, has taken to itself at last a local habitation and a name. For, just as America stands unique among the powers of the earth in her natural position and advantages; in the rapidity of her growth and development; in the character of her genius and her policy,—so also, by her very isolation in these things, is she compelled to attain and develop for herself in letters and in art all those things that go to constitute the charm and genius of civilization. Though the dwelling and working of her artists in their own land may at times produce an order of art that is cruder than the result of the externally nurtured *technique* of a Parisianized American, the fact that the home-dwelling worker is laboring over his art with the patriotic spirit burning within him, and inspired by the *genius loci*, makes his work of more enduring value to his fellow-countrymen, since it marks a step in the development of the art of his native land.

It may be asked now: "How would you constitute your national salon? How would you make it more comprehensive than the corresponding institutions of Europe?"

Taking the two questions separately, let me premise that I do not set out, in the limits here allowed, to lay down a framework for the constitution of such an important affair as an annual national exhibition. The Paris salon is a loosely constituted affair, and, being a part of the National Institute, which has been remodeled four times since 1663, possesses in itself few features that could be of use to us in the building of a constitution. The Royal Academy of England is laid out on lines somewhat more closely defined. It is primarily under the direction of forty artists of the first rank in their respective walks of art. Nine of these are selected annually to attend to the teaching of the

students, the providing of the models, and the examinations. There are also chosen lecturers on painting, sculpture, architecture, anatomy, and chemistry, who deliver instructions at stated times on their particular subjects. From the forty academicians are chosen a president, a council, and other officers who attend to the business, conduct the institution, arrange exhibitions, and work generally for the good of art in all its forms throughout the United Kingdom.

The Royal Academy possesses the stability of our Anglo-Saxon race. We are an English-speaking nation; and despite the Anglophobia that occasionally breaks out here, our commercial sympathies, and, to an increasing degree, our artistic aspirations, are bound up with white-cliffed Albion. Moreover, the Royal Academy presents to us more of what we deem a national art school should stand for than any other like organization known to me. I do not mean that we should slavishly copy the constitution of the London Royal Academy in all its details. All we need is a starting-point. The constitution of our national art school must evolve itself. Broadly speaking, the educative features of our English prototype may be adopted with such improvements as our experience may suggest. But we can make the scope of our school more comprehensive and less conservative than that of the academy. We can include allied branches of art that our British cousins have not yet recognized, but which are governed as much by the laws of beauty and truth as are the graphic and plastic arts.

What an inspiring vision of an American national exhibition of the arts rises before me as I write! I see the arena of the Madison Square Garden given into the beautifying hands of the landscape gardener. As he progresses in his work he calls to his aid the architect and the sculptor. Ionic colonnades arise and beautify the perspective; statuary adorns the niches and peeps out of the shrubbery. Rare draperies and textiles, gorgeous in coloring, hang down here and there amid the glimmering whiteness of the colonnades, the whiter for the dark green of the foliage. And in the large rooms adjoining the central court shall be found the oils and the water colors, with "ample room and verge enough" to give fair play to all. There, too, may be seen rooms given up to the mural decorators, who shall indicate, each on his own line, the different methods of wall decoration, giving to the visitor as he passes through a distinct idea of the differing styles—Moorish, Byzantine, Dutch, or Asiatic. Here and there through the different rooms the most artistic forms of terra-cotta pottery present themselves. In fact,

every art which calls for truth and beauty, which tends to elevate and educate the sense, shall be called into service to the beautifying of our exhibition and the glorifying of our national school.

The time of this exhibition should be in May. The spring-time of the year seems best suited to such an event. All is fresh and green; the joyousness of the coming summer is upon us; nature and humanity are reappareling themselves; the skies are clear and the sunshine is abundant.

The social features of the exhibition would surely be as distinctive here as they are in London—a thing which, while in itself not innately concerned with art, has a most vital connection with it. Art must live; and if the rich do not interest themselves in art, how shall the artist live by his gospel? It is one of the privileges and happinesses of wealth that it can surround itself with things of beauty, the products of the artistic minds of the race.

And now for a few words in conclusion. Our art has reached a tide-water mark which we must commemorate if we would be true to our time and ourselves. The conditions of our life, as we hold them away and calmly look at them from an abstract standpoint, are such as to promise to this country a great and lasting national art. Like the Greeks, we are free men; the conditions of our life here are much the same as those which existed in Athens in her palmiest days. Education is free and universal. We are not harassed by a compulsory military system, and we are prosperous. We have numerous processes for reproducing works of art, and we have the methods of carrying them into the homes of the land so that our children may know of the achievement of their fathers in both art and letters. We are the heirs, more than any other people, of the literary and artistic history of the world. We are a people who love the beautiful; and although our art, compared with the art of older nations, may be said to be as yet in its youth, there is something in the American genius that is related to the Greek, and that is its capacity for indefinite expansion. Hitherto, this has shown itself chiefly in science and in commerce, but these are the natural forerunners of art. Among the nations of Europe we are esteemed to be a great people. And if great in literature, science, and commerce, why should we not look to be great in art? We have reached the time when, like the Roman citizen, we must put on the toga that is emblematic of our manhood in art. By believing in ourselves, and by giving the evidence of that belief which shall be offered to the world in an annual American exhibition of the arts, we shall do no more than take hold of the heritage that is ours.



MOUNT RAINIER (OR TACOMA).

VOLCANIC SCENERY OF THE NORTHWEST.

BY ROBERT E. STRAHORN.

WHO can imagine anything so terrible as a sea of flame stretching from the Hudson to the Mississippi, and from the Great Lakes to the Ohio? A very ocean of fire, larger than France and Great Britain combined, melting mountains and rearing others two to three miles high; licking up forest, lake, and river, consuming the earth's crust itself to unknown depths! The withering breath from such a continental furnace would probably leave nothing alive between the Mexican Gulf and the St. Lawrence. Well, we have had a succession of just such vast conflagrations; and, to my mind, nothing in all this land of wonders is half so wonderful as the landmarks they have left.

The scene of this volcanic action, which is generally admitted by scientists to be the grandest example of its kind in the world, is, broadly speaking, between the Rocky Mountains of Wyoming and Montana on the east and the Cascade and Blue mountains on the west. The Kootenais and Selkirks bound it on the north, and the Sierras of Nevada and California mark its general southern limits. Its course, while in detail very irregular, is that of a grand half-circle, sweeping from Yellowstone Park southwesterly through western Wyoming and eastern Idaho, northern Nevada, and California; then northerly

through eastern Oregon and Washington and western Idaho into southern British Columbia.

While these greater mountain ranges, with summits clothed with ice and snow, proved effectual barriers to the sweep of flame, their often charred and blackened slopes plainly tell the story of waves of fire which rolled literally mountain high. Following these shores of the once inferno, it is easy to see how the molten mass while seeking a level flowed in and out, along the bays and promontories of the mountain slope, as a body of water would have done. In places where the rush of lava eddied or receded down the side canyons, as the water flows to-day, it is found clinging in large masses to the older formation of the canyon walls. With its greatest outcrop and finest phenomena found profusely scattered along the course of Snake River for 1,000 miles, it is popularly known as the Snake River Lava Plain.

It has been demonstrated that there were a number of eruptions at intervals of centuries. This is shown particularly by fossil forests sandwiched between the layers in some of the canyons—notably along the Yellowstone, where there are standing forests of these petrified trees, one on top of another, and the lowest a mile deeper than those near the surface. Thus, finally,

came these lava-beds of a thickness of from 1,000 to 4,000 feet as they now exist. In places they are so little eroded as to suggest very recent origin. Yet there has been time for Snake River to cut them to a depth of 1,000 feet, and much of this lava-rock is as hard as flint. Miners have demonstrated the occupation of the region prior to these eruptions by finding skeletons, stone implements, and other evidences of a people who were probably overwhelmed by this series of appalling holocausts. What volumes of history may be revealed here, where ancient rivers, lakes, and valleys alike are sealed up beneath sheets of solid stone! Certain it is, that these more recent lava-flows are affording clues for the reading of those famous ancient beds between the mountains of Donegal and the Outer Hebrides, where the original surface has been buried 3,000 feet under volcanic ejections. For an idea of the appalling roughness of some of these lava plains, imagine a furiously lashed sea, frozen at the instant old Neptune's orgies were at their wildest. It was among such practically impenetrable fastnesses that the Nez Percé Indians, in a recent war, so long defied our military. The color is usually black, the texture flinty, and no material of Mother Earth more effectually resists all efforts at road-building or fashioning for any purpose. At places we find yawning fissures ap-



THE TETONS, FROM JACKSON'S LAKE.

parently bottomless; at others smaller crevices, from which we are fanned by cold currents from the rush of underground rivers. One of these streams breaks in a magnificent cataract from the face of a great black lava palisade in Snake River Canyon.

"A wide waste of gray and black desolation" would best describe these lava-beds as seen from the crests of any one of the myriad waves, hummocks, or ridges which everywhere project in the wildest confusion. Here the formation will take the texture of slag or volcanic glass; there it will be wrinkled, ropy, in folds, and rolls or giant coils. Its prevailing black is often varied by grayish, yellowish, or greenish tints. Its consistency can be anything from the pocket of ashes or cinders that look as though the fire had burned itself out but yesterday to the rough, jagged clinkers, cubes, and masses hard as flint. In cases, notably in some of the Snake River canyons, the walls are very regular, conical, and cubelike. Along the Columbia, and in full view of the Great Northern Railway in eastern Washington, we find the Giant's Causeway quite faithfully reproduced. Elsewhere many of the crests of ridges have cracked open, and the fissures present along their walls quite symmetrical columns. Their cavernous depths not infrequently reveal formations unique and fantastic, well worth hours of study.

Scientists tell us these eruptions must have come from a depth of from 20 to 22 miles. As they boiled and cracked over these thousands of square miles of surface, the temperature of the mass was about 2,000° F., 90 per cent. of the *ejecta* consisting of water in the shape of steam. Think of the commotion when lakes, as large as Superior, which formerly existed in this region, were probably in a day replaced by these burning, roaring lava floods! If accompanied by the emissions of flame usual to our puny modern volcanoes, the glow would be visible at a dis-



THE "GIANT'S CAUSEWAY," ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER, WASHINGTON.

tance as great as from Hudson's Bay to New Orleans. The human mind can hardly conceive the grandeur and terror of such catastrophes as incidentally reared to heights of two to three miles that magnificent chain of furnaces—Lassen's Peak and Mount Shasta, in northern California; the Three Sisters,—Mount Pitt, Mount Jefferson, and Mount Hood,—in Oregon, and Mount Adams, St. Helena, Rainier, and Baker, in Washington. We know that when, a few years ago, Krakatoa's craters rose out of the Straits of Sunda, and built in a night a mountain two miles high and 25 miles in circumference, smoke and steam rose nearly 20 miles into the skies, and the terrific explosions were mistaken at a distance of 1,500 miles for a great battle at sea. But our imagination is invoked to appreciate in our lava-beds something infinitely more stupendous in the way of volcanic action than any so-called volcano of ancient or modern times. With all the gigantic volcanic phenomena suggested by the magnificent chain of craters (above named) along the western edge of our lava plain, such noted authorities as Richthofen record them as merely "parasitic excrescences on the subterranean lava reservoirs, whose grand fundamental character of volcanism is represented by the real massive eruptions of our lava plains." They say these great volcanic peaks compare in importance with the lava plains about as minor cinder-cones on the peaks compare with the peaks themselves. Thus, while a few geologists incline to attribute our vast lava-flows to the above

crater-peaks on the west or the Giant Three Teton on the east, the weight of scientific opinion is very positive in attributing them to subaerial eruptions through many great fissures scattered over the present area of lava-beds. They insist that no cones or craters exist of sufficient magnitude to have ejected this enormous flood. They instance, among the largest known flows from individual volcanoes streams of lava, only 40 to



MOUNT HOOD.

50 miles in length—mere rivulets, when compared with the once burning seas of the Snake River Plain.

Nevertheless, the glory of all our mountain ranges are these kings of volcanic giants which dwell up and down the Pacific Coast. Lassen's Peak, Mount Hood, Mount Rainier, and others are not wholly dead but sleeping, as is shown by their hot springs and the sulphurous gases and

steam emitted from their craters. Around the former are many little volcanoes which often throw forth showers of mud, and give warnings of something possibly more dangerous in their rumbling sounds. Mount Shasta, with its 14,442 feet of height, has a crater one-third as broad and 1,000 feet deep, with a rim so sharp as to hardly afford room for a night's bivouac. On its slopes are remains of hundreds of smaller cones and craters.

Less massive, but far more chaste and beautiful, than Shasta, Mount Hood is the very embodiment of sublimity and grace—if such a word can apply to a sky-piercing cone of almost perfect proportions from base to summit. The view of



MOUNT SHASTA.



SNOQUALMIE FALLS.

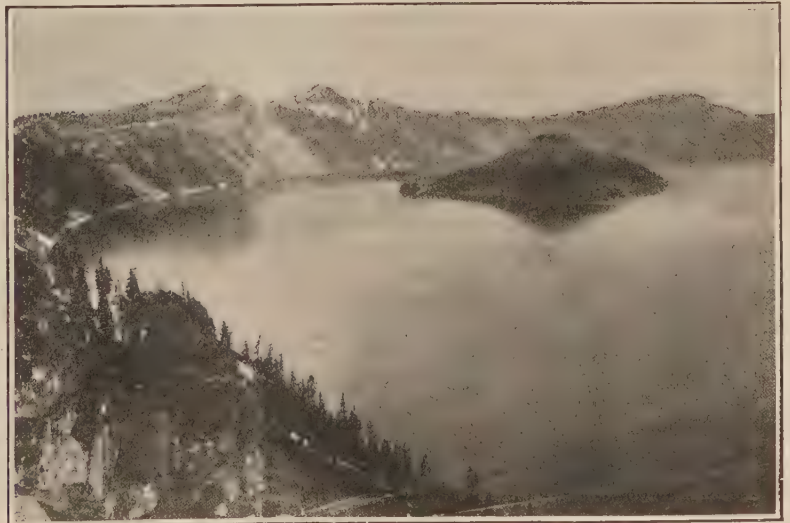
(At base of Mount Rainier.)

Mount Hood, from Portland and various points along the Columbia, is well worth a journey across the continent. It is not easy to reconcile this wondrous shaft; more brilliantly resplendent, in its glittering garb of snow, than if fashioned out of the whitest marble, with a tower of plutonian energy belching forth fire and smoke and unclean lava. However, those who ascend it find abundant evidences of smoldering fires in the scalding steam which escapes from numerous fissures.

The constantly increasing grandeur of this volcanic region culminates in Mount Rainier, the crowned monarch of all our peaks. Its upper half, clad with snow and living glaciers, and with its vast, isolated bulk planted on the very shores of Puget Sound, Mount Rainier impresses the beholder far more than mountains of almost equal height in the interior, because the general elevation

usually makes up more than half the height of the latter. Rainier is 14,525 feet high—the highest mountain in the United States. Some seventeen glaciers run down its sides to within about 5,000 feet of sea-level. Noted travelers agree that no more superb spectacle is presented in the world than the views of Mount Rainier from Seattle, Tacoma, and other points along Puget Sound; and a German scientist declares that it carries more snow and ice than exists in all the Swiss Alps combined. Here, within a few hours of modern hotels, can be studied some of the most interesting volcanic and glacial phenomena to be found anywhere. One of the glaciers is at places 500 feet thick, and half a dozen large rivers are formed by the steady melting of them combined. Here and there cascades leap thousands of feet down precipitous walls. Snoqualmie Falls, at its base, ranks among the most beautiful in the world. At its summit the crater is found to be nearly half a mile in diameter, and the heat and steam emitted from great fissures suggest a bursting of glacial barriers at any time. The ascent from the south side is not especially difficult, and the lower half of the way lies through beautiful meadows, alternating with some of the grandest forests on earth.

Mount Baker, the last of this chain in Washington, is more difficult of access than any of the others. In fact, it would be hard to imagine scenery more wild and savage than surrounds this once burning mountain on every side. Its summit, as will be noted by the accompanying illustration, which is made from a photo taken in August, gives little sign of the gigantic eruptions which reared its cone to an elevation of over two



CRATER LAKE, AND CONE.

miles above the sea, and filled the region for miles around with eruptive débris. A magnificent view of Mount Baker, and a singularly beautiful view of the Cascade Range, is had from the vicinity of Fairhaven, where parties who make the ascent usually rendezvous.

One of the most marvelous and unique legacies of volcanic action in this region is Crater Lake, in southern Oregon. It is perched up among the peaks of the Cascade Range, about 20 miles from Fort Klamath, at an elevation of 6,351 feet above sea-level. Long believed to be fathomless, it was finally found, by the measurements of the geological survey, to be about 4,000 feet deep. It is the crater of what was one of the largest of our American volcanoes, being seven miles long and six miles wide. I believe only Lake Baikal, Siberia, is deeper—only 80 feet deeper; but that is a sea in comparison, being about 55 by 400 miles in extent. From the abysmal depths are thrust several almost precipitous shafts of lava to the enormous height of 2,000 to 2,100 feet above the water. Its rim walls, blackened and burned by floods of fire and lava, rise almost perpendicularly to the same dizzy altitude. The view over the brink into the apparently coal-black waters, so far below in the very bowels of the mountain, is terrifically awe-inspiring and peculiar unto itself. It cannot be duplicated anywhere. Geologists say that the mountain once rose 10,000 to 20,000 feet higher, and was gradually eroded by the violence of many eruptions. Vast quantities of lava, scoria, cinders, and pumice-stone cover the region round about; but the vent of the final eruption is believed to be one of the islands—a conical mountain of cinder, with a cup-shaped top, which is usually filled with snow. The lake is the central attraction of the Oregon National Park, which the Government has created to include the many interesting features in the vicinity. It is easy of access by wagon-road, and one may now get down to the water and enjoy the sensations of a sail over the scenes of once fearful convulsions and belching floods of lava and flame beside which the volcanoes of our day are mere bonfires.

Among the theories of causes of volcanic action is one quite strenuously adhered to—that it always exists along or comparatively near the

ocean or great bodies of water—until it has become an axiom, "without water, no eruption." This is on the further theory that steam is, after all, at the bottom of the disturbance; that the action of the water on salts and other chemicals produces the steam. Scattered all through this region in question, from the active geysers of the Yellowstone to the ordinary soda and sulphur springs, are traces of volcanic activity, suggesting another opinion, sometimes advanced, that the chief fissures or vents of emission may still be found beneath the lava that escaped from them. Geologists say these may become eruptive again. Near soda springs in eastern Idaho we find fissures from which are expelled fumes



SUMMIT OF MOUNT BAKER, WASHINGTON.

of ammonia so strong as to quickly stifle any one who will breathe them. Near by are the medicinal springs whose gases are so strong as to kill birds and small animals which attempt to drink from them. But a few miles away are large beds of almost chemically pure sulphur, and in the same region salt springs, whose waters are one-fifth salt. All these deposits are of commercial value. In this line might be mentioned a recent discovery of a mountain of sulphur near Mount Rainier; opals of real gem value near Caldwell, Idaho; rare onyx in caves in northern Idaho, and probably the greatest gold mine in the world, stretching along Snake River for 1,000 miles. This gold is found everywhere in the gravel-bars and river-bed in flakes so thin and light that it flows easily with the current, and ordinary placer-mining methods fail to catch it. Its origin thus far baffles all human knowledge. But its existence in vast quantities is demonstrated by hundreds of miners scattered along the most easily worked bars, whose product, in spite of the drawbacks above referred

to, runs into the thousands of ounces annually. The usual theory of placer gold originating in quartz and flowing down the streams will hardly answer here. Grains and nuggets of placer gold are always more or less rounded and polished, according to the distance they have traveled. This peculiar "flour gold" of the lava-beds is in scales as fine and sharp as the smallest atom of mica. New processes for saving it are constantly tried with more or less success, and doubtless within a few years we shall see an activity in gold-mining along Snake River that will reach the proportions of the early California or South African developments.

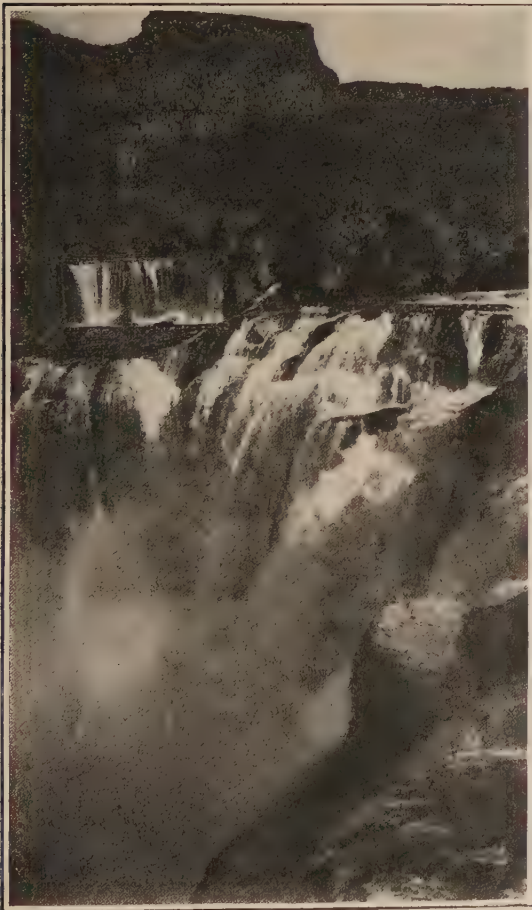
While touching the more practical side of this subject, I must remove the impression which might be gained that this region is all rough and uninhabitable. The centuries' wear and tear of the elements, glacial action, or other causes, has disintegrated and ground into the finest soils wide areas of what were formerly forbidding



TWIN FALLS, SNAKE RIVER.

beds of lava. Fertile valleys and plateaux are scattered all about, whose soil is mainly volcanic ash and practically inexhaustible—the soil upon which the Sicilians have been growing wheat for 2,000 years. Nowhere in our country is there a region so extensive possessing so many admirable qualities of climate as this vast volcanic zone. Even as far north as the British line, in the lower valleys, it ripens the peach, the almond, the fig, cotton, tobacco, and an unusual diversity of cereals, fruits, and vegetables. The uplands of eastern Washington and northern Idaho constitute one of the largest and most reliable wheat-fields of the continent. Wherever an ounce of soil has resulted from the slow process of disintegration of the lava-reefs, you will find a luxuriant growth of bunch-grass. Thus, the roughest sections of the lava-beds afford superb grazing and splendid shelter for cattle and horses.

And yet it is a region of strange contradictions in climate. In the course of a summer's outing, I have in a few hours exchanged the shady camp, the deliciously cool atmosphere and the icy trout-brook of the uplands for a very Sahara in clime and appearance down in the bottoms of the Columbia. Fancy cannot picture a scene so arid on the very banks of a great river. Here the curiously eroded bluffs of black or reddish brown had a charred, ashy, inhospitable look, and the stunted sage, cactus, and shriveled vegetation were added emblems of sterility. The blistering palisades were giant radiators, whose intense midday heat rendered the occasional willow copse a grateful retreat, and languorous *siestas* in the hammock soon displaced the morning's buoyancy with rod and gun. A more extended observation, however, disclosed here and there real oases, whose opulent coloring of luscious peaches, cherries, apples, and other fruits bore testimony to the wonderful fertility of volcanic soil, the mildness of the climate, and the virtues of irrigation. At one place a few hours from snowbanks, and on the latitude of Quebec, I was regaled with peaches measuring ten inches



BLACK LAVA CLIFFS AT SHOSHONE FALLS.

around, potatoes weighing three pounds, and saw peanuts, tobacco, cotton, and sweet potatoes growing on the same ranch.

This region has not only suffered its oft-repeated deluge of fire, but was in ancient times congealed by vast glaciers. One of these swept 90 miles down the valley now occupied by Lake Chelan, damming the Columbia River, which finally escaped through that giant causeway, the Grand Couleé. This Lake Chelan glacier left a sheet of water whose prototype probably exists nowhere else. With its foot embowered among the peach and apple blossoms of the lowlands of the Columbia, only a few hundred feet above sea-level, Lake Chelan stretches away up 70 miles into the very heart of the Cascade Mountains, abruptly ending in a glacier-crowned moraine among the loftiest peaks of that rugged range. It occupies a fissure not yet fathomed in its deepest parts, but known to extend 1,000 feet or more below sea-level. Its waters are pure and cold, as are all of these mountain sheets, and they are alive with several varieties of trout. The scenery about the upper part ranks with the finest features of Yosemite, while possessing the added charms of vast snowfields and living glaciers always in sight. Foamy cascades, hundreds of feet high, pour down from near-by summits, and there is one magnificent fall of 1,600 feet. It is a unique and wonderful region, with a crisp, invigorating air, and unusual attractions for sportsmen who are after large game. Many rich silver and gold mines are being opened up in the mountains surrounding Lake Chelan. A line of steamers connecting with those on the Columbia—which in turn connect with the Great Northern Railway at Wenatchee, 50 miles below—affords easy access.

I have only alluded to a few of the leading features of this intensely interesting region. As suggested, there is literally no end to them; and they are so easy of access to the transcontinental tourist, that he should at least devote a few days to them *en route*. If he goes to the Northwest over the Union Pacific he will find a stop of a couple of days at Shoshone, Idaho (whence he can easily reach all the volcanic wonders grouped about Shoshone Falls), the experience of a lifetime. Then debarking at The Dalles of the Columbia, and descending to Portland by steamer

instead of rail, he will find in one entrancing day such glories revealed as no palace-car tourist ever dreamed of. If his trip is by more northerly routes, and he will keep his eyes open while passing through the city of Spokane, and where the upper Columbia River is crossed by the Great Northern, he can study many of the best examples of lava eruptions from his car-windows. The road just mentioned has blasted a tunnel through one of the blackest of black lava-cliffs, and passes in close review along the Columbia



LAVA TUNNEL—GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY, NEAR WENATCHEE, WASHINGTON.

some of the finest palisades, which are referred to in this article as so much resembling the formation of the Giant's Causeway.

I have only outlined this field as one appealing particularly to the lover of all that is strangely unique and inspiring in nature. It certainly possesses far more interest for the scientist. I cannot imagine a more fascinating field for a summer's study for the intelligent student.



LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

AMERICANS IN CHINA.

PROF. MARK B. DUNNELL'S article on "Our Rights in China," in the August *Atlantic Monthly*, has a tragic timeliness. He explains how the rights of all American citizens in China are entirely different from those enjoyed in most foreign countries, being derived entirely from traditions. The American citizen in China can be prosecuted only in the United States Consular Court of the district; if he wishes to prosecute an Englishman, he must institute proceedings in the English court. Chinamen within the foreign settlements are prosecuted by foreigners in a mixed court, presided over by a mandarin, who has a foreign associate as an adviser.

"At most of the important treaty ports the foreigners reside in what is termed a foreign settlement. At Shanghai, for example, a tract of a few square miles just outside the walls of the native city is set apart for the residence and control of the foreigners of all nationalities. Within this tract the foreigner may lease land from the native owners; build his residences, offices, warehouses, factories, and wharves; establish roads, parks, and recreation-grounds; do business with the native merchants, and live free of any control by the Chinese Government. Contrary to the original design, the natives have come into the settlement, until now there are over 200,000 of them who have voluntarily submitted themselves to the jurisdiction of the municipal government. The foreign city of Shanghai is divided into the French, English, and American settlements, or concessions. The French maintain a separate municipal organization, which is not very successful. Most Frenchmen at Shanghai live and do business in the English settlement. The English and American settlements are under one municipal organization. The American settlement, or concession, is so called simply because the first settlers in that part of the foreign city happened to be Americans. It has no separate legal existence, and our government has never claimed any special jurisdiction over it. The American Consulate is in the English settlement, which, in a legal sense, is no more English than American. The government of the settlement is vested in the consular representatives of the foreign powers, in a municipal council elected by the land-renters, and in the land-renters assembled in town-meeting."

FOREIGN INFLUENCE.

Professor Dunnell explains the details of the open-door policy and the negotiations which led to Secretary Hay's famous diplomatic triumph, and then goes on to discuss the general subject of foreign influence in China from a point of view, of course, antecedent to the frightful tragedies of July. He assumes that any promise of administrative reform made by the government at Peking will be nullified by the obstruction of the local officials, from whom there is no practical appeal for the foreigner. "The requisite security for foreign life and enterprise in China can be attained only by means of drastic administrative reforms initiated from without. The government at Peking does not desire reforms, and its tenure is so insecure that it could not introduce them if it desired." The mandarins cannot be expected to destroy a system upon which they thrive; and the people at large are ignorant, indifferent, unpatriotic, and without any inherited capacity for concerted political action. The extreme decentralization of the political system has destroyed all national feeling.

"The attitude of our government in any conference that may be called is foreshadowed by the open-door correspondence. The general policy of the administration was admirably expressed in the note of Ambassador Choate to Lord Salisbury:

"It is the sincere desire of my government that the interests of its citizens may not be prejudiced through exclusive treatment by any of the controlling powers within their respective spheres of interest in China, and it hopes to retain there an open market for all the world's commerce, remove dangerous sources of international irritation, and thereby hasten united action of the powers at Peking to promote administrative reforms, so greatly needed for strengthening the Imperial Government and maintaining the integrity of China, in which it believes the whole Western world is alike concerned."

NEEDED REFORMS.

"Here is the key to the whole situation. The fundamental need of China is administrative reform, and this can be accomplished only under foreign compulsion and supervision. Without it the political integrity of China cannot be maintained, nor can foreign trade largely increase. The difficulty lies in determining the extent and mode of such foreign control. For many years

the customs service has been managed by foreigners with the cordial approval of the Chinese Government. Recently the postal service was voluntarily placed under the same management. Here is a precedent which might well be followed by the powers in compelling China to place her military and internal revenue systems under the general management of foreigners. The army must be reorganized so that it may be an effective police force for the protection of foreign life and property. The internal-revenue system must be reorganized in order to free foreign trade from unlawful exactions. The powers will be inclined to demand these reforms unconditionally. To the mind of the present writer, it would be far wiser to secure the consent of the Chinese Government by offering adequate compensation in the form of an international guarantee, for a term of years, of the neutrality of Chinese territory. This would save the face of the Chinese Government, and secure its consent and coöperation. It would do far more. It would preserve the balance of power in the far East, avert war, and open up China to the vivifying influences of Western civilization without violating the integrity of her territory or destroying the ancient fabric of her civilization.

"The United States is admirably qualified to take the lead in such a movement. We are on friendly terms with all the powers concerned, and the disinterestedness of our motives would be universally conceded. The present administration has won the approval of the American people, the gratitude of the Chinese Government, and the respect of the European powers, by its bold championship of equal commercial rights in China. We have assumed a leadership in the solution of the Chinese problem which it is fitting we should not willingly resign without a final success. The note of Ambassador Choate quoted above shows that our government is already committed to the policy of joint action. It would be exceedingly gratifying if such action should be agreed upon in a congress of the powers sitting at Washington."

THE CHINESE REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA IN AMERICA.

A WRITER in *Ainslee's* for July describes the rise and growth of the Chinese reform organization headed by Kang Yu Wei, the deposed adviser of the Emperor. This society is especially active and vigorous in those cities of the United States where Chinamen have established themselves in business. According to the article in *Ainslee's*, the society has a large membership in this country.

"The growth of the revolutionary junta in the United States and Canada dates from the time of Kang Yu Wei's mysterious journey to London, after Kwang Hsu was deposed. What its membership is cannot be ascertained, but it is estimated to be more than one-third of the entire Chinese population of the two countries. In San Francisco alone, where there are supposed to be between 30,000 and 40,000 Chinese residents, the adherents of the junta are said to number 20,000. Five hundred out of the 600 in Seattle claim allegiance to Kwang Hsu as against the Empress Dowager, and even a larger proportion is claimed in Vancouver. Small juntas are reported in Salt Lake City, Denver, Omaha, Chicago, St. Louis, and other large cities. Also still smaller bodies are listed in such Western towns as Walla Walla, Butte, Helena, Billings, Bozeman, Livingston, and other places where the Chinese laundryman hangs out his shingle, or the Chinese cook or laborer works in the mines or on the railroads.

"New impulses are constantly being added to the American branches by the arrival and departure of important members of the junta from its Oriental headquarters. These members appear and disappear upon missions the nature of which is not made known, but which take them to foreign countries and bring them back with a confidence extremely suggestive of important political negotiations. One of the reasons for believing, although the facts cannot be entirely substantiated, that the reformers are not without assurances of support from some of the greater world powers is the fact that Kang Yu Wei, the founder of the party, was carried from Peking by a British warship at the time of the Emperor's deposition, and almost immediately afterward he made his mysterious journey to London. Upon his return the rumor was broadly published, and has not since been strenuously contradicted, that he was backed by important political influences in Great Britain. Prior to the assumption of power by the Empress Dowager, Japan was doing all that a friendly nation could do to aid the Celestial Empire into such an army, navy, and social reform as would strengthen it against foreign aggressions. When the Empress Dowager went to the throne, these efforts were almost entirely checked. It is presumed, therefore, that Japan's sympathy at least lies with the reformers."

FINANCIAL SUPPORT.

The members of the junta contribute generously to its support. Rich and poor alike give according to their respective incomes. Early in April of this year, a meeting at Vancouver resulted in subscriptions of \$10,000. One of the

wealthy San Francisco members gave \$15,000 in gold, agreed to pay \$10 a month in dues, and gave the use of his theater as a meeting-place.

"Of course, the promoters of the junta are shrewd enough to realize the necessity of money when actions of such great scope as the deposition of an empress and the substitution of a new dynasty is proposed. But extravagance above all things is to be avoided. Nothing in the reforms inaugurated by Kang Yu Wei during his brief incumbency in office was so determined as his financial economies. He swept away hundreds of useless emoluments that had been allowed to the Manchu families, and by this, more than by any other single line of action, stirred up the hostility which led to his downfall. Now, when he is at the head of a reform movement, he joins with his associates in determining to devote the funds of their order to the most strictly patriotic uses. It is even said that when the government is formed the receipts are to be exchangeable for government bonds. This, of course, is not generally credited, and the donors do not give with this in view. Not one Chinaman in a hundred ever expects to see his money again. They give out of pure love for the aims of the association. There are said to be three treasuries to which this money is sent. These are the Chinese newspapers *Chee San Po*, at Hongkong, *Ching Yee Po*, at Yokohama, and *Tim Nam Po*, at Singapore. The main purpose for which the subscriptions are taken is to save the empire from dismemberment, and, in the event of invasion, to build and buy ships and pay the expenses of an army for protection. If Kwang Hsu should die,—a happening said to be one of the signals for revolt against the Empress Dowager and the Manchus,—the money will be devoted to fostering the aims of the progressivists. After the war is over, such funds as remain will be applied to the commercial enlargement of the country."

THE CHINESE ATTITUDE TOWARDS MISSIONARIES.

IN the *North American Review* for July, Mr. Poultney Bigelow writes on "Missions and Missionaries in China." In the course of his article, Mr. Bigelow sets forth very clearly the elements of conflict between the official classes and the Christian missionaries in China which have at last resulted in the recent horrible massacres. He says:

"Chinese officialdom is at war with the white man's civilization, and it fights with the weapons it deems most effective. Gunboats and battalions are not to its taste. So it makes a treaty, every paragraph of which it proceeds to nullify

the moment the ink is dry. It instigates murder, and then explains officially that it was the mob that was responsible."

Mr. Bigelow cites the Treaty of Tientsin, signed in 1858, the eighth article of which reads as follows:

The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching it, or professing it, therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities; nor shall any such, peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the laws, be persecuted or interfered with.

Notwithstanding the treaty concessions of which the above is a sample, Mr. Bigelow shows that the government has continually permitted the incitement of the mob against the missionaries. In 1754 foreign residents made complaint that "injurious posters were annually put up by the government, accusing foreigners of horrible crimes, and intended to expose them to the contempt of the populace."

ABUSES OF THE CHRISTIANS.

"Even then, the accusations were made that missionaries gouged out the eyes of foundlings and mutilated women in a vile manner—charges which have been persisted in to our day. When vigorously addressed by a combination of foreign powers, the Peking Government has always officially repudiated the authors of these posters; but at the same time it has given private intimation that this propaganda was pleasing to the Emperor. Indeed, those who publish the filthy posters invoke official sanction by printing, as preface, the "Sacred Edict"—a sort of paternal address from the throne promulgated by the joint efforts of two canonized emperors some two centuries ago. Dr. Williams, in his "Middle Kingdom," says that this document is regarded as a most sacred command, which is proclaimed throughout the empire by the local officers on the first and fifteenth days of every month.

"As a pendant of the Tientsin Treaty, it is worth preserving. It reads thus:

With respect to heterodox books not in accordance with the teachings of the sages, and those tending to excite and disturb the people, to give rise to differences and irregularities, and to undermine the foundations of all things—all such teach corrupt and dangerous doctrines, which must be suppressed and exterminated. . . . From ancient times, the three religions have been propagated together. Besides Confucianism, which holds the preëminence, we have Buddhism and Taoism. . . . There is, however, a class of vagabond adventurers (Christian) who under the pretext of teaching these systems (Buddhism, etc.) bring them into the greatest disrepute, making false parade of what is propitious and unpropitious, and of future rewards

and punishments, for the purpose of giving currency to their foolish and unfounded stories. Their object in the beginning is to make a living. By degrees they collect men and women into promiscuous gatherings for the purpose of burning incense. . . . The worst of all is that there lurk within these assemblies treacherous, depraved, and designing persons, who form dangerous combinations and pledge themselves to each other by oaths. They meet in darkness and disperse at dawn. They imperil their lives, sin against righteousness, and deceive and entrap the people. . . . Such is the religion of the West, which reveres the Lord of Heaven. It also is not to be regarded as orthodox. Because its teachers (the early Jesuits) were well versed in mathematics, our government made use of them. Of this you must not be ignorant. As to unauthorized doctrines which deceive the people, our laws cannot tolerate them. For false and corrupt teachers our government has fixed punishments.

"Thus with one hand the Chinese Government promises the white man legal protection, and with the other pledges its favor to the mob when it guts the missionary compound and murders the unorthodox inmates."

Mr. Bigelow states that the public misrepresentations of the spirit and aims of the Christian religion and of the objects animating Christian missionaries in their work are almost incredible. Indecent posters containing attacks on the Christians are distributed "with official connivance" throughout China. In more than one instance mobs have been incited to violence by such posters.

CHINESE CIVILIZATION.

IN the *Forum* for July, Dr. D. Z. Sheffield, late president of the North China College, and a resident of the country for thirty years, writes on "Chinese Civilization: The Ideal and the Actual."

The surprise sometimes expressed by Western students of Chinese life and letters at the lofty ideals of government, of the family, and of society set forth in the ancient classical literature is only equaled by their surprise that these ideals have been realized so imperfectly in the life of the people.

"Ancient Chinese literature is a witness to the nobility of human nature in its best thoughts and aspirations. The sages taught that man is made for virtue: To be benevolent is to be a man. They taught that virtue distinguishes men from animals, and that when men fail to be virtuous they cease to be men. The heart of man tends toward goodness as water tends to flow downward. Water may be forced upward, but that is not its tendency; in like manner men may be driven to evil, but it is not according to their nature. The mountain clothes itself with forests and verdure, but axmen come from the

neighboring city and cut down the trees; fresh shoots spring up from the living roots, but the cattle browse them down until the mountain is bald and desolate, and men say it is the nature of the mountain to be bald and desolate. Not so; its condition is the result of violence to its nature. Thus man's nature seeks to clothe itself with virtue, but it is assailed by external evils, till finally the recuperative powers of the heart become paralyzed, and we look upon the evil man and say it is his nature to be evil. Not so; his true nature has been overcome by the evil that is alien to it. The end of learning is to recover the lost heart, which is the child-heart, that all men have in common.

"Confucius tersely describes the ideal condition in human relations as realized when the prince acquires himself as prince, the minister as minister, the father as father, and the son as son; that is, when men in every rank in society discharge faithfully the duties belonging to their place. The law of Heaven is the law of right, the law of duty; and wisdom consists in correctly applying this law in the relations of life. Confucius taught that the end of learning was to develop and make manifest the innate virtue, to renovate the people, and to rest in the highest goodness.

IDEALS UNREALIZED.

"Chinese history has not been without examples of upright rulers and faithful citizens, of com- passionate fathers and filial sons: but the ideal state, the ideal family, have been, for the most part, themes to be talked about, to be written of in elegant essays, but not to be striven after, or experienced. The Son of Heaven has usually proved to be a son of earth in his bondage to its passions and allurements. Ministers have been eyes and ears and hands, not for the service of their princes, but for the service of their own ignoble appetites and ambitions. Society has not been ruled by the law of benevolence, but by the law of selfishness. The operation of this law is also seen in family life. Parents regard children as given to them to command; children in turn have few rights in the presence of their parents. There is a popular saying that parents are the family gods, and too often they rule in their households with the authority of gods. The disciple of Confucius learned through observing the relations between the sage and his son that the superior man is not intimate with his children. In general, the hard and selfish rule of parents begets a formal and selfish service in children. Falsehood and duplicity take the place of truthfulness and candor, and unloving authority is met by unloving obedience."

Dr. Sheffield sums up China's case as follows:

"China was secluded from the outside world; the sages were the oracles of Heaven; their teachings were the final statement of truth. Confucian learning perpetuated and strengthened this system of thought; and ancestor-worship added its power to fasten the system upon the religious convictions of men, until their capacity for progress was weakened, and the very thought of progress was well-nigh lost.

"The hope of China is not in itself. The realization of its best thought must come from without. Christian civilization will bring to China a truer conception of the nature of man, a better understanding of his relations and duties, of his dignity and destiny. It will turn the faces of the people from the past toward the future, and will enrich their lives with a quality of love and fellowship and hope that Confucian civilization has been powerless to bestow."

THE CRISIS IN CHINA.

THE first article in the *Nineteenth Century* for July is by Mr. Henry Norman, and is entitled "Our Vacillation in China and Its Consequences." The consequences, Mr. Norman points out, have been a long string of humiliations. Owing to the vacillation of her government, England has failed in China wherever she has taken a hand, and has got nothing from all her scheming except Wei Hai Wei, which is entirely useless, and which, indeed, she has never attempted to turn to any use.

Mr. Norman lays down four axioms which should govern England's future relations with China. The first is that there is no such thing as China as a distinct entity:

"It is because there is no such thing as China that the military caste of the Manchus, comparatively infinitesimal in numbers, have been able to impose their rule upon the enormous masses of Chinese. Thus it is unwise to predicate anything of China as a whole, or to believe that what suits one part will necessarily suit another. To this extent the partition of China would rest upon a scientific and practical basis."

The second axiom is that China will never reform itself:

"There is not the slightest possibility of the establishment by Chinese authority of a national army, or navy, or civil service. And the corruption which is the fatal curse of China is directly due to the fact that there is not and cannot be any central authority to exercise control over local officials; or, in the absence of this, to pay them. The Chinese people, in the language of physics, is a mechanical mixture and not a

chemical compound; and therefore, it is irresponsible to the action of any single reagent, and incapable of exhibiting any common property."

Thirdly, Mr. Norman postulates that "Russian ambition has no limits":

"Russia will take all she can possibly get, and, like the rest of us, what she cannot get she will do without. Instead of abusing her, it would be wiser to emulate her qualities, and so seek to put a barrier in her way at the points where the interests of our own country become imperative. It is easy for a strong nation to come to a durable understanding with her (witness Germany and Austria). But we shall never do it by writing sarcastic dispatches and making rude speeches, and then meekly accepting her fact accomplished to our injury. That is the policy of the boy who puts his finger to his nose and runs away—and it has been ours for too long."

And the fourth is that "Japan is face to face with a life and death issue in the far East." If Japan fights, it must be not later than six months hence.

Mr. Norman recommends that the Empress should be deported, and the Emperor replaced under the control of representatives of the powers. The open-door policy being dead, each power should keep order in its sphere.

"Every power would enter into a formal engagement with all the others that no duties beyond those agreed upon by all should be levied; that no preferential or differential railway rates should be imposed in its sphere; that no force should be raised beyond that necessary to keep order; and that all matters of intercommunication should be decided by the council of foreign representatives."

An advisory committee of Chinese experts should be formed in London, and Mr. Norman suggests Professor Douglas as a member.

What "Diplomaticus" Thinks.

In the *Fortnightly*, "Diplomaticus" finds grave fault with the apathy and inattention of the powers while the present storm was brewing. They have been surprised, he says; but there is absolutely no excuse for their surprise. The *coup d'état* of the Empress, the decrees she issued, the growth of the Boxer movement, had been the chief topic of discussion in the far Eastern press, and their gravity proclaimed on the housetops of the treaty ports. And yet the powers took no notice and no precautions. "The reforming efforts of the Emperor should have had all our sympathy, and, as far as possible, our active support." For the future, the writer urges that England should cultivate the friendship of Japan rather than that of Russia. He proceeds:

"Our wisest policy is to keep our hands absolutely free, and to be prepared to defend our interests and the *status quo ante* with adequate strength, both in the north and the west of China, should the occasion arise. We should hold the balance fairly between all the powers. For the moment there is no necessity to take sides, as in the work of pacification all the powers are equally interested. Japan is not a whit less interested than Russia; and I can see no reason why she should not participate in the restoration of order on an equality with her great rival. When the pacification is accomplished, our policy is clear. We have to take our stand by the integrity of China and the open door, and we have to insist on the restoration of the legitimate Emperor; with a guarantee of his absolute independence."

A "Scramble for China."

Mr. Demetrius Boulger puts no faith in the policy of the open door as a means of holding China together. In an article in the *Contemporary Review*, he denounces the open door as a sham, and prophesies that we are about to witness a scramble for China. Russia, he asserts, is at the back of the Dowager-Empress; and Russia will not consent to her punishment or removal.

"As I have several times pointed out in these pages, our diplomacy has no chance of success in a game of fence with Russia at Peking, because the trumps are in her hand. Her base of operation is near the scene, and drawing closer and closer; the high officials in the capital are under the spell of her power, and in many cases have been suborned from their allegiance by the effect of her money. At the utmost we can only avert the inevitable for a few years, unless the country can be brought to face what would be a colossal struggle with Russia. There is no middle course between opposing Russia tooth and nail on behalf of a worthless and condemned administration and leaving her undisturbed to realize her objects at Peking so far as she can, and in accordance with general requirements."

WHAT BRITAIN MUST TAKE.

China is to be divided into spheres, and what Great Britain must do is "to acquire a base for operations in the Yangtse Valley similar to that Russia possesses in the north with regard to Peking. There cannot be two opinions as to what that base is. The island of Chusan, with its unequaled harbor of Tinghai, represents exactly the position of which we have need. We occupied it during both of our China wars, and by the

Davis Convention we retain the right to prevent any other power occupying it."

Using Chusan as a base, England could raise any number of local troops; and "in a few years we should have created the best force for controlling our sphere by the successive occupation of Chinkiang-fu, Nanking, Ganking, and Hankow. Our occupation would be given a Chinese color, and without direct annexation we could organize dependent governments; or, better still, revive in Central China a kingdom of Nanking."

The Real Origin of "Boxers."

Another article in the *Contemporary* on China is that of Mr. Arthur Sowerby, a twenty years' resident in China. Mr. Sowerby has nothing very new to say, but he believes in the capacity of the Chinese people. In the Emperor, however, there is no hope. He is not an able man, and his health is bad. The following is Mr. Sowerby's explanation of the origin of the Boxers:

"The Boxer movement is the work of Yü Hsien, ex-governor of Shantung. He took advantage of a spirit of discontent that had arisen from two or three causes in Chili and Shantung. The occupation of Kiaochau by the Germans, the scarcity of rain last autumn,—for which the Buddhist priests blamed the Christians,—and some differences between the Catholics and their neighbors in Chili, were the chief sources of the trouble. No serious difficulty would have arisen had not Yü Hsien given the malcontents his protection, and assisted them to organize themselves into the Great Sword Sect. The movement increased under this patronage; and the winter days, when the villagers and canal population can afford to be idle, were spent by them in drilling, combined with a good deal of rodomontade. Yü Hsien, through the pressure of the German Government, was removed from Shantung; but he was received at Peking with great favor and high rewards, and has been appointed governor of Shansi. He should be marked for severe and condign punishment. The Boxers assumed the name I Ho Chüan, which means Righteousness conjoined with Protection, and by a pun it becomes I Ho Ch'u-an, Righteousness and the Fist; hence the nickname 'Boxers.'"

The ranks of the Boxers are composed of the scum population on the banks of the Grand Canal and the peasant farmers in Chili and Shantung. They could be easily subdued by a few disciplined troops. Mr. Sowerby recommends the removal of the Empress and the extinction of the Manchu dynasty.

THE CHINESE MINISTER'S PLEA FOR JUSTICE.

HIS EXCELLENCY, WU TING FANG, the Chinese minister to the United States, writes in the *North American Review* for July on "Mutual Helpfulness Between China and the United States." His article was prepared before the recent Boxer outbreak had become serious, and is mainly devoted to a consideration of the natural economic relations between the two countries, presupposing the continuance of peaceful intercourse.

After dwelling on the economic interdependence of China and the United States, the minister proceeds to analyze the policy of the "open door." He says:

"China long ago adopted that policy in her foreign intercourse. She has treaty relations with all the European powers, together with the United States, Brazil, Peru, Mexico, Japan, and Korea. All these are equally 'favored nations' in every sense of the term. The Swede and the Dane enjoy the same rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions with respect to commerce, navigation, travel, and residence throughout the length and breadth of the empire as are accorded to the Russian or the Englishman. Any favor that may be granted to Japan, for instance, at once inures to the benefit of the United States. Indeed, China in her treatment of strangers within her gates has in a great many respects gone even beyond what is required by international usage. According to the usual practice of nations, no country is expected to accord to foreigners rights which are not enjoyed by its own subjects or citizens. But China has been so long accustomed to indemnify foreigners who have fallen victims to mob violence that she is looked upon in a sense as an insurer of the lives and property of all foreigners residing within her borders. To such an extent is this idea current among foreigners in China that some years ago an American missionary in the Province of Shantung, who happened to have some articles stolen from his house in the night, estimated his loss at \$60, and actually sent the bill through the American minister at Peking to the foreign office for payment. The Chinese tariff also favors foreigners resident in China much more than it does the Chinese themselves. Most articles imported for the use of foreigners are on the free list. Such is the treatment which Americans, in common with the subjects and citizens of other foreign powers, receive in China.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

"Justice would seem to demand equal consideration for the Chinese on the part of the United States. China does not ask for special favors.

All she wants is enjoyment of the same privileges accorded other nationalities. Instead, she is singled out for discrimination and made the subject of hostile legislation. Her door is wide open to the people of the United States, but their door is slammed in the face of her people. I am not so biased as to advocate any policy that might be detrimental to the best interests of the people of the United States. If they think it desirable to keep out the objectionable class of Chinese, by all means let them do so. Let them make their immigration laws as strict as possible, but let them be applicable to all foreigners. Would it not be fairer to exclude the illiterate and degenerate classes of all nations rather than to make an arbitrary ruling against the Chinese alone? Would it not be wiser to set up some specific test of fitness, such as ability to read intelligently the American Constitution? That would give the Chinese a chance along with the rest of the world, and yet effectually restrict their immigration. Such a law would be practically prohibitory, as far as all except the best-educated Chinese are concerned, for the reason that the written language of the Chinese is so entirely different from the spoken tongue that few of the immigrants would be able to read with intelligence such a work as the American Constitution. Nevertheless, a law of that kind would be just in spirit, and could not rouse resentment in the Chinese breast."

GERMANY'S FOOTHOLD IN CHINA.

IN the *Forum* for July, Mr. Charles Denby, Jr., describes "Kiaochou: A German Colonial Experiment." The seizure of Chinese territory by Germany, which is a matter of quite recent history, is thus narrated by Mr. Denby:

"The immediate prelude to Germany's colonial career in Asia was the murder, by a Chinese mob, of two German missionaries, at the village of Yen Chou-fu, in southern Shantung, on November, 1897. The murder was a cowardly deed, worthy of the severest punishment; and the promptness with which the avenging Kaiser struck gained the approval of the foreign communities in China and of the press abroad. The German minister demanded from the Peking Government an apology for the attack, indemnity for the families of the victims, compensation for the expense his government had incurred, and the lease of a naval station upon the coast of China.

"The Chinese agreed readily to the first three demands, and Germany did not wait for their formal consent to the fourth—which, in fact, seems to have little connection with the others; but, on November 14 of the same year, she

landed a force at Tsingtau, in Kiaochou Bay, in Shantung, and took possession of the forts and adjacent territory. This occupation was supposed to be temporary only; but two years have passed since then, and the German flag still flies over Tsingtau, which is now as much German territory as are the Provinces of Alsace and Lorraine.

"The seizure of Chinese territory was deliberately planned. It was foreshadowed in the speech of Baron Marshal von Bieberstein in the Reichstag, in November, 1896. He stated on that occasion that the interests of Russia and Germany would give them an opportunity of acting in harmony in the far East. In the Kiaochou incident this opportunity came; and Russia's acquiescence in Germany's aggression, in spite of her promise in the Cassini Convention to protect China, indicates a prior understanding between the two powers. The German legation was probably instructed to seize on the first opportunity to make demands for territory; and the German minister at Peking is reported as having said that the attack by the Chinese upon some German officers in the boat of the *Cormoran*, at Wuchang,—an incident which shortly followed the murder of the missionaries,—would have served his purpose quite as well."

ADVANTAGES OF KIAOCHOU.

Mr. Denby shows that both physical and political considerations were involved in the selection of this particular region as Germany's base of operations in China.

"Except Shantung, there was scarcely a province in which she could have planted herself without encroaching on the alleged rights of others. It is a sad commentary on the decadence of China that there is scarcely any desirable territory along the coast which does not fall within some foreign government's sphere of influence. To have gone north of Shantung would have been to enter a field where the White Czar is self-predestined master. South of Shantung, in the Provinces of Kiangsu and Chekiang, we come upon the Yangtse Valley, which has been staked out by England in a shadowy agreement with China that no part thereof shall be alienated to any other power. The coast of Fukien, further south, has been preempted by Japan, by virtue of her annexation of Formosa—a preëmption which has been recognized by the Chinese Government in an agreement, made in April, 1898, that no part of this province shall be alienated to any nation but Japan. In the next two provinces, Kuangtung and Kuansi, any German establishment would have been regarded with more than disfavor by England and France.

"Shantung, therefore, was almost the only place left, and in Shantung the only available place was Kiaochou Bay. This bay is a great sheet of water 20 miles in width, with an outlet to the Yellow Sea only one mile and three-quarters wide. This outlet is commanded by headlands, about 600 feet in altitude, admirably suited for fortifications. There are 11 or 12 fathoms of water in the entrance, and in the bay itself the depth varies from 12 to 30 fathoms. The wide area of the bay makes it unsuitable for riding at anchor; the sea becoming very rough in storms, and sometimes positively dangerous for small boats. Accordingly, ships at present anchor under shelter of the promontory, near the little island of Tsingtau (Green Island), which has given its name to the young German city on the adjoining mainland. The island itself has been renamed Arcona, in reference to Germany's naval victory over the Danes. Further inside the bay, just behind the peninsula which forms the northern shore of the entrance, a great breakwater is under construction, which will afford the finest harbor on the coast from Hongkong to Port Arthur. Hongkong is British, Port Arthur is Russian, Kiaochou is German, and China has not a single deep-water harbor for herself except that of Amoy."

LIEUTENANT GILLMORE'S EXPERIENCES IN LUZON.

IN the August *McClure's*, Lieutenant-Commander James C. Gillmore, U.S.N., gives a very graphic story of his famous boat battle with the Filipinos on the east coast of Luzon, of his capture, and narrow escape from execution; his extraordinary experiences during eight months' captivity; his journeys for hundreds of miles through the interior of Luzon; and in a succeeding number will be described his rescue by American troops, after he and his six comrades had been abandoned by their guards in the mountains to the mercy of the savage tribes. Lieutenant Gillmore was on a rescuing expedition on the *Yorktown* to free a band of fifty Spanish officers and men who were besieged by Filipinos in a church at a coast town called Baler. Lieutenant Gillmore and a boat's crew were sent from the *Yorktown* to make a reconnaissance early in the morning; there were seventeen men in all. The party saw that the Filipino sentry had discovered them when they pulled into the river which was to see their capture; but as a Colt repeating-gun was in the bow of their boat, and most of the crew were armed with rifles, they did not fear a brush. But the trouble came quicker and heavier than they had expected. In a short time the boat was a shambles. The man who held up a white flag

was immediately shot through the wrist, and what was left of the party was still firing, when a voice in Spanish told them that unless they stopped firing and surrendered they would all be murdered; upon which they threw up their arms, and a savage band of Filipinos, armed with rifles, bolos, and spears, came down upon them.

"One by one, those of us who were living they took out of the boat. They were not rough or cruel. They treated the wounded carefully. More than our lives, they appeared to covet our personal belongings. In a twinkling we were stripped of our coats, hats, shoes. They rifled our pockets for money, watches. They even pulled the rings from our fingers. All this time my men were calm and silent. They did not resist.

"Then the natives lined us up in a row on the sand-bar. They tied our hands behind our backs with bamboo thongs. We thought they were merely making ready to carry us away as prisoners. But soon we perceived it was worse than that—they were going to shoot us. By signs I objected to having my arms bound. I tried to show that it was my right as an officer to die with my hands free. This brought on a difference of opinion—a noisy discussion, among our captors, who, though soldiers in the Filipino army, appeared to be without officers and without discipline. The delay thus secured, short as it was, served a good purpose. The natives who carried guns stepped out in front of us. They lowered their rifles and cocked them. They were taking aim. I was just thinking: 'Well, it will all be over in a few seconds—why did I not take out more life insurance before I left home?' when we heard a shout from the right bank. We all looked that way, Tagals and Americans. A native officer came running toward us along the sand-spit. He was shouting and brandishing a sword. We did not understand him, but the Filipinos did. They dropped their rifles and crowded about us. We were not to be shot; so it didn't make any difference about that life insurance, after all."

CAPTIVES IN AGUINALDO'S CAPITAL.

A Tagal officer took charge of the party, and allowed Gillmore to write a letter to the commander of the *Yorktown*, which letter was never delivered. The captives were marched a mile and a half to a bamboo church, where their wounds were cared for by an old native, and the next day the eight who were able to travel set out through the interior of the enemy's country, Lieutenant Gillmore not being bound, owing to the Filipinos' respect for military rank. "A sorry-looking lot we were! All of us were bare-



LIEUTENANT-COMMANDER J. C. GILLMORE, U.S.N.

(Drawn from life for *McClure's Magazine*.)

headed and barefooted, save that I had managed to secure the return of my coat and shoes; the latter mere slippers, which I had worn from the ship because it would be easy to kick them off in case I were forced to take to the water. Our clothing was so scanty that it barely sufficed to cover our nakedness. For two days the route led us through treacherous river-beds. We had to wade the swift streams in water from our knees to our necks twenty, thirty times a day; our feet were cut by the sharp stones of the path; our hands and shins were bruised clambering over great boulders and up and down steep, stony banks. The heat was oppressive, and the fierce rays of the sun blistered our unprotected faces and gave us frightful pains in the head. Our guard, a striking band of semi-savages, carrying bows and arrows and spears and bolos, and commanded by a Tagal corporal, urged us unceasingly on." The party was finally brought through the mountains to Puntabanca, and put in charge of a former captain in the Spanish army, named Maria, who had married Aguinaldo's niece. Then they were taken on to Aguinaldo's capital, St. Isidro, and put in a guarded, filthy prison.



Courtesy of McClure's Magazine.

MAP OF THE NORTHERN PORTION OF THE ISLAND OF LUZON, SHOWING THE ROUTE FOLLOWED BY LIEUTENANT-COMMANDER GILLMORE.

"Aguinaldo's capital was a well-built town, with regular streets and many brick buildings, not unlike a European town of 8,000 or 10,000 population. The house occupied by the family of the insurgent chief was pointed out to us, but we did not see him; and as we were locked up all the time, of course we had no opportunity to ascertain what sort of a government organization he maintained there. In a few days there were rumors of a near approach of the American troops, and great excitement prevailed among the people. From our prison we could see them running to and fro. The streets were filled with

caratons, or native carts, laden with all manner of household effects, and surrounded by panic-stricken, jabbering men, women, and children, breaking for the mountains. Once we thought we could hear the distant rumble of our artillery, and then it was our turn to become excited."

AN INDIAN ACCOUNT OF CUSTER'S LAST FIGHT.

ONE of the most interesting articles in the *Chautauquan* for July is "The Story of the Little Big Horn," told by Dr. Charles A. Eastman, a full-blooded Sioux Indian, who has made a special study of Custer's last battle.

Dr. Eastman is convinced that the number of Indian warriors engaged at the Little Big Horn has been greatly exaggerated by all the historians of the fight. He estimates that there were not more than 5,000 Indians in the camp that Custer attacked, and that the number of fighting men all told, including boys under eighteen and old men over seventy, many of whom had not sufficient weapons, could not have exceeded 1,400. After describing the hemming in of Custer's column by the Indians, Dr. Eastman's account continues:

"At first the general kept his men intact, but the deafening war-whoops and the rattling sound of the gunshots frightened the horses. The soldiers had no little trouble from this source. Finally, they let go of their horses

and threw themselves flat upon the ground, sending volley after volley into the whirling masses of the enemy.

"The signal was given for a general charge. Crazy Horse with the Ogallalas, and Little Horse and White Bull with the Cheyennes, now came forward with a tremendous yell. The brave soldiers sent into their ranks a heavy volley that checked them for a moment. At this instant a soldier upon a swift horse started for the river, but was brought down. Again the Indians signaled for a charge. This time the attack was made from all sides. Now they came pell-mell

among the soldiers. One company was chased along the ridge to the south, out of which a man got away. A mighty yell went up from the Indians as he cleared the attacking forces, as if they were glad that he succeeded. Away he went toward Reno's position. The rest of the company were now falling fast, and the ridge was covered with the slain.

BRAVERY OF THE SOLDIERS.

"'Hay-ay! hay-ay! Woo! woo! The soldier who escaped is coming back!' The man now appeared again upon the ridge where he had just escaped death, closely pursued by fifteen warriors. He was more than half-way down to Reno's stand when the party set upon him. They were coming up from the other battle. Some say that this soldier took his own life when he was driven back to the main body of the Indians.

"The soldiers found near the spot where the big monument now stands fought best and longest. The Indians used many arrows and war-clubs when the two forces came closer together. There was one officer and his attendant who fought their way almost through, but they were killed at last. They fell farthest toward the east, at the head of the ravine. It is said that the private stood over the wounded officer, and when two warriors attacked him he killed one of them, but the other lassoed him and dragged him away.

"Thus ended the last battle and the career of a daring American officer. It was a surprise to the Sioux that he held his men together so well."



GEN. GEORGE A. CUSTER.

DID THE INDIANS OUTGENERAL CUSTER?

"The battle of the Little Big Horn was a Waterloo for General Custer, and the last effective defense of the Black Hills by the Sioux. It was a fair fight. Custer offered battle and was defeated. He was clearly outgeneralled at his own stratagem. Had he gone down just half a mile farther and crossed the stream where Crazy Horse did a few minutes later, he might have carried out his plan of surprising the Indian village and taking the Indian warriors at a disadvantage in the midst of their women and children.

"Was it a massacre? Were Custer and his men sitting by their camp-fires when attacked by the Sioux? Was he disarmed and then fired upon? No. Custer had followed the trail of these Indians for two days, and finally overtook them. He found and met just the Indians he was looking for. He had a fair chance to defeat the Sioux, had his support materialized and brought their entire force to bear upon the enemy in the first instance.

"I reiterate that there were not 12,000 to 15,000 Indians at that camp, as has been represented; nor were there over 1,000 warriors in the fight. It is not necessary to exaggerate the number of the Indians engaged in this notable battle. The simple truth is that Custer met the combined forces of the hostiles, which were greater than his own, and that he had not so much underestimated their numbers as their ability."

HOW SHALL SOUTH AFRICA BE RECONSTRUCTED?

MR. EDWARD DICEY, writing in the *Fortnightly* on the "Policy of Peace," recognizes that British supremacy in a self-governed South Africa can best be secured by an increase in the British resident population. Government irrigation works might make it worth while for younger sons of good family, now serving under Lord Roberts, to settle on the land. But his chief hope is that the staffing of the railroads, the building and mine-sinking which will follow the war, will retain a large number of skilled artisans among the reservists, militia, and yeomanry. He especially urges the development of the mining industry, and pays this tribute to its present chiefs:

"I know of no mining community where the capitalists have done so much to provide for the comfort and convenience of the workers in their service, have lavished money so freely on all works of public utility, or have so identified themselves with the interests of the industry by which they have made their fortunes."

He also insists :

"The time has come to put aside the prejudices caused by the raid, and to avail ourselves freely of the services of the British party—of which, in fact, if not in name, Mr. Cecil Rhodes still remains the leader. We have a hard task before us, and we need the help of all South African statesmen who, whatever errors they may be deemed to have committed, have always been loyal in their allegiance to the mother country."

Settle Soldiers as Farmers?

Col. J. G. B. Stopford has an article in the *Nineteenth Century* dealing with the proposals for settling time-expired soldiers in South Africa. The bulk of his article is devoted to recapitulation of the difficulties which settlers would meet with, but he does not think the project by any means impossible. He says :

"If the force which it is necessary to maintain in Africa be composed of men chosen because of their wish to settle permanently in the country, they might be divided into regiments of 1,000 or 500, or a less number of men, as the facilities for accumulating water might render advisable, and be settled in communities, whose houses might extend for some miles along a course, the center part of which would be supplied with water from a dam made by blocking a valley or depression in the ground.

"For a year, or two years, or as long as it was necessary to complete the works, these men might receive pay and be under military discipline, and would work under the direction of officers. During this time they would construct a dam, and build themselves houses and fences and prepare the land for sowing.

"As the force, after their recent experiences, would not require much military training, the whole of their time would be available to make the farm, and when they were released from service they should be able to continue in their houses and on their holdings at such terms as might be arranged."

"The Unmakers of England."

Karl Blind, writing in the July *Fortnightly* on France, Russia, and the peace of the world, concludes that "there are great perils ahead for England." He says :

"For the calm observer there can be no doubt that the conscience of the civilized world has, in this South African war, been as much shocked as if some Continental power were to destroy by force of arms the independence and the republican institutions of Switzerland, or the independence and the somewhat conservative institutions

of the Netherlands. An outcry of indignation at such a deed would ring all over the world. Such an outcry has rung, in the present instance, from Europe to America, and it is being taken up even by cultured Indians of the most loyal character. The friends of England abroad are angered and sad at heart. Her enemies are reckoning upon what may befall her some day, when she will be assailed by a variety of complications. More than one storm-cloud is already in course of formation. The time may not be too far when those answerable for what is done now will appear before history, not as the makers of new imperial glories, but as the thoughtless unmakers of England."

FRENCH VIEWS OF THE BOERS.

IN the first June number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, M. Leclercq writes an interesting paper on "The Origins of the South African Republics." Of these he says that, while it is well known how England seized the Cape Colony in 1806, where the Dutch had been established towards the middle of the seventeenth century, it is not so well known how the descendants of those same Dutchmen, unable to bear the foreign yoke, expatriated themselves in that famous exodus which the Boers call the Great Trek. James Anthony Froude describes it in "Oceana." The desire to change one's abode is, with the Boers, a kind of sixth sense. They are, unlike other peasants, fond of leading a sedentary life at certain times, and at other times they are nomads. That is why every Boer possesses, or desires to possess, several farms separated by considerable distances. If his pastoral occupations are not successful at one farm, the Boer will trek with his live-stock and his family to another, perhaps more favorably situated. M. Leclercq compares the Boers with the Irish, who were, he says, similarly expatriated at the same time, and also with the Israelites, who had a similar absolute confidence in God. He assures us that the Voortrekkers always led a pure life, free from drunkenness, luxury, and quarrels, although they had no law courts and no police; and he says that the fact that the people could remain for so many years outside all contact with civilization without falling into gross barbarism would be inexplicable if the cause were sought for elsewhere than in the fear of God and the principles of the Decalogue, with which the Boers were inspired.

BRITISH CALUMNIES.

The moving spirit of the Great Trek was Prinsloo—the Protector of the People, as the Boers called him. The colonial government at-

tempted to repress the rebellion with ruthless severity; and there is a story of the execution of five rebels, who had to be hanged twice, because the first time they broke the rope with their weight, which is still remembered in South Africa. The language question caused great bitterness, for Dutch was not taught in the schools; all legal proceedings were conducted in English, and no one could serve on a jury unless he understood English. All this wounded the pride of the Boers. On the other side, the worst accusations were launched against the Boers by the natives, which, being credited by the English, caused the name of Boer to become an object of execration throughout Europe. The Boers were accused of assassinating the natives with the most horrible refinements of cruelty; and M. Leclercq tells us that, under the pretext of philanthropy and religious propaganda, these calumnies were spread by the English missionaries. The accusations were so precise that the government instituted an inquiry which lasted for several months, and ended, according to M. Leclercq, in no single one of the horrible accusations being proved.

THE KAFFIR QUESTION.

M. Leclercq also defends the Boers from the charge of subjecting the natives to degrading slavery. Their condition he represents rather as that of the manservants and maidservants who formed the household of the old Biblical patriarchs. Moreover, the Boers as a whole desired to abolish the titular institution of slavery. In a meeting which was held at Graaf Reiniet, in 1826, it was expressly declared that "all the members of the assembly wished for the complete suppression of slavery, provided that this desire could be realized on reasonable conditions. The only difficulty was the mode of carrying it out." The objection which the Boers entertained to the freeing of the slaves appears, therefore, to have been not one of principle, but directed to the suddenness of the measure. Emancipation was decreed in 1834, and the British Parliament voted the sum of £20,000,000 sterling as compensation for securing the liberty of the slaves in all the British colonies. At the Cape there were 39,000 slaves, who were valued at over £3,000,000 sterling; nevertheless, the share which South Africa obtained of the compensation was reduced to £1,200,000. This aroused absolute consternation in the colony, for many of the Boers had pledged their slaves as security for loans; and, moreover, the compensation was only payable in London, so that the slave-owners were obliged to employ agents, who took care to secure an enormous profit. The

result was widespread misery at the Cape, and many hundreds of families who had been well-to-do were reduced to poverty.

Another cause had previously contributed to the ruin of the Boers; namely, the action of the London Government in the year 1824 in withdrawing certain small bank-notes which had been issued at 4s., and were withdrawn at a reduction of more than 50 per cent. But the principal cause of the Great Trek was the Kaffir question. The Boers, M. Leclercq explains, had bitter experience of the falseness, "slimness," and rapacity of the Kaffirs, who were always pillaging and robbing them; whereas the English viewed the Kaffirs through the rosy spectacles of the Protestant missionaries. It is needless to follow M. Leclercq through the rest of his extremely interesting article, in which he shows how much the Boers had to contend with, and what astonishing blunders were made by the English.

Social Psychology of the Boers.

To the second June number of the *Revue de Paris*, M. Mille contributes a study of the Boers from the point of view of social psychology. M. Mille notes with astonishment that the English have practically not studied at all the nature of the Boers themselves. The books written about South Africa—at any rate, before the war broke out—dealt with gold mines or big-game shooting, and M. Mille could only find two exceptions: those of Livingston and Mr. Bryce. The inquirer who sought to understand the Boer nature was obliged to have recourse to Dutch or German books, or to the notes made by the French Protestant missionaries in Basutoland. M. Mille relates various stories which go to show the ignorance of the Boer of everything outside South Africa, and even of some things that are inside. He brings out clearly the patriarchal cohesion of the Boer families, and he goes on to explain the efforts which the Pretoria Government made in the cause of education. In 1886 there were 159 rural schools and 20 urban schools, and these had risen in 1896 to 330 and to 34, respectively; while the total number of pupils had risen from 4,016 to 7,738. Secondary education, too, had received a great impetus; but M. Mille does not disguise the fact that this interest in education is comparatively modern, and came from Europe: indeed, the majority of the teaching staff was composed of Hollanders and Germans. Nevertheless, the Boer is a great reader, and not of the Bible alone, but also of newspapers; in fact, as one shrewd observer has said of him, he is a politician to the marrow of his bones.

M. Mille then goes on to show that the theory

—so diligently propagated in England—that the Dutch element in South Africa had formed an old and long-elaborated plot for the destruction of British supremacy is not in accordance with the facts, but is rather contrary to them. As to the future, M. Mille declares that the gulf between the Afrikaners and the English is now perhaps impassable. He prophesies that England will attempt to submerge the Boers beneath a flood of emigrants from Scotland, Australia, and Canada, which he thinks will be a pity, because Australia and Canada are richer countries than South Africa, where the mines alone will continue to excite men's covetousness. M. Mille does not go so far as to say that reconciliation is impossible; the future is made up of so many elements that they cannot all be distinguished. But it is, he thinks, permissible to declare that no such difficult task has ever been imposed upon a conqueror. The economic antagonism between the two races will not disappear because the Pretoria forts are razed. The language, the family, the religious and social conceptions of the Boers will survive, and he thinks it will take many years to kill them.

TO TRAIN CIVIL SERVANTS.

MR. P. LYTTTELTON GELL'S article on "Administrative Reform in the Public Service" comes appropriately in the same number of the *Nineteenth Century* as Mr. Knowles' "Business Method Association." Mr. Gell's is a very interesting article, but his criticism is mainly devoted to the higher grades of the British civil service. There has not been sufficient expansion in the service to meet Imperial development, and the first step must therefore be to enlarge the number of well-paid and responsible posts. The second is no less important; for it is to "break up the system of watertight compartments and stereotyped positions in the public service. I would urge that the whole higher division should be regarded as a single service. It should not be merely permissible and exceptional, but an absolute rule, that men, especially young men, should be shifted from office to office in order to widen their experience, to freshen their views, and to elicit their abilities by contact with new questions and new conditions."

Mr. Gell points out that a large number of the most successful officials have had experience of a variety of services, civil and military. What is required to effect these and other reforms is a small but strong board of administrative control:

"This board would be as independent of all departments (the treasury not excepted) as the audit office is in regard to accounts; and, like

the audit office, it would present an independent report to Parliament; or, where expedient, a confidential report to a Parliamentary committee. It might consist of three paid commissioners, of whom not more than one should be a civil servant, two being men of experience in the industrial or commercial world. To these may be added four or six unpaid commissioners, who would be members of the upper or lower house, chosen for their business reputation—great ship-owners, railroad managers, or provincial manufacturers. It would be essential that there should be no *ex-officio* members, except perhaps the first civil-service commissioner. Above all, its political independence must be absolute."

OUR GOVERNMENTAL METHODS.

MR. CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF contributes, to the *Political Science Quarterly* for June, a timely paper on "The Complexity of American Governmental Methods." Mr. Woodruff directs our attention especially to the rigidity of our written constitutions, with their elaborate systems of checks and balances, and to the difficulties of our electoral machinery. He says:

"The American, in ordinary matters, likes directness. In business, industrial, and social affairs he comes straight to the point; and so he does, for that matter, in political affairs, except in his written constitutions. In these he still worships at the shrine of complexity and indirection. He has found a way out of the maze of his own theories, however, and through the medium of political parties carries out his intent and purposes with little loss of personal energy. Yet to secure his immediate ends quickly he pays a great price, which is exacted to the last farthing. Practically he surrenders governmental functions to the political party organization, in exchange for direct action on a few subjects of commanding importance. This practice has been so persisted in, that party success and supremacy have come to be considered as the ends rather than as the means to an end.

"We rail against bosses, and we denounce party organization, as if that would avail; while we overlook the direct cause of the whole trouble—the complexity of our methods. How is a voter who is called upon to vote for candidates for twenty-two offices at a single election to exercise that care and caution which a conscientious citizen should exercise?"

WHY THE BOSS EXISTS.

Mr. Woodruff shows that the party boss is the logical outgrowth of these conditions:

"Once agree, however, to surrender your judgment to the party, and you make the boss possible; for, by a further refinement of complexities, he possesses himself of the party organization, and then he is in a position to dictate his own terms and defy successful competition for years, if he does not overreach himself. Should he become too arrogant or ostentatious in the exercise of his power, which is likely to happen in time, he will in all likelihood bow his head to the storm and allow it to pass over. Then he, or another like him, is ready to pursue his old practices of giving to the politically lazy and negligent an opportunity to secure what they feel at the time they need the most, while he takes all the rest—and that is no small amount.

"We still maintain, however, that we must afford no opportunity for the creation of a dictator; that there must be frequent change in office and a multiplicity of offices, to prevent the formation of an aristocracy of office-holders; and that we must surround our legislatures with abundant safeguards, lest our liberties be filched away. Consequently, we play directly into the hands of the worst sort of a dictator—an unofficial one. Let us, if necessary, officialize our dictator. Let us recognize that concentration is the order of the day and essential to efficiency. Let us recognize that direct action is better than indirection, and then change our laws and constitutions accordingly."

ENGLAND'S EXAMPLE.

Mr. Woodruff cites the case of England to show that the checks and balances of our written constitutions are by no means essential to the preservation or extension of political liberty.

"The case of England also proves that, where directness of action is substituted for indirectness and simplicity for complexity, the party machine and the party boss in the American sense have no chance for growth or development. The legitimate political leader has ample field for activity; but the party boss has little or none, because there is little or nothing concerning the government and its general conduct which the voter, with the exercise of average intelligence and ordinary prudence, cannot himself determine. The English voter expresses his views on national questions when he votes for a member of Parliament, and on local matters when he votes for aldermen. He is not called upon to exercise his judgment in the selection of clerks of the court and secretaries of internal affairs and recorders of deeds." In fact, the English voter never bothers his head about clerical positions under the government.

A NEW EXPOSITION OF SOVEREIGNTY.

PROF. JOHN R. COMMONS contributes, to the *American Journal of Sociology* for July, the seventh and concluding article of a series on "A Sociological View of Sovereignty." The general argument running through the series is that each social institution—family, church, the state, industry, political party—begins as private property and develops toward monopoly. The family begins as private property in women and children; the church as private property in relics, sacred places, and sacrifices; industry as private property in men, land, and capital; the political party as private property in the ballot. Private property applies only to those requisites of survival in the struggle for existence which are scarce, and therefore valuable. Scarcity is relative. Women, children, and men are scarce in early times, and therefore private property develops into polygamy and slavery as a means of direct domination. In later times land is scarce and men are superfluous, and private property develops into corporations, trusts, and political parties—a means of indirect domination through control of the means of subsistence. Survival of the fittest is the survival of the fittest institution,—i.e., of the strongest form of domination,—and depends upon size, unity, and generalship. This ends in centralization and monopoly of private property, and we have patriarch, pope, emperor, trust, and boss.

When this monopoly stage is reached, there are two alternative lines of further movement—the Asiatic and the Anglo-European. In the Asiatic line the monopoly is handed down to successors, and becomes hereditary despotism. In the Anglo-European line the subordinate classes are admitted as partners in the ownership of the institution, and they secure what are called "rights." Here is where the state emerges as the institution which extracts coercion,—i.e., private property from each of the other institutions,—and constitutes itself the framework of each, in order to regulate the rights of subordinates. The wife secures the right to refuse marriage and to obtain divorce, enforced in court; the state takes children away from parents who treat them as mere animal property; the state confiscated the property of the church and legalized heresy—the right to be one's own high-priest; the American state is taking the ballot and the party primary out of the hands of the party managers and giving the rank and file the right to elect the boss; the state itself has led the way by giving to subordinate classes a veto on the king in the form of parliament, or even by electing the king. If the trust follows the Anglo-European precedents, it will end in

the right of employees and the public to elect the trustees.

The state having been differentiated as the coercive institution of society on the basis of self-government, the other institutions are left to stand each on its own peculiarly persuasive basis: the family on sexual and parental love, and the patriarch becomes the husband; the church on faith, and the priest becomes the minister; the party on its principles, and the boss becomes the statesman; the trust on love of work, and the corporation becomes the coöperation.

OBJECTIONS TO THE REFERENDUM.

SOME objections to the proposed adoption of the Swiss plan of an optional referendum in the United States are stated in the *July Arena*, by Dr. Edwin Maxey, who nevertheless declares himself in favor of a trial of the experiment. The objections to the plan, as they present themselves to Dr. Maxey, are as follows:

"In the first place, it is cumbersome, requiring machinery of the State to be brought into action for purposes for which it is not well adapted. It is also expensive. Nor is this a trifling matter, when we consider the necessary outlay for printing in the various newspapers and in holding the elections, which includes costs of ballots, rent of polling-rooms, pay of judges, inspectors, and clerks, and a reasonable estimate for time spent by voters. It would necessitate either that a great number of elections be held, which in itself would lead to turmoil and confusion, or that a number of bills be voted upon at the same election—in which case the voter could know very little of the merits of the bills upon which he was voting; hence, his judgment could have but little value.

"The impossibility of the voter familiarizing himself with the bills upon which he is to pass will appear immediately from an inspection of the records of legislatures in such States as New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Ohio, and Illinois; for, as a matter of fact, diligent legislators (for there are some diligent legislators), whose entire time and energy are spent in studying bills, are unfamiliar with many bills that are passed by their State legislatures.

"It is hardly fair to legislation; for when submission of a bill is secured by petition it is *prima-facie* evidence that it is objectionable, and to overcome this presumption would require a careful study of the bill, which the average voter has not the time to give. The above theory has proved to be the fact in Switzerland, where we find that nearly every bill submitted to the electorate is killed because of prejudged notions; and

a large portion of bills thus rejected are found by careful, candid investigation to be wise measures. This is particularly true of appropriation bills, the majority of which were in nowise extravagant; but somehow most men have a constitutional aversion to paying taxes, and hence to ratify measures that will necessitate any increase in taxes. It might not lessen the amount of partisan legislation, but on the other hand it might increase it; for the demagogue would have a wider field and more occasions to manifest that concern for the welfare of his fellow-men which is consuming in its intensity.

VOTERS' STUDY MEN RATHER THAN MEASURES.

"Men are, as a rule, better fitted and have greater confidence in their ability to pass upon the qualifications of legislators about whom they know considerable than upon measures about which they know very little. In other words, average men study biography much more carefully than they study political science; therefore, men more readily yield to the judgment of others as to the wisdom of a measure than as to the qualifications of a man. Thus it might infuse into our civic system more 'peanut' politics, of which we are already suffering from an overdose. In fact, it is easily conceivable that the petition for submission might emanate from partisan motives rather than from a sense of the injustice or the inexpediency of the measure.

"It would essentially change the character of the legislature, by removing in large part its responsibility for legislation, until it would soon become little more than a drafting committee.

OTHER OBJECTIONS.

"In its present state of development, the plan is defective in that it makes no provision for amending a bill or for striking out a mischievous clause from a bill otherwise unobjectionable. This defect could, however, be remedied in part by making such changes in it as we have made in the veto power of governors and mayors—by enabling them to veto specific clauses and thus cut off riders to appropriation bills, etc."

Dr. Maxey thinks that the power of the courts in controlling legislation would be weakened, but this would be hailed as a distinct advantage in some States. He also thinks that State constitutions would be cheapened by the adoption of legislation having an equal sanction with the constitution.

He admits, however, that the plan is "consistent with the genius of our political system and would be politically educative, with at least nothing explosive about it." Hence, he thinks that the referendum should have the benefit of a fair trial.

THE SEVEN GREAT SEA POWERS.

MR. J. HOLT SCHOOLING contributes to the July *Fortnightly* an ingenious paper on the "Naval Strength of the Seven Sea Powers." He takes the figures of fighting tonnage given in government returns, and discounts them according to the age of the men-of-war. His estimate is :

The 1895-1899 ships are worth 100 per cent.	
" 1890-1894 "	80 "
" 1885-1889 "	60 "
" 1880-1884 "	40 "
" Before 1880 "	20 "

He then sets side by side figures gross and net :

BATTLESHIPS.

As compiled from Admiralty return.			After tonnage has been depreciated on account of the age of ships.		
	Tons.	Percentage of Total Tonnage.		Tons.	Percentage of Total Tonnage.
Great Britain	821,605	39.4		604,141	38.3
France.....	359,599	16.3		220,635	14.0
Russia.....	262,912	12.6		221,988	14.1
Italy.....	183,004	9.3		112,899	7.1
Germany.....	191,259	9.2		152,929	9.7
United States.....	184,144	8.8		176,708	11.2
Japan.....	92,420	4.4		88,088	5.6
Total.....	2,084,943	100.0		1,577,388	100.0

CRUISERS.

As compiled from Admiralty return.			After tonnage has been depreciated on account of the age of ships.		
	Tons.	Percentage of Total Tonnage.		Tons.	Percentage of Total Tonnage.
Great Britain	827,430	47.9		650,779	46.5
France.....	297,486	17.3		255,351	18.3
Russia.....	144,673	8.4		111,063	7.9
United States.....	140,274	8.1		120,379	8.6
Japan.....	114,479	6.6		103,141	7.4
Germany.....	107,844	6.3		81,626	5.8
Italy.....	93,673	5.4		76,958	5.5
Total.....	1,725,859	100.0		1,399,297	100.0

TOTAL.

After dealing similarly with other classes of ships, the writer offers this summary of the total strength of the powers :

	Tons of Fighting Weight, 000 omitted.	Taking the Navy of Japan as the Unit of Strength, the Degrees of Strength are:
I. Great Britain	1,347	6.88
II. France.....	543	2.57
III. Russia.....	397	1.88
IV. United States.....	349	1.65
V. Germany.....	282	1.34
VI. Italy.....	218	1.03
VII. Japan.....	211	1.00
	3,347	

The writer is especially glad to point out that Great Britain possesses 100 tons of good fighting weight to every 70 tons possessed by France

and Russia combined. Even the navies of France, Russia, and Germany in combination furnish only 1,222,000, as against England's 1,347,000 of adjusted fighting tonnage.

GERMAN TRADE JEALOUSY.

"OUR Relations with Germany" is the subject of an article in the July *Forum*, by Mr. Williams C. Fox. The hostile attitude of German statesmen to the United States is attributed, by this writer, to commercial jealousies. He says :

"The more recent reports of our consuls in Germany point to the great irritation there on account of the thorough manner in which the administrative features of the United States tariff law successfully circumvent all efforts at undervaluation. A cause of great anxiety is said to be the claim that the balance of trade has turned in favor of the United States, and, furthermore, that we are proving an ardent competitor in the foreign markets. The export of textiles to this country—just that branch of industry wherein Germany has worked so hard and accomplished so much through the technical education of her workmen—has fallen off. The French reciprocity treaty is regarded as a menace. In view of these facts, the meat-inspection bill has, at first glance, a suspicion of effort at retaliation ; but an analysis of the vote on the bill shows that it was opposed by the Radical and Social Democratic parties, because of the fear that the absolute prohibition of the importation of sausages and tinned meats, and the restrictions which are placed on other kinds of meat, would seriously raise the cost of living among the poorer classes. If this be so, the measure has a marked element of weakness ; and any interest which it is possibly intended to injure may rest easy in the firm belief that the burden which it carries will eventually break it down. The bill was opposed also by the Agrarians, their reason being, however, that it was not stringent enough.

"In America we do not understand how the jealousies of commercial interests could have so poisoned the minds of statesmen as to prompt such actions in international affairs as have been those of Germany toward the United States. The exclusion of the American life insurance companies was unprecedented, and all the phases of it were simply exasperating. The statement that the balance of trade is largely against Germany and in favor of the United States must be taken *cum grano salis*. The question of transshipment of goods arriving at German ports and destined for other countries is an important equation, and one which should be carefully consid-

ered. The large difference apparent between our imports from Switzerland and our direct exports to that country is a case in point. In reality, the balance of trade, if we include the indirect shipments to Switzerland via Hamburg, Bremen, Antwerp, and Havre, is far less than the statistics would lead us to infer.

"The enforcement of our tariff laws should not cause irritation; and honest exporters should not complain of, but rather be grateful for, the safeguards which have been adopted to prevent undervaluation. And what reasonable cause for ill feeling between two great countries can there be at the efforts of the one to compete in foreign markets with the other? Germany has successfully rivaled Great Britain; and there are many fields in which it will take the United States years even to rival let alone supplant her. We consider that the South American markets should be ours, and we intend to do our best to secure the lion's share of them; not by the adoption of extraneous methods, but by earnest efforts to comply with the conditions, and to smooth the way by reciprocal advantages."

CAN THE WORLD'S WHEAT SUPPLY BE CORNERED?

IN the August *McClure's*, Mr. J. D. Whelpley gives an account of a curious diplomatic incident four years ago, the details of which have not, according to the editor of *McClure's*, been before published. On November 4, 1896, just on the eve of the Presidential election in the United States, the Russian minister to the United States, Mr. Kotzebue, acting under instructions from his government, proposed to the Hon. Richard Olney, then the American Secretary of State, that Russia and the United States should enter into a combine to corner the surplus wheat of the world for the purpose of raising the price of that cereal 100 per cent. As explained by the Russian minister, this government trust was to be created primarily for the benefit of the farmers of Russia and the United States; but it was believed that it would result, in time, to be of equal benefit to the wheat producers of the entire world.

This Russian scheme had been formulated after a twenty-five years' study of the wheat market by the Russian department of finance, which had led to the belief that the price of wheat was manipulated by speculators, and that nearly every year the farmer was the victim of their operations. As Russia and the United States together produced about 90 per cent. of the breadstuffs entering into international trade, it was believed that by effecting this combination the two coun-

tries could fix the price of wheat in all the markets of the world. Secretary Olney referred the proposition to the Hon. J. Sterling Morton, then Secretary of Agriculture. The reply of the United States to the first overtures made by Russia was so conclusive, even to brusqueness, that it left no opening for more discussion; hence, the diplomatic record goes no farther. The plan favored by Russia would have applied to the two countries first entering into the agreement, and subsequently to all of the other wheat-exporting countries, which in self-defense would soon have been forced to join the great international wheat trust.

HOW THE WHEAT WAS TO BE CORNERED.

However, Mr. Whelpley has obtained from Russian sources what he considers the main provisions of the scheme, which are very striking in their simplicity and boldness: The two governments were to enter the market as buyers of wheat at the stated price of \$1.00 per bushel. They were also to agree to sell this wheat at a price which would cover the original outlay, interest on the money invested, and the cost of doing the business. From the Russian point of view, this would have been included in a charge of \$1.08 a bushel for all wheat sold. If the supply of wheat was such that foreign buyers could not pay the price, the two governments were to absorb the surplus grain through banks or other agencies, and store it against a time when it might be needed to supply a deficiency in the crop.

"The theory underlying the scheme was that all the wheat of the world is now needed for food. With a guaranteed market at \$1.00 a bushel, no one could buy it anywhere for less, and all the wheat would still be sold to the consumers as now, except that the price could never go below the standing offer of the United States and Russian governments. It is not believed by Russia that dollar-wheat would mean any decrease in consumption anywhere, as the difference in price for the small quantity used by the individual consumer would not be appreciable, and wheat has many times before reached and exceeded the dollar-point without decreasing the amount consumed. It is not believed, therefore, that under this plan either government would ever need to become an actual purchaser, to maintain the price agreed upon; and on the theory that the higher the price of wheat the better it is for the wheat-producing countries, no concern would be felt for any fluctuations above the dollar-mark.

"As Russia and the United States produce such a large percentage of the wheat of the world,

the export wheat of all other countries would also keep the same level, varying only according to differences in cost of transportation to competitive markets. With the export price at least \$1.00, domestic prices would be the same, and thus the action of Russia and the United States would raise the price of all the wheat in every wheat-growing country on the face of the earth. Mr. Morton has admitted that such a course might temporarily increase the price of wheat, but that in the end production would be so stimulated as to cause a vast overproduction and consequent inability of the wheat-producing countries to control the product. The Russians answer this by saying that even if such overproduction were possible, which they do not admit, it would be some time before it would be felt, and that if the time arrived when it was actually imminent, the government price could be lowered so as to discourage further expansion of the wheat area. They also agree with those economists who contend that the possible wheat area of the world has nearly reached its final limits, and that at the most the expansion of this area is a slow process, producing hardly perceptible effect upon the supply in relation to the demand, owing to the steady increase in population and the consuming power of the people of the earth. The Russians also instance the control of the oil supply of the world by a private trust as an example of what could be done with wheat by two great countries furnishing nearly all of the product and with unlimited financial and other resources.

THE EFFECT ON PRICES.

"It is unlikely that the United States, within the life of the present generation at least, will seriously consider such a plan. It is contrary to the recognized principles of a republic which, theoretically at least, does not interfere with the business of the individual, fights shy of paternalism, and as a government of the people by all the people, denies that any one industry can hope for such specialized effort on its behalf. The possibilities of such a government wheat trust as is proposed by Russia are startling. The wheat crop of the world in 1898 was 2,879,000,000 bushels. The price realized by the farmer is about fifty cents a bushel under ordinary conditions. Russia proposes to add nearly \$1,500,000,000 to the value of this wheat crop of the world. To the United States, producing nearly 700,000,000 bushels, this would mean a gain of about \$350,000,000 to the agricultural districts. To the Russian farmers, producing about 400,000,000 bushels, it would mean a yearly gain of \$200,000,000, which would be nearly all net profit, as the consumption of wheat

by the farmer bears small proportion to his production. On the other hand, to England, importing 125,000,000 bushels of wheat, it would mean an increase of over \$60,000,000 a year in her bread bill. The farmers of the United Kingdom would be benefited to the extent of \$30,000,000 by the increased price for their wheat; but the Russian-American wheat trust would deal the English people the hardest blow of all."

A CENTURY OF IRISH IMMIGRATION.

IN the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* for July, Mr. H. J. Desmond presents interesting statistics of the Irish element in the population of the United States. He says:

"During the present century 4,500,000 people of Irish birth emigrated to the United States, and at the close of the century there are more than 5,000,000 Americans of Irish parentage—a number greater than the whole white population of the United States at the beginning of the century.

"The close of the century, too, finds more people of Irish parentage in the United States than in Ireland. Ireland has sent more colonists to North America during the nineteenth century than all Europe sent in 300 years. As compared in numbers, all the previous great migrations of history dwindle into insignificance when placed side by side with the Irish migration. The successive migrations which overturned the Roman Empire did not aggregate within 1,000,000 of nineteenth-century Irish immigration.

"From 1840 to 1860, 2,000,000 Irish immigrants settled in the United States; from 1860 to 1880, 1,000,000, and another 1,000,000 from 1880 to the present time. The tide of immigration, which was accelerated by the famine of 1847 to 1,000,000 a decade, has averaged a little over 500,000 a decade since 1860.

TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION.

"Had Irish migration been directed to the virgin forests of the Northwest, it might have founded here a dozen great Irish-American States of the Union. Economic conditions and divers other causes decreed that it should end its journey among the New England and Middle States. Here, at the close of the century, reside three-fifths of the Irish immigrants and their descendants. Something over a fourth of this immigration found its way to the twelve agricultural States called the North Central States: Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota.

"This circumstance of territorial distribution

has decidedly influenced the occupation and social condition of the Irish immigrants. The people of the North Atlantic States are more of an urban than an agricultural people, but one-fifth of their number living on farms. On the other hand, nearly half of the people of the twelve North Central States, the West of other days, are farmers.

"But as the Irish immigrants are most largely settled in the non-agricultural States, it happens that they are to-day less of an agricultural people than any other considerable element of our population, but 15 per cent. of their whole number residing on the farms of the country.

"In the twelve North Central States above mentioned, nearly a third of the Irish-born people are engaged in agriculture—a percentage not greatly below that of their neighbors of other racial extractions. In Iowa, for instance, according to the census of 1890, there were over 50,000 people of Irish maternity pursuing gainful occupations, 25,000 of whom were engaged in agriculture. In the Dakotas, of 14,000 persons of Irish maternity pursuing gainful occupations, nearly 8,000 were farmers. In Wisconsin, of 50,000 persons of Irish maternity pursuing gainful occupations, 22,000 were engaged in farming; these statistics going to show that occupation is largely determined by the matter of a people's territorial distribution."

AN URBAN RATHER THAN A RURAL POPULATION.

From his study of the census figures, Mr. Desmond derives the following conclusions:

"I. Had the Irish immigration been settled on the farms of the country rather than in the cities, its numerical strength in the several census enumerations would be greater.

"II. It has been distanced numerically by the German element (1) because German immigration was larger; (2)

because the conditions for natural increase are better among the Germans—they being more largely settled on the farms.

"III. Compared with the native population, in the Eastern States especially, the Irish element (in common with other immigrant elements) is increasing and will increase relatively much more rapidly. In many New England cities, and in three of the New England States, the Irish element will ultimately constitute an actual majority of the population. This would also be the case with New York and Chicago, except for the larger German element, which keeps pace with or passes the Irish element in natural increase."

THE HULL-OTTAWA FIRE.

IN the *Canadian Magazine* for July, Mr. Franklin Gadsby gives an interesting account of the great fire that swept over large portions of the cities of Hull and Ottawa on April 26 last.

The fire originated in the upsetting of a lamp in the humble dwelling of Antoine Kirouac, in Hull. This was at half-past ten o'clock in the morning. The big gale blowing from the northeast made quick work of the inflammable houses in Hull, and by twelve o'clock the flames had reached the river-bank and leaped across to the Ottawa side. The fire then retraced its steps in Hull, and destroyed a group of factories. All the afternoon and evening it continued to make fearful headway in both cities. The results are best summarized in Mr. Gadsby's own words:



Courtesy of the *Canadian Magazine*.

OTTAWA—THE BURNED DISTRICT.

"The bare facts of the matter are that the fire blazed a crescent-shaped path five miles long and a mile wide, destroying in its journey the public buildings and the residential part of Hull, the industrial area of the Chaudiere, and the suburbs of the Ottawa laboring classes at Mechanicsburg, Rochesterville, and Hintonburg. Fully 15,000 people were rendered homeless, and \$15,000,000 worth of property was annihilated. The relief fund for the homeless, most of whom have already left the public shelters, now approximates \$1,000,000. Insurance to the amount of \$4,000,000 has been paid."

THE CALAMITY ON ITS PICTURESQUE SIDE.

Mr. Gadsby made several patrols of the two cities while the fire was in progress, and in this article he records his impressions :

"The most vivid picture of the fire that lingers with me is one seen at half-past seven in the evening from Parliament Hill. The shades of night are falling, and a glorious sunset flames behind the purple Laurentians. But Nature's splendor is eclipsed by the red hell that flares and flickers in the valley of the Ottawa. The erstwhile flourishing city of Hull seems to be utterly doomed. The fierce gale has swept the fire westward to the limits of the town. Now the fire of its own force and volition shoulders back against the wind and eats up massive buildings like so much paper. I note one roof after another twinkle, glow, and burst out in garish effulgence. The millions of feet of lumber all along the river-banks are alight. The lurid, enfolded smoke floats in dense plumes over Parliament Hill and the towers of the national buildings. Half the population of Ottawa is lined along the escarpment of the cliff, watching the spectacle. It is not often you have a chance to see a city burning at your feet. Nero is notorious, but Nero had not a vantage-point like Parliament Hill. There are young girls in this throng who have watched all afternoon, and will watch far into the night; for the scene is terribly compelling in its fascination. Also there is a spice of danger. At any moment the fire may leap across the Ottawa to Lower Town, and once those tinder-dry dwellings feel the caress of the fire, there will be, as somebody at my side says, hell to pay.

"So much for Hull. The red glow in the southwest tells us that the cordon of fire is closing in on Ottawa. The firemen have been working like heroes. Only a bite and a sup since 11 o'clock in the morning. They have fought stubbornly, yielding inch by inch, never retreating until the flames scorched their heads or burned their hose-lines. The police are doing their duty

manfully, but the fire-line is hard to maintain against distracted men and women who see their little all going up in sparks and cracklings.

"Darkness hovers over the whole city, for the electric-light works have been destroyed. There is nothing to divert the attention from the menacing grandeur of the conflagration. The river flows along black and sullen, save where it is traversed by broad red shafts of light from burning deals or mill-flumes. Only one building stands unsinged on Chaudiere Island—the iron-sheeted structure of the Ottawa carbide works. It looms up like a great unwieldy ghost. Over in Hull to-day, the humble but devout people, as they saw the fire drawing ever nearer, hung sacred pictures on the door-jambs to avert the wrath of *le bon Dieu*, or else they fled to the cathedral and prayed wildly for the flames to abate. Alas! that prayers are not always answered! An hour later these suppliants were fleeing barefooted to the river. Oh, the pity of it!"

NEW SOURCES OF LIGHT.

UNDER the title "New Sources of Light and of Röntgen Rays," Dr. Henry Carington Bolton contributes an article to the July number of the *Popular Science Monthly* which suggests the fulfillment of an alchemist's dream.

There are many animal forms, and some plants that generate light not associated with heat—as, for example, the common firefly. This form of light-production has been looked upon as ideal from the standpoint of effectiveness and economy; but although the light has been tested by the spectroscope, and although we know it results from the oxidation of substances secreted by the firefly itself, no one has ever succeeded in imitating the process and applying it to practical purposes. Inanimate sources of light, such as calcium and barium sulphides, are known; but their activity is only temporary and is dependent upon previous excitation. The properties of the substances described by Dr. Bolton are innate, and their radiations, apparently, can be continued indefinitely.

THE BECQUEREL RAYS.

The discoveries began with the uranium compounds. Soon after the discovery of the Röntgen rays, Becquerel found that uranium salts emit invisible radiations, capable of discharging electrified bodies and of producing skiagraphic images on electric plates. These rays were given off by the non-fluorescent salts as well as the brilliantly fluorescent ones, by crystalline compounds, by solutions of the metal, and by the metal itself. They are called Becquerel rays.

THREE NEW ELEMENTS.

Later, it was learned that calcium and zinc sulphides and compounds of thorium gave similar radiations. The examination of pitchblende or uraninite showed that it was more active than uranium itself, and this led to tests for some element contained in the compounds that was the true source of the emanations. The substance found was named polonium. It is analogous to bismuth, and is estimated as being four thousand times as strong as the metal uranium.

This discovery resulted from the joint work of Mme. Curie and her husband, and it is gratifying to know that it was rewarded by the Gegner prize of 4,000 francs.

Directly afterward, it was found that pitchblende contained a second substance (radium), which is spontaneously luminous, and a third investigator under the direction of Mme. Curie discovered actinium.

Polonium, radium, and actinium appear to be elements. They have different chemical relationships and different properties—polonium sending out invisible rays, radium having visible rays and being radio-active and belonging to the titanium series. Their radiations are apparently kept up without loss of energy; a specimen kept in a double-lead box for three years was still active.

From a still later experiment performed by Bela von Lengyel, of Budapest, it appears that radium may be made synthetically. He fused uranium nitrate with a small amount of barium nitrate, and treated the mass with acids, producing a compound that gave out actinic rays and X-rays, excited a platino-cyanide screen, and caused air to conduct electricity.

The compounds giving such unexpected results have long been experimented upon in the laboratories without these properties becoming evident before; and this suggests the probability of there being other compounds with similar properties which have been overlooked, but may become apparent if experiments are carried on in the dark, and with attention specially directed to these activities.

UTILIZATION IN THE ARTS.

Practical application of the discoveries remains to be worked out. At present, preparation of the substances is difficult and expensive, but new and readily available means may be found.

Marvelous possibilities are suggested. Municipal street-lighting may be reduced to the mere elevation of a block of this material to a suitable position, where it will shine for years, just as a piece of myrrh will radiate perfume indefinitely without becoming appreciably lessened. Or, the

future manufacturer of bicycle-lamps may advertise the superiority of a piece of radiant mineral over the present clumsy contrivance, that is liable to burn out at the most inauspicious moment; and the radiation of so many X-rays about our cities may make a reality of the transparencies which the caricaturist has shown us.

HOW THE VENOM OF SERPENTS IS COLLECTED.

THE East is, of a truth, strangely jumbled with the West to-day, when we find snake-charmers in India regularly employed by the Pasteur Institute in Paris to furnish a supply of snake-poison for inoculation purposes. It is this fact which lends an added flavor of interest to the paper in the July *Cornhill* on "Venomous Snakes: How They Are Caught and Handled." It appears that during the last ten years an annual average of 21,000 deaths have occurred in India from snake-bites. The British Government has offered for many years a reward of fourpence for every cobra killed, and twopence for each viper or kerait. The undiminished number of venomous reptiles makes one hope for a better remedy from the methods of preventive medicine. The writer says:

"Much interest has been aroused lately among medical men in India and other countries where venomous snakes abound by a discovery which Professor Calmette, of the Pasteur Institute at Lille, claims to have made, of an antitoxic serum, the hypodermic or intravenous injection of which, if made before the graver symptoms have advanced very far, is an almost certain antidote to snake-bite. This serum, which the professor terms 'antivenene,' is taken from the blood of horses rendered immune by repeated minute injections of snake venom. In the year 1897, Professor Calmette applied to the government of India for help in collecting venom for his experiments."

THE SNAKE-CHARMER.

The writer tells how large quantities were secured, and forwarded by Major Dennys, at Delhi. For a pound a month "the master snake-catcher of the district, a low-bred Mohammedan of the name of Kullán," undertook to supply one hundred living venomous snakes weekly, and to extract their venom. The man disclaimed all pretense of magic. He pulled vipers and cobras from their holes by means of a stick, and then flung them into his bag.

"He used no reed instruments or music of any kind to propitiate the reptiles. He would simply squat on his haunches in front of them,

and after they had been hissing and swaying their uplifted heads backwards and forwards for a few minutes, he raised his hands above their heads and slowly made them descend till they rested on the snakes' heads. He then stroked them gently on the back of their necks, speaking all the time in the most endearing of Hindoostani terms. The serpents appeared spellbound. They made no effort to resent the liberty, but remained quite still with heads uplifted, and seemed to rather enjoy it."

Then he let them twine about his neck and arms. He even allowed a large black cobra to crawl into his mouth, and then shut his teeth on its head. Its violent resentment was unavailing; the head was later released without injury to snake or man.

AN INFURIATED COBRA.

"A cobra when thoroughly roused to anger is by no means the same gentle creature as those I have just described, which allowed the man to handle them with impunity. He is now a most formidable beast to approach, striking out desperately at every moving thing within and even out of his reach; but even in this condition Kullan had no difficulty in seizing the largest of cobras.

"He would hold up and shake a rag in his left hand. On this the infuriated reptile would rivet its gaze. With his right hand, from behind, the man would then suddenly seize it round the neck about three inches below the head, and an assistant would fasten firmly on to its tail, to prevent it winding round Kullan's arm. His right hand would then slide forward till he had fastened his fingers round the neck, just behind the jaw. He would then insert the rim of a watch-glass between the jaws, the grip on the neck would be slightly relaxed, and the serpent would viciously close its jaws on the watch-glass, and in doing so squirt the whole of its venom through the tiny holes of its fangs into the concavity of the glass. In this manner snake after snake was made to part with its venom into a watch-glass. Often between 60 and 100 snakes were so dealt with in the course of a morning.

THE DESICCATED VENOM.

"The watch-glasses were then placed on small glass stands in a plate swimming with melted beeswax. Large glass bell-jars were then heated, so as to drive out most of the air in them, and these were inverted over the plate on to the wax. The entire plate was then placed on a shelf, and the venom allowed to dry *in vacuo* for seven days. At the end of that time the dried venom (a flaky, yellow powder) was scraped off the glass

with a sterilized knife, the powder was hermetically sealed up in small glass tubes, the tubes labeled showing the species of snake and date on which the venom was extracted, and the whole supply forwarded weekly to Professor Calmette. In this condition the desiccated venom maintains its virulence for months."

WOMEN'S SPORTS: A SYMPOSIUM.

OUR enterprising contemporary, the *Revue des Revues* of Paris, henceforth to be known as *La Revue et Revue des Revues*, published in its July number a most interesting symposium upon "Women and Modern Sports."

The questions submitted to a great number of eminent persons were these:

"1. Are women ceasing to be women through their devotion to the physical exercises known under the general head of 'Sports'?

"2. Are these outdoor recreations a healthy diversion, or are they to be considered as a kind of infatuation prejudicial to her future?"

The balance of opinion in the replies received was undoubtedly in favor of women enjoying themselves in outdoor sports. Although few are quite so enthusiastic as M. Berenger, who sees in the movement a possible reconciliation of Minerva and Aphrodite, most of the women and many of the men are strongly opposed to excluding women from the healthful recreation supplied by outdoor sports.

M. ZOLA'S VIEWS.

The most elaborate reply is that of M. Emile Zola:

"I am a partisan of all physical exercises which can assist in the development of woman, always providing that she does not abuse it. I am not speaking simply of physical beauty, but chiefly of moral development—the manifestations of individuality which the practice of sports brings more rapidly to young girls.

"The bicycle, which one can take as a type *par excellence* of modern sport, seems to me to be capable of contributing in a large measure to this individual development.

"As for the comradeship which sport quickly establishes between young men and young women, I think that it cannot but aid to better knowledge in view of marriage. I have always contended for mixed education, which as you know has had such splendid results in England and America. The bringing together of both sexes in youth gives excellent results.

"As regards the costume of sportswomen, I do not find it so disgraceful as some pretend. It is comfortable practical; and a well-built woman

would always know how to show off her figure, even if the costume in which she was dressed resembled somewhat that of a man. At bottom it is a question of fashion, which a clever costumier can change from day to day. I must confess that English women have reconciled me to the skirt. The provision centers of London are sufficiently far removed from the smiling cottages of the outskirts to cause young ladies to go awheel for provisions in the morning; and, however uninteresting they may be on foot, I always watched them pedaling to market with the greatest pleasure. Turn over the leaves in some drawing-room of an old album containing the portraits of the ancestors of the family, or better still, before the time when photography was discovered, pass round the fashion plates of the time of the restoration, or of Louis Philippe, and you will hear the young ladies of to-day ask how people dared go out dressed in that way.

"You fear that the introduction of sports among women will make them so virile that their companions will not show them that respectful deference, that particular courtesy toward all women, which is called gallantry. Reassure yourself. While retaining the observation of that politeness which is due her, I do not think that one should see in woman an idol whom one should only address with timid respect. That familiarity which shocks you among sportsmen is a manifestation of audacity, and audacity pleases women better than timidity."

THE QUEEN OF ROUMANIA.

"Carmen Sylva," the Queen of Roumania, says:

"I would allow all modern sports to woman, if she remains gracious and sympathetic, like Sakountala; if she succors the unhappy, like St. Genevieve; if she composes music, like St. Cecilia; if she spins, like Queen Bertha; if she weaves, like Penelope; if she embroiders, like the ancient Roumanian princesses; if she paints books of hours, like Ann of Brittany; if she cares for the wounded, like Florence Nightingale; if she makes verses, like Margaret of Navarre, and like the Empress Elizabeth of Austria.

"As for courage in women, I do not think there is need to recall Joan of Arc, or the daughter of the Dacian king, who used her arm in place of a bolt across the door which barred the last retreat of her Father Decebal, or the martyrs, or the mothers. The courage of woman is proved; she has no need of sport to convince the world of it.

"If sport gives rise to any disquietude within me, it is because I fear to see the chivalrous man slain by the modern Amazon."

THE DUCHESSE D'UZÈS.

"Certainly I approve. All sports are hygienic up to the moment when they cause too much fatigue.

"I think that this style is not the result of a simple fashion or chic, but is the necessary environment of new manners. Everything changes. The time has passed for the womanlets of the lounge-chair, who are not women, but mere articles of furniture.

"I am a feminist, but I trust in a good way. Because woman is the guardian of the cradle, the more you elevate women the more you elevate the family. That is why I am not afraid when the mother, the wife, the sister, the daughter follows more or less her sons, husband, brother, or father in sport.

"Could the woman who knows how to confront every danger bear a son who knows fear?"

BARONESS BERTHA VON SUTTNER.

"Everywhere there is evolution, everywhere change. Take care, my contemporaries, my brothers, to change your ideal also.

"Do not think that the type of woman whom you prefer, either by conviction or by habit, represents 'woman,' and that every woman who wishes to introduce a new trait into her life ought so to modify it that she may always remain the 'lady of your dreams.'

"Modify your dreams, rather, gentlemen!

"Sport is health; therefore, it is an element of happiness for the individual and for the race.

"Thus riding, swimming, cycling, gymnastics, all these should form part of a young girl's education. I should like to see hunting excluded from sports; for while I admit that it strengthens the muscles, I fear that it hardens the heart."

DR. MAX NORDAU.

"Whatever she does, I believe that psychically a woman remains a woman. In sports, even of the most masculine character, she has other ambitions and other aspirations than man. The question of dress preoccupies her. She tries to please by her prowess.

"It is another form of coquetry; it is always coquetry. I have often thought that Diana, if she had worn a pretty hunting costume, would have been happy to have excited the admiration of Actæon. She had him slain simply because he had the indelicacy to look at her before the seamstress had done her work.

"The adventures of Penthesilea prove, it seems to me, how much even the belligerent Amazon remains a woman."

ENGLISH TOWN AND COUNTRY IDEALS.

ONE of the most interesting articles in the *Nineteenth Century* for July is that of Mrs. S. A. Barnett, entitled "Town Children in the Country." It is an account of an attempt made to get from English city-bred children their impressions of country life. Various questions were put to the children, and many of the answers are well worth quoting.

In reply to a question as to the names of the young of various animals, the following answers were given :

- "A baby horse is a 'ponny."
- "A baby fox is an ox—a thorn."
- "A baby deer is a reindeer—a oxen."
- "A baby frog is a terpol—a fresher—a toad."
- "A baby sheep is a bar lamb."
- "A baby rabbit is a mammal."

ASTRONOMY FROM THE SLUMS.

The following are some of the replies of children to the question, "What causes the moon to shine?"

- "Electricity causes the moon to shine."
- "The moon revolving round the sun, which gives light by unknown planets."
- "It is the darkness which shows it up."
- "The moon is the shadow of the earth on the clouds."
- "The eclipse of the sun."
- "The clouds."

RABBITS AND BOARHOUNDS.

In reply to the question "Why does a rabbit wabble its head?" some strange answers were given :

"To make holes in the ground," wrote one child.

"To account for the formation of its head," was the philosophy of another.

"It does it when it does what a cow does digests it food," is a profound but an unsatisfactory explanation.

"It's washing its face," shows more credulity than observation ; while another discarded reasons and declared, in large, round text-hand, regardless of grammar : "I have seen a number of rabbits wabblings its nose !"

Seven only answered the question rightly ; but one child, although no information was put concerning dogs, volunteered the information that "French puddles are kept for fancy, Irish terriers as ratters, but the boarhounds are kept for hunting the *Boers*."

THE JOYS OF THE COUNTRY.

In reply to the question what they most enjoyed in the country, the children replied :

"The country boys taught me to swim."

"The head lady who was Mrs. MacRosee what paid for me at the sports."

"The drive a gentleman gave us in his carriage."

"The food I had."

"A game called 'Sister, come to Quakers' meeting.'"

"A laddie where I stayed. She was a kind and gentle laddie."

"The party which Mrs. Cartwright gave us."

"Paddling at a place called flood-gates."

"Watching a woman milking a cow. She held the can between her knees and pulled the milk out of the cow." "I should like," adds this observer, "to be a farmer."

"I also liked the way in *witch* I was treated, and also liked the respectability of Mrs. Byfield, my charge," writes one young prig ; but many, both boys and girls, wrote the same sentiment in simpler language—a delightful tribute to our working-class homes.

GLIMPSES OF OUT OF THE WAY TRAVEL.

THE English magazines for July contain several entertaining travel articles, well suited for hot-weather reading. Such papers meet the vacation needs of many readers, because they serve to direct the idler's thoughts farther and farther away from the dull routine of his ordinary occupations.

Among the Jungle-Folk.

About as far away as could well be from our crowded civilization are the jungle-folk whom Mr. Edward A. Irving, writing from Perak, introduces to the readers of *Blackwood* as "primitive socialists." They call themselves the Upland people, and inhabit the highlands of the Malay Peninsula. Mr. Irving got to know them through an Italian whom the British Government employs to keep a bridle-path clear of obstruction, and who in his turn employs the Upland people to do the work. They are of small stature, very few of the men over five feet ; far from muscular ; of brown skin and curly black hair ; and not ill-looking. They live in one-roomed huts about 15 feet by 12, with walls about two feet high. Their livelihood was won by snaring and killing game, including rats ; but the Italian official has brought them some of the rudiments of civilization. "He has given them clothes, he has made them plant corn." The harvest supplies them with a mighty orgy of feasting. Every month he replenishes their stock of farinaceous food, tobacco, and betel nut. He sees in them the archetype of what Italy ought to be—no political superiority ; no use of

service, of riches, or of poverty; no soldiery, no police, no pope. Mr. Irving is first impressed with their inoffensiveness:

"Pugnacity seems to be an idea foreign to them. They possess a deadly weapon, the blow-pipe; but I never heard of its being turned against a fellow-man. It may be that the severity of their life has been sufficient to keep down their numbers; the jungle being wide enough for all, competition has never enforced the lesson that the fighter alone is fit to survive. The same gentleness governs their household relationships. . . . But that which most strikes an Englishman on coming into contact with these little creatures, and which draws him at once towards them, is the remarkable openness and candor of their expression. They look at a stranger neither defiantly nor in any way cringing, but carefully and steadily, as if ready for unforeseen action on his part; but when they are reassured, with an expression that is dignified in its simplicity."

On the Trail of the Moose.

Another writer in *Blackwood* describes his adventures "'mid the haunts of the Moose" on the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway. This is his opening picture:

"No camera can ever produce the still beauty of that morning scene when we left the train at 5 A.M. and made ready to leave the little outposts of civilization. The cool autumn air, fragrant with a hundred scents from the surrounding woods, was still hazy with the smoke of forest fires that had been smoldering all the summer. Through this gauzelike veil the maples and birches, already turned to gold and crimson beneath the touch of early frosts, shone with a strange luminous beauty that for miles in every direction lit up the ocean of trees with flaming patches of glory. And all was still and silent. There was no wind astir, and the air only trembled very faintly to the musical roar of the waterfalls and tumbling rapids of the Ottawa below." The party pushed on to Lake Cogawanna, the favorite resort of the moose, on the northern shore of which they pitched their camp:

"When the sun finally disappeared, the shadows of the night fell over a camp as cozy as any hunter could desire, and perhaps a little more comfortable, because one of the party happened to be a young lady. The stillness was almost unearthly when the moon rose over the lake, silencing untold distances, and throwing impenetrable shadows under the trees."

The writer sighted and shot his game, a huge beast, with horns measuring 52 inches across and numbering 28 points. The horns and pelt were about all that two men could manage.

Amid the Vines of Burgundy.

Blackwood is strong on travels. Mrs. P. G. Hamerton sketches village life in the Val d'Or, amid the vine-growers and vine-dressers of Burgundy. It is a land not of grapes alone, but of peaches, apricots, and all manner of fruit. The people, she says, generally live in their own inherited houses. Even the vine-dressers are independent.

"Girls of the working class enjoy a great deal of liberty. They are constantly out-of-doors, know everybody, and laugh and joke with every passer-by. They often dance all night, for it is a custom of the place to grant free entrance to all the balls which take place at the hotel—even to private ones, such as those given at a wedding-feast."

The population is poor, but impressed the writer with its general expression of satisfaction, which she regards as a survival of the old prosperous days, before the deadly phylloxera appeared.

"They are cheerful, light-hearted, sociable, and obliging, though they lack the pleasant politeness of the peasantry. They are proud and democratic, and assume toward every one a tone of familiarity which it is not always easy to repress without appearing harsh or self-asserting. A little incident which I witnessed may be given as an illustration. A lady of rank, who was driving in her carriage on the main road, stopped her coachman, and addressing a *vigneron* at work close by, said, '*Mon brave homme*' (My good man), 'what is the name of the village on the top of this hill?' '*Ma brave femme, c'est Alluze, pour vous servir,*' he rejoined with a chuckle."

"No occasion for conviviality is neglected;" but the writer regrets the excessive consumption of wine, which, though rarely producing outward signs of drunkenness, impairs the physique of the people.

In a Moorish Garden.

"Moorish Memories" is a vivid sketch in *Cornhill* of the experience of a concession hunter. He declares:

"Morocco is the true land of rest, the country of to-morrow, whence are banished, by Shereefian decree and national inclination, all the discomforts attending ambition, progress, and punctuality. Here, disgusted with the haste of a hurrying world, sick of the obligations and exactions of a pretentious civilization more tyrannous than the slavery of the East, the pilgrim on life's toilsome journey may rest as a storm-tossed vessel in a mangrove swamp—rest and rust and be thankful for the chance. . . . In his Moorish garden, hammocked between two overladen

orange trees, inhaling the fragrance of lime and lilac, shaded from the fiery enemy overhead by the cool verdure of mulberry, fig, and pomegranate, the wanderer may here realize the true art of living, with no regret for the past, no unrest about the future. . . . What on earth do all these episodes of the civilized life signify to one breathing the atmosphere of Bible days, battling with mosquitoes and sun rays, lost in a white crowd of worshipers of a creed that scorns innovation as it scorns women? Having, with a wet towel in lieu of white flag, patched up a truce with the sand-flies and mosquitoes, he muses peacefully on the beauties of the Moorish life, and the music of water plashing from a marble basin on the cool, mosaic pavement below is soothing to him in this mood."

The exquisite beauty of a moonlit evening, the writer observes, is felt only vaguely by the Syrian, not at all by the Moor; "it is the imper-turable Englishman, the shopkeeper, the unromantic slave of Shaitan and *fluss*," who is impressed by it.

By Norwegian Fjords.

H. Schütz-Wilson, in *Gentleman's*, gives a pleasing account of a tour along the Norwegian coast. Here is one picture:

"The body supine but the mind active, we saunter down the great Hardanger Fjord. It is, perhaps, a quarter to half a mile in breadth. On the left, islands, and beyond them the sea; on the right, hills, which grow grander and wilder as we swim along. In a day long, long past, all these romantic fjords were filled with ice. On our day the sun shone softly on the Hardanger, and the placid sky was studded with cirro-stratus and with cumulus clouds. These fjords are often very deep. We hear of 600 to 800 fathoms, and the ship cannot sometimes anchor. Nowhere is water purer, clearer, or more lovely in tender color. The reflections of the shore are most vivid in the mirror of the calm fjord; and the green of grass, the dark gray of rocks, are reflected in colors which surpass in quality the hues of the actual objects. From the Hardanger we pass into the Sör Fjord. The trees chiefly seen are pines, alders, birches; and, now and then, there is a patch of coast which looks as desolate as a bit of Greenland shore. At last our ship stops at Odde."

With the Kirghiz Tartars.

A single instance of the way in which Western culture is flowing through Russian universities to the innermost recesses of Asia is furnished by Dr. H. Turner's paper in the July *Humanitarian*. The son of a Kirghiz Sultan, studying at

Moscow University, invited the writer to go home with him. By rail, by steamer, and by horse, they traveled into the land of the Kirghizes, and the English guest was entertained in their tent, or *tourta*. He says:

"Viewed from the outside, a *tourta*, except when it is quite new, looks rather like a large marquee-tent that is very dirty. It is, however, constructed differently. A circular trellis-work of wood in three or four parts forms the frame of the *tourta*. From this trellis, which is about four and a half feet high, branch out the supports for the roof. These supports are fastened to a wooden hoop, which is kept in position by two cross-pieces, which meet at right angles in the center of the circle. This frame is covered with large pieces of thick felt, which overlap each other, and reach down to the ground. The felt, which covers the wooden hoop in the center, is not fastened like the rest, but is drawn backwards and forwards, as occasion requires, by ropes which hang down the sides of the *tourta*. This hole admits light and lets out smoke when there is a fire. There is a door which is left open during the day, its place being supplied by a piece of felt or mat. At night the door is fastened by ropes on the inside, and when all the inhabitants are out during the day, it is fastened with a padlock. The only furniture usually is a bedstead, which stands opposite the door. It is generally of wood, and is overlaid with bone, more or less elaborately carved."

A Nest of Rose and Palm In Sight of Alps.

"Bordighera, Past and Present," is the theme of a pleasing paper in the *Westminster Review*, by W. Miller, who describes himself as one of the most devoted lovers of the place." Lying on the Riviera, just three miles beyond the French frontier, it has one of the worse railroad services to be found in Italy. It is consequently isolated, unspoiled, and unspotted from the world. "It is the most celebrated place in Europe for its palms." It supplies Rome with the palms required for Church festivals. It has a great trade in roses and carnations. George MacDonald is the uncrowned king of the British colony, of which Mr. Clarence Bicknell and Lord Strathmore are distinguished members. Mr. Miller says:

"The peculiar charm of Bordighera is the great number and variety of its walks and drives. Each of the valleys near it abounds in picturesque sites, where villages rise on the side of olive-clad hills, and streams meander over beds of stone between vineyards and olive yards. These villages have each some special feature. . . . But one need not stir from Bordighera itself to find

picturesque houses and charming views. While the new town that has grown up down in the plain near the sea is not strikingly interesting, the old town on the cape is a model of a medieval city on a small scale, with its high walls, its steep and narrow streets, its tall houses, and its quaint gateways, one of them still bearing the cross of St. George, emblem of the Genoese Republic. . . . From the old town the prospect is splendid. . . . On a clear day, after snow has fallen on the high peaks of the Maritime Alps, one has the additional charm of a glimpse of Alpine scenery under a southern sky."

With the Heroes of the Lifeboat.

Mr. A. E. Fletcher, in the *Windsor*, sketches what he calls "A Danish Newlyn," the fishing township Skagen, the northern tip of Denmark. Although it is now accessible by rail, Mr. Fletcher does not anticipate it will lose its unconventional character. "The Skagen folk rather pride themselves" on being said to be "beyond the confines of civilization." He tells how the shifting sand-dunes have been secured by a grass called "marchalm," which holds the grains together, and in a few years forms a soil on which firs can grow. So "thousands of acres of barren sand have been converted into forest." He says:

"For the artist and man of letters this quaint seaboard parish is never likely to lose its charm. Not only has Nature here as a colorist done some of her best work, producing atmospheric effects

dangerous reef, the services of the Skagen life-boatmen are more often needed here than elsewhere on the Danish coast.

"Like our own delightful fishing village of Newlyn, on the Cornish coast, . . . Skagen and its wild surroundings have given inspiration to a



PETER SEVERIN KRØYER.—PORTRAIT OF HIMSELF.



"TWO FISHERMEN," BY MICHAEL ANCHER.

of rare richness and variety, but she has peopled the place with as sturdy a race of men as ever braved the hurricane or gave inspiration to bards of heroic song. . . . As some 300 vessels pass the lightship off Skagen Point every day, and as near that lightship there is a very

school of painters. Three of Denmark's most famous artists, Peter Severin Krøyer, Michael Peter Ancher, and his wife, have made Skagen their home; and other artists, not only from Denmark, but from Norway and Sweden, have chosen it from time to time as their headquarters. Krøyer is the most famous of this group. . . . Krøyer is now generally regarded as the head of the new school of Danish painters; that is to say, the school which has broken with the Eckersberg tradition which dominated Danish art."

Of Krøyer and Ancher, Mr. Fletcher says: "Both are strong and inspiring personalities, possessing the modesty of genius and the kindly characteristics which make them honored and beloved by the humble fisherfolk among whom they live."

Mr. Fletcher, whose paper is adorned by reproductions of the works of Krøyer and Ancher, closes with this fine remark:

"The more I study the works of Krøyer and Ancher,—the more I gaze upon the sturdy forms and look into the calm, beautiful, heroic faces they have grouped and painted,—the less I wonder why Christ should have chosen fishermen for His companions."

THE SPANISH CAPITAL.

UNDER the title "Migrations of the Court," the reasons that induced Philip II. to select Madrid for the capital city of Spain are considered in a short historical paper by the Sr. Carlos Cambronero, in *Revista Contemporanea*, Madrid, March 30. The opinion usually accepted has been that the choice of Madrid was made by the king, as his settled judgment, after a careful examination of the suitability of other places—Valladolid, Barcelona, Toledo, Sevilla, Burgos. That is not the view of the Sr. Cambronero. In his opinion, the removal of the court to Madrid was temporary in its purpose; and the king then, and for years afterwards, had not decided, or even considered much, the question whether Madrid should be his permanent capital.

WHY MADRID WAS CHOSEN.

The reasons influencing Philip seem to have been of a personal character. His father, the Emperor Charles V., and Philip, too, liked Madrid. Both spent a considerable part of their lives there. A document in the municipal archives, in sixteenth-century writing, gives the years and parts of years during which Madrid was the royal residence between 1529 and 1547. The visits were numerous, and on four occasions the court remained an entire year. Perhaps there is a touch of satire in the Sr. Cambronero's remark, that father and son "needed to have very favorable inclinations toward it to remain in Madrid a whole year." Even so late as 1597,—the year before the death of Philip II.,—the question whether the city should be the king's permanent official residence seems to have been undecided.

The reason that had most to do with Philip's residence in Madrid is probably the one to which Cambronero gives the most weight. "One of the causes that undoubtedly contributed to the permanence of the court in Madrid was, without doubt, the purpose which Philip II. had of building the monastery of San Lorenzo in the Escorial; and it is understood that he had to reside in a neighboring place in order to inspect the work often—a thing that presented difficulties if the monarch were in Toledo, which was the city where he had at the time his official residence.

After the accession of Philip III., the court migrated to Valladolid. But that made trouble. In Madrid there were buildings and lodgings for officialdom, and the business of tradesmen had grown proportionately. In Valladolid, though the king and his immediate retinue had accommodation in the palace of the Duke of Lerma, there was not adequate lodging for the rest of the court and its followers. The king said they were hurling curses in Madrid because the court was

going away, and in Valladolid because it was quartering itself there. But Madrid wanted the return of the court at any cost, and the gracious consent of his majesty was obtained when the *corregidor* of the city offered, in the name of the citizens, 250,000 ducats, payable in ten years, with a sixth part of the city rentals.

THE BRAINS OF WOMEN.

MR. ALEXANDER SUTHERLAND writes, in the *Nineteenth Century*, upon "Woman's Brain." Mr. Sutherland points out that, as the result of recent investigations, it is proved that the average man has from 10 to 12 per cent. more brain-weight than the average woman; but, in proportion to the weight of her body, woman has 6 per cent. more brain than man has. Her average runs about .50 oz. of brain for every pound of weight in her body, while man, in proportion to his body, has only .47 oz. But smaller animals always have bigger brains in proportion than larger animals. A terrier has six times as much brain, in proportion to his weight, as a Newfoundland dog; and a baby has, in proportion to its weight, five times as much brain as its father. Mr. Sutherland mentions many curious methods of comparison, one of the oldest of which is to compare the weight of the brain to that of the thigh-bone. He himself has been making many experiments on the brains of fishes and birds, and he finds that in the case of fish the surface of the brain is in proportion to the length of the individual.

As we rise in the scale, the size of the brain grows less and less, depending on the size of the animal. But, on the whole, he says that "however or wherever we make the inquiry, it is always seen that when men and women are of equal height and equal weight, the men have something like 10 per cent. more brain than the women." The average brain of a man of genius is only 9.3 per cent. more than that of the ordinary individual; that is to say, the average woman is to the average man as the average man is to the man of genius, if the weight of brains were to settle it. Lest the average male should be inclined to vaunt himself unduly over his sisters, Mr. Sutherland tells him that "even if it should be demonstrated that the average woman, because she had 10 per cent. less brain-weight, had therefore 10 per cent. less intellectual capacity than the average man, it still has to be remembered that even then 90 per cent. of the women are the equals of 90 per cent. of the men; and this would seem to imply that the average man has to recognize about 40 per cent. of the women as being his superiors in intellect."

THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

THE CENTURY.

MRS. AMELIA GERE MASON writes, in the August *Century*, of "The Decadence of Manners," and she is especially hard on the modern girl. With an apology to the many exceptions, she says:

"This typical girl of the day puts on mannish airs with mannish clothes, spices her talk with slang, not always of the choicest—tosses her pretty head in proud defiance as she puts down her parents, her elders, and her superiors; indeed, she admits no superiors, though this scion of equality does admit inferiors and snubs them without mercy,—pronounces a final opinion on subjects of which she does not know even the alphabet; shows neither respect for white hairs nor consideration for favors which she claims as a right, and calls all this 'swell,' or 'smart,' and a proper expression of her fashionable, or unfashionable, independence."

Mr. John Burroughs, the naturalist-poet, who was a member of the Harriman Expedition to the Northwest, describes his experiences in that party under the title "Summer Holidays in Alaskan Waters." A large part of his story is taken up with the island of Kadiak and the region thereabouts. The village of Kadiak is a place of 700 or 800 people, with only a sprinkling of Americans, and is, according to Mr. Burroughs, a most peaceful, rural, and Arcadia-like place. The winters are not very cold, seldom below zero, and the summers are not hot, rarely up to 80. Mr. Booker T. Washington, principal of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, and one of the most eminent men of the negro race in America to-day, writes on "The Montgomery Race Conference," recently held in Alabama. Mr. Washington thinks that this conference helps in large measure the "Silent South;" and he gives the conference much importance, because the white man of the South must, of course, be a very important factor in any settlement of the race problem. Mr. Washington feels that the Montgomery Conference has served a very useful purpose, and that it will lead to a very useful first-hand investigation of the negro's real condition.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE for August is, like most of the popular illustrated magazines, very largely given over to fiction and lighter features appropriate to the midsummer season. In an essay on "English and American Elections," Mr. Sydney Brooks calls America the paradise of the political speaker. "The people in front of him are all of his way of thinking, and whatever he says 'goes.' He is never interrupted, or howled down, or forced to explain things, or dragged into an argument. He would be as surprised as the parson in his pulpit to have any of his statements questioned. In England things are far otherwise. If an English audience does not like a speaker or the manner of his speech, it tells him so at once; that saves a lot of time, and teaches a public man to respect his listeners."

AN AFRICAN JOURNEY.

Capt. M. S. Wellby contributes to the number an excellent travel sketch, "Among Central African Savages," descriptive of his experiences last year in the

vast expanse of unknown country lying between the Abyssinian capital and the White Nile. One of the strange sights he tells of is the giant tribe of Turkanas. After traveling through the wilderness, his party reached the edge of a forest, and found traces of camels and human beings. A little way in the wood they came across men of this tribe, who showed fear and curiosity rather than hostility. He describes them as men of prodigious size, many of them actually giants, with a mass of thick, carefully woven hair hanging over their broad shoulders, right down to the waist. They carried extraordinarily long spears, and were magnificent specimens of savage strength.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

THE August *Scribner's* is the fiction number of that periodical, which comes annually in that month. There are short stories by Albert Bigelow Paine, James Raymond Perry, George Hibbard, and a very striking series of illustrations in color, giving midsummer sentiments, drawn by Henry McCarter. Mr. Ernest Seton-Thompson begins the number with his story of a coyote, "Tito;" and besides this the only imaginative article of the number is Mr. Richard Harding Davis' "Pretoria in War Time." Mr. Davis writes of Pretoria as he saw it before its evacuation by the Boers, but after most of the important actions of the war. Mr. Davis' interest was, of course, challenged chiefly by the personality of Paul Krüger, whom he interviewed. He says that the Boer President is to-day the man of the greatest interest to all the world—"a man who, while he will probably rank as a statesman with Lincoln, Bismarck, and Gladstone, lives in the capital of his republic as simply as a village lawyer." Of President Krüger personally, Mr. Davis says: "The thing that impressed me first was that, in spite of his many years, his great frame and height gave you an impression of strength and power which was increased by the force he was able to put into his gestures. He gesticulated awkwardly, but with the vigor of a young man, throwing out his hand as if he were pitching a quoit, and opening his great fingers and clinching them again in a menacing fist with which he struck upon his knee. When he spoke he looked neither at the state secretary nor at me, but out into the street; and when he did look at one, his eyes held no expression, but were like those in a jade-idol. His whole face—chiefly, I think, because of the eyes—was like a heavy waxen mask. In speaking, his lips moved, and most violently, but every other feature of his face remained absolutely set. In his ears he wore little gold rings; and his eyes, which were red and seared with some disease, were protected from the light by great gold-rimmed spectacles of dark glass with wire screens."

M'CLURE'S MAGAZINE.

IN the August *McClure's*, there are articles by Lieutenant-Commander Gillmore, describing his experiences as a captive among the Filipinos, and by J. D. Whelpley, telling of Russia's proposition to the United States to make an international wheat corner, which we have quoted in another department. A series of stories begins, "True Stories from the Under-World," by Josiah

Flynt and Francis Walton—men who have spent many years in studying the criminal classes by living among them. The first story is called "In the Matter of 'His Nibs,'" and gives a graphic conception of the way justice is meted out to criminals in New York when the criminal's victim has a pull. An unusual magazine feature is contributed by Mr. William D. Hulbert, in his "Pointers from a Porcupine Quill," and Mr. Dugmore, in illustrations from photographs of wild porcupines he has taken to explain Mr. Hulbert's text. The present prevailing taste for nature study will have no better food than such animal character sketches as Mr. Hulbert's. The remainder of the magazine is taken up with short stories, and with the Rev. John Watson's "The Life of the Master," which has reached the period in Christ's life of the warning to the rich and the home at Bethany.

THE COSMOPOLITAN.

IN the August *Cosmopolitan*, Mr. John Brisben Walker heads his arraignment of England with the title, "The Republic of the United States of Great Britain." He quotes Victor Hugo's prophecy that "England, the oligarchy, will perish by violence as Venice died; England, the people, is immortal." He says that the thinkers of the world who most admire the English people have watched eagerly the fight in South Africa, in the hope that the beginning of Victor Hugo's prediction was at hand. Mr. Walker thinks it is only a question of time when England will take a republican form of government, and that it will probably be a great shock, arising, perhaps, from some international complication, which will bring about the change. Mr. Walker contends that Great Britain has no more right to be in power in India than she has to be in power in Japan, and that if she were not in India that country would work out its salvation as Japan is doing. He believes that the fight of the Boers was, perhaps unconsciously, for two great republics that are certain to come—the republic of the United South African States and the republic of the United States of Great Britain.

IS THIS THE LAST PARIS EXPOSITION?

The August number of the *Cosmopolitan* opens with an article by Mr. Stead on the Paris Exposition, in which he says that, strange as it may seem, the exposition is much more popular with visitors than with Parisians. It is now quite possible that this may be the last world's show held in Paris. England began the series of international expositions in 1851; but since then Paris, as the world capital, has been regarded as the natural site of all such world's fairs. Now, however, in the opinion of many Parisians, it is time for other countries to undertake the duty. So general is this feeling, that there are some who attribute the defeat of the Republicans by the Nationalists at the recent municipal elections in no small measure to the unpopularity of the Exposition. A very shrewd and dispassionate observer, whose position as the conductor of a widely circulated review brings him into close touch with every shade of political and social opinion, has given it as his opinion that there will be no more expositions in Paris. This writer, whom Mr. Stead quotes at length, thinks that the effect of the exhibitions on Paris are by no means wholesome. The exposition time is nothing more than a prolonged *fête*, in which every one is more or less given up to pleasure-seeking; and

this is not conducive to health, by any means, when taken in such large doses.

WHAT THE WAR HAS DONE FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. Frank R. Roberson, in his article "With Boer and Briton," gives an inside view of the fighting camps and the fighting leaders of both sides in South Africa. He says the conclusion of the war will be the starting-point of new enterprises and enormous developments of trade and commerce all over the world with South Africa, from the Zambesi to the Cape. "It behooves the United States not to be left behind in the general competition for the good things which this country has to offer. The prevailing feeling in South Africa is that the war has been a godsend. It has given the British army an experience it could not otherwise have attained. It has taught the Boer much, enlarged his horizon, and will eventually lessen his hatred of the individual Englishman and increase his own comforts and liberties."

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE.

THE August *Lippincott's* begins, as usual, with a complete novel—"The Sign of the Seven Sins," by Mr. William Le Queux. A chapter from Virginia T. Peacock's forthcoming volume, "Belles of America," is printed, giving a sketch of the life of Theodosia Burr, the daughter of Aaron Burr, and the great favorite of that curious man. From the time Theodosia Burr reached her fourteenth year she had her place at the head of her father's household, and was his inseparable companion, "her playful wit illuminating his powers of relaxation; her steadfast courage and strength, her very presence, constituting the most powerful bulwark of his defense in the darkest hours of his life."

One of the last pieces of work of the late Stephen Crane is printed in this number of *Lippincott's*, in the series which that writer was contributing on "Great Battles of the World." Crane calls this "A Swede's Campaign in Germany"—the invasion of the Teutonic territory by Gustavus Adolphus in 1630. There is a short story by E. F. Benson, the author of "Dodo," and other contributions of fiction and verse.

OUTING.

IN the August *Outing*, Mr. Duffield Osborne undertakes a serious task in attempting to give a prescription for "A Common-Sense Swimming Lesson" that will be appropriate for a timid, nervous woman or a delicate child. Mr. Osborne boldly says that the accepted methods of teaching swimming, by taking the pupil into water three feet or more deep and explaining the motions of the breast-stroke, are entirely wrong. He assumes that the desirable thing is to get the pupil to attain the instinctive, natural mode of swimming, which nearly all animals have. He argues that this instinctive motion of animals in water is to kick out the legs alternately and paddle with the arms; in other words, the "dog-fashion" swimming, which one can see practised wherever boys get a holiday near the water in the summer-time. "Take your pupil, then," he says, "in about three and a half or four feet of water; impress upon her the fact that almost any motion of hands and feet will keep her mouth above water; then show her the 'dog-fashion' movement, and see that she understands it as far as the action of her hands is concerned. Tell her all she needs to do with her feet

is to kick them out slowly and alternately. You will be surprised to find how readily she takes to it. Now, promise her that you will not let her go under, and hook one finger in her belt behind; then tell her to strike out slowly, as directed." Mr. Osborne contends that every one ought to know how to swim, and that it is easy to teach any one by this method.

THE HOUSE-BOAT FOR AMERICANS.

Mr. Charles Ledyard Norton writes on "The Practical House-boat," and advocates that method of recreation as highly appropriate to American uses as well as to the English. He says it is possible to build a one-storied structure twelve feet by thirty, and, say, seven or eight feet high, for about \$300. This may be floated on anything from pine logs, at \$2.50 apiece, or empty oil-barrels, up to a handsome vessel. With such an aquatic edifice the St. Lawrence and the Shrewsbury rivers in summer, and the narrow bays and inlets of Florida in winter, can be navigated with great safety and pleasure; and Mr. Norton highly commends this way of taking a vacation for those who care for the water, and who do not wish to spend a great deal of money. He says that no less than eighteen persons can live comfortably on a house-boat of moderate proportions. There are many features in this number of *Outing* appealing especially to sportsmen, and nearly all of them are very handsomely illustrated. One of the most striking contributions is Mr. A. Henry Savage Landor's description of "Racing for the Kata," in which he describes the sports of the Tibetans.

MUNSEY'S MAGAZINE.

MUNSEY'S for August opens with a very comprehensive and beautifully illustrated article, "His Majesty the Thoroughbred," by Harry P. Mawson, in which the story of the racing horse is told from the time he is foaled until he is a champion. The American thoroughbred horse has been in development about four hundred years, since his remote ancestor was brought to the New World by the early settlers in Virginia. The South has, indeed, always been the real home of the race-horse, though it was in the North that racing first became a business. Mr. Mawson warns us against the error of calling the American trotter a thoroughbred. That title applies properly only to the running horse. The trotter can be "standard bred," but no more. The best trotters have, however, a strong infusion of thoroughbred blood in their veins. Mr. Mawson says that on the stock-farms of California, Montana, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, where the champion race-horses are produced, it is necessary to spend \$125 for the actual expenses of a colt's first year. This does not take into consideration interest on the investment, insurance, and the many serious losses. The stock-raiser has to sell his colt at a year old for \$500 in order to make a profit. About one in ten of the well-bred yearlings develops into a race-horse, so that the people who pay the \$500 do not average up very well. Mr. Mawson tells us that the famous racing men of America, August Belmont, William C. Whitney, the Messrs. Keene, and Pierre Lorillard, spend from \$50,000 to \$75,000 each per year to gratify their love for thoroughbreds, and that their compensation comes chiefly in satisfying their ambition to win races with thoroughbreds raised on their own stock-farms, and to maintain a high standard of the sport in this country.

HOW TRAIN SCHEDULES ARE MADE.

Mr. Herbert E. Hamblen, the railway engineer-novelist, explains the complicated mysteries of "Running a Train." He says that days and weeks before a new train is put on the schedule the general and division superintendents strain their minds in devising ways and means to get the new train over the road in the time demanded without disrupting the existing harmony. It is absolutely impossible for the human brain to successfully cope with the tangled mess of trains, stations, and times, and the general superintendent and his people have recourse to mechanical aid.

"A board is prepared with a set of parallel lines drawn vertically across it. Each line represents a station on the road. Another set of lines cross the first at right angles. Each of these represents a minute in the twenty-four-hour day; therefore, there are 1,440 of them. At the intersection of the lines, holes are made to receive pins with colored heads, each color representing a certain train.

"Now, let us suppose that train No. 1 leaves New York at 1.05 A.M. The pin whose color represents that train is inserted in the hole where the 1.05 A.M. line crosses the New York line, and a thread of the same color is hitched to it. It is now a very simple matter to go on putting pins in the station-holes where the train's time-line intersects the station-line. By carrying the thread along with the pins, the train's diagonal course across the board is easily followed."

THE JEWISH COLONY IN NEW YORK.

Katherine Hoffman, in her descriptive article on the New York Ghetto, gives a good picture of "Little Russia," on the lower east side of New York, where most of the immigrant Hebrews have settled. This community leads the orthodox Jewish life, their domestic affairs being almost as largely determined by the Hebrew law as are their public ceremonies. The writer says that it is only among the first generation that the peculiarly Jewish customs prevail. Children born in this country generally adopt its conventional ways; the youths shave, girls wear hats, and year by year there is less to mark the children of the Ghetto from the sons and daughters of the world beyond the Ghetto.

THE PORTO RICAN AS A CITIZEN.

Gen. Roy Stone, in his article on "Porto Rico and Its Future," attempts to do away with the idea in America that the Porto Rican is almost savage. He believes that while inferior to the average American in energy and education, the islander is our superior in courtesy and hospitality; that he makes an excellent soldier and a good laborer, and that he will in time be a very creditable American citizen.

THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

THE *Ladies' Home Journal* is more than usually varied, ingenious, and striking in its illustration of the lighter features appropriate for vacation time. An excellent piece of nature study is Alaric Stone's "My Summer with Some Chipmunks." "A Girl College Graduate" collects some very amusing stories of "College Girls' Larks and Pranks," which show that in ingenuity and daring the softer sex is but little behind the college boy when it comes to having fun. Mr. Samuel S. Kingdon tells of "The Haunted Houses of New England," and Mrs. Hermann Kotzschmar gives,

with very pretty sentiment, "The Story of a Song"—Schubert's "My Lady Sleeps." In his series of articles "A Missionary in the Great West," Mr. Cyrus Townsend Brady gives an impressive idea of the hardships that the Western bishops have to endure. He says the Western dioceses are bishop-killers at best. "No, that is unjust; it is the Church herself which kills her bishops. She puts them in positions where their facilities are taxed to the utmost. Naturally, she gives them rank, position, a bare living; and then loads upon their shoulders, if they be men, as they always are, who see the opportunities, grasp the responsibilities, and endeavor to fulfill the obligations of their positions, burdens too heavy for any mortal man to bear. She provides them with little money—a mere pittance, indeed, in comparison with their needs; gives them a few men, not always those that are best suited to effectually advance the work, and expects them to go forward."

HOW COLLEGE GIRLS EARN THEIR EXPENSES.

A graduate of Cornell University tells many ways by which a girl can work her way through college. Some of these ways are by teaching dancing and piano-playing, working for the university in the general and department libraries or the telephone office, playing the gymnasium piano, singing in the university choir, caring for laboratory apparatus, doing clerical work for professors and the university authorities, and answering the night-bells in the dormitories. There are free scholarships and valuable prizes for apt pupils; and among many other forms of employment this writer cites hair-dressing, conducting an agency for ladies' clothes, selling letter-paper, gloves, etc., and cleaning and mending. Then some clever verse-makers make part of their expenses by writing advertisements; others, with the artistic sense, sell cover designs; and, in short, it seems that there is scarcely a thing a woman can do which is not now considered appropriate and effective in helping a girl to go through college.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

PRESIDENT ARTHUR T. HADLEY, of Yale, opens the *Atlantic Monthly* for August with an article on "Political Education." He notes the growing demand on our schools and colleges for a fuller political education, in consequence of the danger of the constant pressure toward specialized training in its sacrifice of the general basis of higher education. He recognizes the high importance of training for citizenship, but he calls special attention to the danger of mistakes as to the particular kind of training which will really secure the result we desire. In the first place, he contends that true political education is not by any means a study of facts about civil government. "A man might possess a vast knowledge with regard to the workings of our social and political machinery and yet be absolutely untrained in those things which make a good citizen." In short, President Hadley contends that it is character and an enlightened public opinion which make good government possible, and not by any means a special knowledge of the science of civics.

SUBMARINE TRIANGULATION.

Mr. Sylvester Baxter gives a very interesting explanation of a new system of submarine signaling—a modern method by which a vessel entering a harbor in driving storms or puzzling fogs is able to determine her

position by acoustic triangulation. The system has been elaborated by Mr. Arthur J. Mundy, of Boston. By this system a bell is rung by electrical communications under water, from the vessel which desires to determine its exact position. By a formula easy of application for even the most unlettered mariners, the vessel's position is reckoned by observing sound-signals transmitted from stations erected off the entrance of the harbor, on just the same principle that surveyors are enabled to fix very definitely the location of any point where they may chance to be by determining its relation to the position of three other points in sight whose location is known with exactness.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Rollin L. Hartt describes "The Iowans," the agriculturist inhabitants of a State without cities—a State that will build a \$3,000,000 State capital and not steal a penny; a State absolutely free of debt; a State which Mr. Hartt puts in three words: corn, cow, and hog;—just as Scotland was put in five words: Scott, Burns, heather, whiskey, and religion. Mr. Frederic Bancroft, the historian, writing on "Some Radicals as Statesmen," estimates in historical perspective the figures of Chase, Sumner, Adams, and Stevens. We have reviewed in another department Prof. Mark B. Dunnell's article on "Our Rights in China."

THE FORUM.

IN our department of "Leading Articles of the Month," we have dealt with Mr. Williams C. Fox's paper on "Our Relations with Germany," and with the articles on "Kiaochou: A German Colonial Experiment," and "Chinese Civilization: The Ideal and the Actual," by Mr. Charles Denby, Jr., and Dr. D. Z. Sheffield, respectively, appearing in the July number of the *Forum*.

THE SINGLE TAX IN ENGLISH POLITICS.

One of the most interesting articles in this number is contributed by Mr. Thomas Burke, a member of the Liverpool Municipal Council, on the subject of "Social Reform and the General Election." In Mr. Burke's opinion, the approaching general election in England, but for the outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and the South African republics, would have been fought on the question of the taxation of land values. The prominence of this question in British politics at the present time is rather difficult to explain, but Mr. Burke shows that the single tax is regarded by large numbers of the British working classes as the root of the whole movement for social reform. As Mr. Burke puts it: "The strength of the movement so far has laid in the growing needs of the large towns, the growth of taxation, the serious problem of housing the working classes, the provision of open spaces, etc.—matters to which it is very difficult to give a partisan twist. At the same time it is beyond dispute that the Liberal party is much more advanced on this question than its opponents, who are hampered by the great landowners—Tories for the most part; and there is no doubt that the Liberals would have made it their battle-cry but for the turn events have taken in South Africa." Mr. Burke states the main causes for the interest taken in the land question, which has come to be regarded as a great moral movement rather than a political one, as "(1) the gradual decrease in the acreage under cultivation; (2)

the crowding of the great cities, with the inevitable casual labor and the concomitant evil of drink; and (3) the bad housing of the poor, which is the certain result of our present unsatisfactory land system."

AMERICAN SHIPPING SUBSIDIES.

The Hon. Eugene T. Chamberlain, United States Commissioner of Navigation, writes an able defense of the shipping subsidy bill, concluding as follows: "The probability of the enactment of the shipping subsidy bill lies in these facts: (1) that the growth of manufactures and agriculture have given to ocean transportation a position in the minds of the people hitherto held almost exclusively by railroad problems; (2) that industrial conditions insure its success; and (3) that the bill itself is the result of more thorough investigation than the subject has ever before demanded and received."

HISTORY OF THE PASSION PLAY.

Dr. Hans Devrient contributes an interesting historical study of the Passion Play at Oberammergau. It seems that the Passion Play was furnished to the people of Oberammergau by the clergy of the Imperial monastery of Ettal. The play originated at Augsburg, from which city an old commercial highway led over the mountains to Innsbrück and Venice. Oberammergau acquired the text of the present play, preserved in a manuscript of 1662. Dr. Devrient thinks that the Oberammergau play may be accepted as a type embodying the salient features of all the sacred dramas of medieval times. In Dr. Devrient's opinion, the performances at Oberammergau are chiefly notable for their simplicity and sincerity of purpose. "Indeed, wherever an effort has been made to instruct these good people in the technique of acting the charm has been broken, and the insufficiency of the achievement has become painfully evident."

A SUGGESTION TOWARD FIRE PROTECTION.

"Lessons of the \$175,000,000 Ash Heap" is the subject of an article by Mr. William J. Boies, who undertakes to show that a stand-pipe system of forcing water to the top of tall buildings would save millions of dollars every year, now lost through destruction by fire in our great cities. Mr. Boies describes the proposed system as follows: "The stand-pipe service is very simple, consisting of little more than two fair-sized iron pipes connected with the water system and extending from the cellar to the roof of a tall building. The pipes are penetrated at the curb by two openings affording nozzle connection with a fire-engine in the street; so that, when the firemen arrive, they have merely to run the hose a distance of fifteen or twenty feet from the engine to the stand-pipe, send a few men to the roof to handle the equipment there, turn on the pressure, and begin the work of extinguishing. This service might be supplemented, in the case of very large buildings, by stationary engines and independent pumping plants, which could be utilized in emergencies."

THE ALLEGED INCREASE IN CRIME.

Prof. Roland P. Falkner, of the University of Pennsylvania, attempts an answer to the question, "Is Crime Increasing?" After a careful study of the figures on which are based most of the current statements to the effect that crime in the United States is on the increase, Professor Falkner has reached the conclusion that "crime in the broadest sense, including all

offenses punished by law, has probably increased slightly in the last twenty-five years. On the other hand, crime in its deeper moral sense, as we are apt to picture it, has decreased. Changes in our environment, not changes in our moral standards, have multiplied minor offenses. The increase of crime which our modern life reveals is thus a social and not a moral phenomenon."

OUR NATIONAL EXPANSION.

In the first of a series of papers on "The United States as a World Power," Mr. Charles A. Conant states the economic and political problem before this country as "to attain the greatest producing capacity by the efficiency of competitive machinery and labor, while on the political side it is to keep open the opportunity for the free play of this competitive power in the world's markets." The controlling element of the economic problem Mr. Conant finds to be the increased severity of competition, due to a combination of such factors as the division of labor, the development of machinery, the growth of capital, and the revolution in the means of transportation.

Capt. Ferdinand L. Clarke, under the title of "Hawaii's Real Story," relates the history of the islands from the landing of American missionaries to the present time.

UNCLE SAM AS A PAYMASTER.

To the question, "Does Government Service Pay?" Mr. A. Maurice Low gives a twofold answer. He says: "It pays the beginner very well, and the man of experience indifferently. Curiously enough, it is the only business or profession offering no incentive to excel. In fact, the clerk of mediocre abilities, who is just able to perform his duty, is better off than the one who exhibits talents of a marked order and is eager to gain promotion." Thus a clerk who receives an appointment worth \$1,000 a year gets about twice as much as he would receive in other employment, while a bureau chief may be a man of various abilities, receiving a salary of \$2,500 to \$3,000, very much less than he would get in other employment.

Mr. Henry Litchfield West reviews "American Outdoor Literature" from the critical point of view.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

ELSEWHERE we have quoted at some length from Mr. Poultney Bigelow's paper on "Missions and Missionaries in China," in the July number of the *North American*. We have also quoted from the article entitled "Mutual Helpfulness Between China and the United States," contributed by his Excellency, Wu Ting-Fang, the Chinese minister to this country.

In a paper on "The Struggle for Reform," Mr. Charles Johnston, who for many years has made a special study of affairs in the far East, describes the various internal forces that have recently worked in the direction of revolution in China.

"IMPERIALISM" IN THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN.

Gen. C. H. Grosvenor gives "A Republican View of the Presidential Campaign." General Grosvenor replies to Mr. Bryan's charges of imperialism brought against the McKinley Administration by recalling the fact that when the Paris Treaty was before the United States Senate for ratification Mr. Bryan used his personal influence with Democratic Senators to secure its ratification. "At the door of the present Populist candidate

for President, William J. Bryan, lies more of the sin, if it be a sin; more of the honor, if it be an honor; more of the glory, if it be a glory,—of having secured the ratification of the Treaty of Paris and the assimilation of the Philippines and Porto Rico into the property and territory of the United States than lies at the door of any other one living man."

OUR SHIPPING ON THE PACIFIC.

In an article on "Ocean Transportation to Eastern Asia," the Hon. Eugene T. Chamberlain, United States Commissioner of Navigation, states that during 1899 there were only 185 clearances of merchant steamships for all of Asia, of which only 24 were American. For more than a year complaint has been made all along the Pacific Coast that there is a lack of tonnage to carry cargoes of cotton, flour, and lumber to China and Japan, and that in consequence our exports have been handicapped by heavy freight charges. Our exports and imports to and from China and Japan alone were valued at \$70,000,000. The carrying of this trade, as indicated by the report of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, was valued at about \$8,000,000.

PLAGUE PRECAUTIONS.

Dr. Albert Calmette, writing on "The Plague at Oporto," names as a result of his experiences there certain precautions which should be taken if a case of plague should appear in an infected country. "First of all, we know that the disease is principally propagated by rats and mice; we also know, thanks to the labors of Dr. Simond and Dr. Hankin, that the transmission of the plague from rats to human beings is most often effected by the agency of fleas. These little insects abandon rats after death, to go either on other rats or on human beings; and they equally transport the infectious agent from animal to animal, and from person to person. One must, therefore, prevent, as far as possible, the importation of contaminated rats and mice; and this is the first condition to fulfill." Dr. Calmette also recommends that the Government should enforce the destruction by the navigation companies of rats in their vessels, and should require the owners of large storehouses, especially those in which grain and cotton are deposited, to make every effort to free their buildings from these vermin. If a case of plague should appear, in spite of all these precautions, a beginning should be made by isolating the patient in some place where mosquitoes, flies, and other human parasites have no access. All persons who, by their present or past relations with the patient, have been exposed to the plague should be vaccinated by the anti-plague serum. Dr. Calmette is confident that these measures would immediately arrest the disease.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN PROBLEM.

Writing on "The Settlement in South Africa After the War," Mr. S. C. Cronwright-Schreiner suggests three lines of action for Great Britain, following the conclusion of peace: "(1) Take complete control of the external relations of the republics. (2) Fix a clear five years' retrospective franchise for both states, and place the Dutch and English languages on an equality. (3) Insist upon disarmament as to big guns and forts. Rifles should not be touched, and sufficient cannon (of size and number to be fixed) should be allowed to quell the native risings." Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner believes that the South Africans are capable of managing their

own affairs, and that Great Britain should attempt no more than to place a British resident at each capital. The native question he puts aside for the moment as too large and important to be cursorily treated of now.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Some notes on Spencer, Buckle, and Comte, by Léon Gambetta, are published, with an introductory essay on "Gambetta's Methods of Study," by Joseph Reinach, his former private secretary. Mr. Mayo W. Hazeltine contributes an appreciative study of Lord Playfair. Mr. Chandler Hale describes the various routes projected for cable lines to the Philippines. Mr. M. J. Mulhall, the expert statistician, gives a forecast of the twelfth census; Miss Henrietta C. Wright contributes a paper on "State Care of Dependent Children," and Prof. Cesare Lombroso writes on "The Ultimate Triumph of the Boers."

THE ARENA.

IN another department we have quoted from Dr. Edwin Maxey's article on "The Referendum in America," in the July *Arena*.

In the same number are two articles on "The Concentration of Commerce"—Mr. Edward Godwin Johns dealing with "Overcapitalized Industrial Corporations," and Mr. Duncan MacArthur with "Coöperative Business *versus* Trusts." Mr. Johns discusses some of the evils resulting from the craze for fictitious capitalization which swept through Wall Street about a year ago. He says: "It is, of course, not beyond the range of possibility that some of these new corporations will be successful. There may, in fact, be at least one of them that will prove to be a second edition of the Standard Oil Company. There are, however, no indications at the moment of such long-sustained financial prosperity. At any event, the originators of the companies will have to be replaced by more conservative persons before such a result can be accomplished." Mr. Johns makes the sweeping statement that "no new wealth was created, no new enterprises started, that might benefit the country at large." He admits the possibility that there may be economies in operating that may tend ultimately to reduce the cost of production of certain commodities, but he shows that even this result will not prove beneficial to the holders of the unnecessary issues of common stock. Mr. MacArthur, in considering the question of what is to become of the people who sooner or later will be thrown out of employment by the present tendency toward concentration of industries, answers that these people must betake themselves to agriculture—"man's original and most natural occupation."

POPULAR ELECTION OF SENATORS.

Mr. Boyd Winchester, writing on "The House and the Election of Senators," while he admits that in many States the election of Senators has become a popular election, since the legislature merely registers and formally completes the choice already made by the people, still insists that the *form* of election by the State Legislature should be preserved. "To take from the legislatures the choice of Senators would at once alter fundamentally the relation of the States to the federal Union; it would deprive the States, as such, in their political capacity, of their legal representation in the Senate, and it would destroy the check a majority of the States have

upon the legislative powers of a majority of the whole people. Complicated as this check is, it both recognizes and preserves the residuary sovereignty of the States."

CHINESE MIGRATION.

Mr. J. M. Scanland raises the question, "Will the Chinese Migrate?" Mr. Scanland seems to be of the opinion that our exclusion law would avail little as a check to such an immigration of Chinese to this country as might take place as a result of the coming dissolution of the Chinese Empire. Capital demands cheap labor, and the Chinese will continue to come, irrespective of law and the probable effects of their increasing number. Mr. Scanland is undoubtedly right in the supposition that such a people, if they emigrate in any considerable numbers, will ultimately have a remarkable industrial and political influence on any country in which they settle.

THE STATESMANSHIP OF JOHN ADAMS.

The Rev. E. P. Powell contributes a scholarly paper on John Adams, "New England's First President." Mr. Powell contends that Adams has been much maligned by historians, who have attributed to him in large measure the break-up of the Federalist party. As between Hamilton and Adams, Mr. Powell is inclined to give much more credit for the disintegration of the Federalist party to the former statesman.

HOW THE JAPANESE MANAGE THEIR RAILROADS.

Mr. Keikichi Abe writes on "Railroad Control in Japan." In Japan, says this writer, a railroad, like a bank, is considered a pseudo-public enterprise. "Since a railroad is a natural monopoly, governed by the law of increasing return, it should be made subject to public inspection and supervision." Just as railroads, like the post-office system, are becoming more indispensable to civilization, and as the function of the railroad is becoming more and more public in character, so the Japanese regard it as properly a subject of public control.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Justin S. Kirreh writes on "Turkey and the United States;" Mrs. Leonora Beck Ellis contributes a hopeful paper on "The United States in Cuba;" the Rev. Charles Caverno argues for "The Non-Existence of the Devil;" Miss Katherine Louise Smith gives an interesting account of "Benevolent Loan Associations;" Mr. Henry W. Hetzel writes on "Manual Training in Mental Development;" Mr. Arthur H. Holmes on "Pernicious Maxims and Ideas;" Mr. J. Albert Stowe on "Restitution to Victims of Crime," and Mr. H. Harrell on "Women as Criminals."

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE.

THE principal article in *Gunton's* for July is an editorial review of "Mr. Bryan's Proclamation" —i.e., his article in the June number of the *North American Review*, which was noticed in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for July.

The Hon. Joseph H. Walker writes an incisive and scathing arraignment of our national currency legislation. Mr. Walker says, in conclusion: "The crisis that arose in 1894 is as sure to come again, so that Mr. Morgan and Mr. Belmont, or their like, must come to the front to relieve it, as that like causes produce like

effects, or that history repeats itself. In the future as in the past, only the patriotic and voluntary action of bankers and brokers will maintain parity with gold under existing laws. It will not be maintained by the natural action of our financial and banking system until our laws are made to conform to the natural laws of finance and banking, as do those of France, Germany, and other countries."

Mr. Richard McCann contributes a study of "The Boers in History" from a decidedly anti-Boer point of view. Mr. McCann declares that "the Transvaal belongs to England by every right recognized by civilization, and there is no sense in which the Boers can properly be compared with the American colonies in 1776. There is no likeness between democracy and oligarchy."

President A. C. Millar, of Hendrix College, writes on the relation of Church and State to education. He takes the position that the State University should not prevent the establishment of a denominational university at the head of each denominational system. The National University at Washington should be organized to be the complement and supplement of all.

Mr. Moulton Emery contributes the second in a series of four articles analyzing the racial origins and composition of the people of the United States.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

WE have dealt elsewhere with Mr. Henry Norman's article on "Our Vacillation in China," with Colonel Stopford's paper on "Soldier Settlers in South Africa," and with Mr. Lyttelton Gell's demand for "Administrative Reform in the Public Services," all appearing in the *Nineteenth Century* for July. Among the "Leading Articles" will also be found Mrs. Barnett's amusing paper on "Town Children in the Country."

IDENTIFICATION BY FINGER-MARK.

Mr. Francis Galton has a very interesting article on "Identification Offices in India and Egypt," which deals with the use of thumb-marks to identify natives. In India all pensioners, whether civil or military, are required to make a print with the fingers to avoid impersonation after decease. A similar use of thumb-prints is made in the law courts, and in the survey and medical departments, in order to prevent the reemployment of men who have been discharged for misconduct. Mr. Galton says that the chances against a mistake in the identification of a man by such means are a hundred millions to one.

"The identification office at Cairo has already produced excellent effects. False names have ceased to be a protection. Habitual criminals can no longer avail themselves of the lenient sentences passed on first offenders. Innocent men have been saved from being mistaken for guilty ones. Released criminals, still legally under police supervision, but who have escaped from it, are certain to be recognized whenever they become suspected and the office is consulted. Lastly, the administration of prisons in Egypt being still subject to government irregularities, it has happened that a prisoner sentenced to a long term has actually been set free instead of another man who bore the same name and was sentenced to a short term, and the latter has regained his rights solely owing to the intervention of the identification office."

THE LOSS ON THE TELEGRAPH.

Mr. Henniker Heaton, M.P., explains "Why Six-penny Telegrams Do Not Pay." In the year ending March 31, 1899, the net result of the British telegraph administration was a loss of \$1,105,000. Mr. Heaton says that in the management of the telegraph office business principles are persistently ignored; hence the loss, in spite of the yearly increase in the gross returns. As an instance of the unbusinesslike methods of the telegraph department, he mentions the practice of charging capital expenditure on buildings, etc., against current revenue. The concession of free "service" telegrams to the railway companies should also be done away with.

RURAL IRELAND.

Mr. Michael MacDonagh contributes a chatty article entitled "In the Byways of Rural Ireland." Ireland, he thinks, is as much Ireland as ever in spite of the outward assimilation of English habits. The reading of the Irish peasant is, however, becoming more and more English every day. Mr. MacDonagh says:

"I have been amazed during recent visits to Ireland at the display of London penny-weekly publications, such as *Tid-Bits*, *Answers*, *Home Chat*, *Pearson's Weekly*, *Woman's Life*, in the news-agents' shops, in even the remote towns of Ireland; while Dublin publications of a somewhat similar kind, but supplying Irish verses, stories, and historical sketches, such as *The Shamrock*, *The Emerald*, and *Irish Bits*, were difficult to obtain. I have seen the counters of news-agents in such towns as Waterford, Limerick, Tralee, Kilkenny, Galway—each feeding large agricultural districts—piled thickly with as varied a collection of these London weekly journals as the counters of news-agents in Lambeth and Islington, or any other populous district of the metropolis in which these publications are produced."

THE NATIONAL GALLERY.

Mr. M. H. Spielmann writes on "The National Gallery in 1900 and Its Present Arrangements." He mentions a number of reforms and improvements which are being carried out. Among these is the removal of the hand-rail, which has, however, so far only been carried out in the foreign section. In regard to the question of protection from fire, Mr. Spielmann says:

"This danger of fire is very real; yet should we awake one morning to find the gallery gutted and the collection destroyed, no blame whatever could we attach to the trustees. The whole responsibility would lie on the treasury, which has uniformly turned a deaf ear to the repeated appeals and remonstrances of the board. Within the past ten years, no fewer than four such warnings have gone forth from Trafalgar Square, and have been treated with the same indifference as that displayed towards kindred representations in the press."

JUVENILE CRIME.

The Rev. A. W. Drew has a paper on "Hooliganism and Juvenile Crime," in which he says that the only means of dealing with truancy in its earlier stages is to remove the culprit to a special school for dealing with such cases, and to make that school of such a character as to effectually deter any boy who has been there from ever returning to it. He says:

"The truant-schools are made far too comfortable and far too jolly to be of any real use; and many boys,

as they have told me, prefer to be there rather than at their ordinary day-schools. Who wonders at this when a truant-school is now framed on the exact model of one of our very best industrial schools—suitable, indeed, and necessary for such establishments, but not for the cure of truants. What the truant hates is, as has been already stated, having to do school-work morning and afternoon; and yet in this the truant-school plays into his hands, for there he only has to do school-work for half the day, and for the other half he goes into the carpenter's, the shoemaker's, or the tailor's shop, where he enjoys himself thoroughly. I consider, therefore, that all industrial work of the above kind is not only out of place in a truant-school, but is positively mischievous there, as directly tending to defeat the object of such a school by making many boys prefer it to an ordinary day-school."

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE *Contemporary Review* for July is a good average number. We have dealt elsewhere with Mr. Demetrius Boulger's article on the "Scramble for China," and Mr. Arthur Sowerby's paper on "The Crisis in China."

FINLAND AND RUSSIA.

Mr. Augustine Birrell reviews Mr. Fisher's book on "Finland and the Czars." He says that the whole trouble has arisen in obedience to the idea of Pan Slavism:

"We have our idea—the Anglo-Saxon idea. Russia has hers—the Pan-Slavonic idea. One Russia, one faith, one law, one tongue, one army. Shall a miserable Finland and her paper constitution stand between Russia and her unity? 'Are we not to be allowed'—cries the procurator of the Holy Synod—'by suspending the privileges of Finland to unify the Russian army? . . .' Interference, of course, is out of the question. Who is there to interfere? Odd things are happening everywhere. It is best not to think of what is going on in Schleswig-Holstein at the present moment in obedience to another idea—the great Germanic idea. Why be Danes?—become Germans! Why be Finns?—become Russians! Why be Dutch in South Africa?—become English! Russia, Germany, England—these are great names; they palpitate with great ideas; they have vast destinies before them and millions of armed men in their pay, all awaiting armageddon. How absurd to be a Finn! What is the Finnish idea?"

AGAINST MUNICIPAL TRADING.

Lord Avebury has an article on "Municipal Trading," in which he points out some of the disadvantages which are likely to accrue from the widespread adoption of the principle. The following are the heads of his objections:

"1. The enormous increase of debt which such a policy will involve;

"2. The check to industrial progress;

"3. The demand on the time of municipal counselors, which will:

"(1.) Preclude the devotion of sufficient consideration to real municipal problems;

"(2.) Prevent men who have any business or profession of their own from entering municipal life;

"4. The undesirability of involving governments and

municipalities more than can be helped in labor questions;

"5. The fact that the interference with natural laws in some important cases has the effect of defeating the very object aimed at;

"6. The risk, not to say certainty, of loss."

THE HAUNTED CRIMEA.

Mrs. Mènie Muriel Norman has a very brilliant paper describing her travels in southern Russia last November. She has been over the battle-fields of the Crimea, and here are some of her reflections:

"We are not enemies now, ourselves and Russia. There was a treaty of Paris, after Sebastopol fell, after death and victory had reduced us to the kernel of an army and—the other results—benefits forgot (or were they ever received?) are difficult to specify. Many times since then the regret has been general and open that we did not let Russia sweep the Turk before her as with a flail, and scatter him over the less choice parts of Asia, even as chaff at a winnowing. Ah, but if we had, Russia would have got to Batum, to Merv, to the frontier of India; she would have established her armies, her Cossacks, and her outposts—*just where she has established them!*"

ATHLETICISM IN SCHOOLS.

Dr. H. J. Spenser has a severely critical article on "The Athletic Master in Public Schools." He traces the career of the athletic master from his entry of the public school as pupil to his reëntry as teacher. The athletic master seldom or never takes any interest in scholastic affairs, and as a result he impresses the minds of his charges at their most impressionable age with a false idea of the relative importance of study and sport.

"Of all men, he is least capable of inspiring a right attitude toward work, or of enforcing the incidents of a routine. Of professional zeal he is entirely destitute; he has no sense of the dignity of his profession, and his work is characterized by a loud voice and perfunctory manner."

RUSKIN AND CARLYLE.

Mr. R. Warwick Bond has an interesting article on "Ruskin: Man and Prophet," in which he makes the following comparison between Ruskin's style and Carlyle's:

"To read Carlyle is like leaping from crag to crag beneath a stormy sky, amid the roar of swollen torrents and the frequent burst of thunder, with rarely a bit of heather or moss or the slender grace of a harebell to redeem the wildness of the place. The smooth, beautiful, almost euphuistic style of Ruskin leads us along more level ground, refreshed by springing fountains, shaded by graceful trees, and not uncheered by the light of laughing flowers; but near us still rise the steep, strong mountains that are like God's righteousness; and in our ears resounds, distant perhaps but ever present, the moan of the laboring, the un comforted sea."

MUSIC HALLS.

Mr. Andrew Wilson writes pleasantly about music halls and their attractions. He thinks their popularity is largely due to the allowance of smoking, and to the variety of the entertainment.

"To the masses, the night spent there is a form of agreeable *siesta*. They can smoke, and, what is more, they may have their beer or other liquors, although in

certain cases, in which licenses have been refused, the music halls are apparently just as successful as where drink is sold. A second reason for the popularity of the halls is found in the fact that there is a very large proportion of the population that will not sit out a play. The theater does not appeal to them in the way in which the free and easy atmosphere of the music halls attracts. In the music hall 'the man in the street' can enjoy himself without in the least taxing his brain. He is, moreover, provided with what is a highly important feature in the success of the hall; namely, constant change and variety of performances. When he is tired of comic songs, the next turn gives him a display of horizontal bar exercises; when he is satiated with the performing dogs or cockatoos, he is at once relieved by a display of magic and a disappearing lady; when he has had enough of ballads, his interest is renewed by a ballet or the biography."

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE July number of the *Fortnightly* has in it plenty of solid fare for robust political appetites. As indicated elsewhere, Dr. Karl Blind warns Britain of the perils involved in affronting the conscience of the civilized world. Mr. Edward Dicey sketches his "Policy of Peace for South Africa," "Diplomaticus" pleads for the *status quo* and the open door in China, *plus* the reforming Emperor, and Mr. Holt Schooling estimates and compares the naval strength of the seven sea powers.

"SMART SOCIETY"—WHAT AND WHENCE IT IS.

Mr. T. H. Escott writes "Concerning Hosts and Hostesses." He comments on the disappearance of the political hostess, on the fusion between old acres and new wealth, and on the growing costliness of fashionable London. This last factor practically excludes from the London season "whole orders" once seldom absent. But while more national, cosmopolitan, and plutocratic, London society is marked by an amount of philanthropic work of perennial as well as practical interest in the welfare of all classes, and in all efforts for national improvement, which is "but thinly veiled by the surface frivolity."

"The very smartest set of smart society, thanks to such influences as those of the late Duchess of Teck and of our whole royal family, while on one side it is bounded by the ladies' lawn or the race-course, on the other stretches into the province of philanthropic reform. Smart society, to use the phrase to-day on so many lips, may perhaps be said to consist of good-looking and well-dressed young women and their friends. Beauty, whether in music, art, decoration, or dress and general appearance, is one of the notes by which these coteries may be recognized; so, too, are a systematic restlessness and absence of all conventionalism. Neither the thing itself nor the expression would have been so much heard of, but for the fashionable ascendancy of late acquired by the Transatlantic element in polite life."

CHICAGO *versus* PARIS WORLD-FAIRS.

Mr. Heathcote Statham pronounces the Paris Exhibition a great achievement in a spectacular sense, and in the proof it affords of the vigor and vitality of French art. He says:

"The French edifices are all pure invention, the offspring of the alert and vivacious artistic genius of the

country. The buildings of the Chicago Exhibition, with which the Paris Exhibition is inevitably compared, were more classic and more dignified in style, but they were mostly formed on antique models, whereas the French buildings of the Paris Exhibition are an outbreak of sheer originality. This spirit of artistic invention crops out in all the minor details as well as in the more prominent features of the exhibition."

He vilifies the Eiffel Tower as a piece of ironmaster's brag, but glorifies the new bridge, the joint product of the first engineers, architects, and sculptors. He deplores the frequency of these exhibitions, as tending to cut up Paris too much.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Wilfrid Ward selects, as text for his appreciation of John Henry Newman's philosophy, two mottoes of the Cardinal's: One chosen when he became Cardinal, *Cor ad cor loquitur* (Heart speaketh to heart); and the other, chosen for his epitaph, *Ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem* (From shadows and images unto truth).

Professor Lewis Campbell, writing on "Climax in Tragedy," divides the normal construction of an Attic tragedy into five stages: the opening, the climax (i.e., the gradual ascent), the acme (or chief crisis), the sequel, and the close. He fears that the importance of the sequel is overlooked by modern impatience.

Albert Vandam illustrates his thesis that poets should not be legislators by the failures of Chateaubriand, Béranger, Lamartine, Hugo, Dumas, Déroulède, and Coppée.

Mr. L. D. Cooper gives interesting extracts from the letters of a young medical man who went "with lancet and rifle" on the Beira Railway and was killed in the Johannesburg railway accident.

CORNHILL.

THERE is plenty of excellent reading in the July number. As noticed elsewhere, "Antivenene" vouches for extraordinary scenes with snake-catchers in India.

It is an amusing paper which Max Beerbohm contributes under the title of "Ermine and Motley." He propounds the question, Why are our judges jocular? and answers, Because the crowd in court always laugh at their jokes. He then pushes the question one stage farther back and asks, Why do people always laugh at jokes from the bench? The bar may laugh to win favor with the bench. But, the writer holds, the laughter is, as a rule, genuine and spontaneous. He finds the desired explanation in the fact that "laughter in court is mostly a kind of nervous reaction." The solemnity and awe suggested by judicial proceedings make us abnormally susceptible to a joke from the august creature who presides. The writer proposes that the judge be relieved of his functions as jester, and that a first-class humorist should be employed as jester-assessor.

An unsigned paper, entitled "Moorish Memories," gives a vivid picture of the attractiveness of Moorish life, and of the difficulties British merchants have in obtaining concessions from powerful residents in that ungoverned land. We have quoted from this paper in our department of "Leading Articles of the Month."

Mr. Andrew Lang revives recollections of Mrs. Radcliffe's novels, which enjoyed an immense vogue a hundred years ago.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

IN the *National Review* for July, Mr. F. C. Conybeare describes at length the intrigues of the great Assumptionist organization against the French Republic. No election is beyond the scope of this organization.

"Municipal, cantonal, legislative, presidential, and even elections of chambers of commerce and of agriculture—all alike are to be watched and provided for. 'Without such organization,' says M. Laya,—and he is right,—'nine-tenths of the electors might at the bottom be on our side, and yet we should continue to be beaten at elections.'"

"The duties of the Assumptionist caucus are thus defined: It shall occupy itself with revisions of the register of voters, shall study diligently the body of electors, their wants, and the currents of opinion which stir them. With every elector its members must be personally acquainted, so as to set him in one of three classes—viz., good, bad, or doubtful. The 'good' electors must be reinforced, marshaled in battalions, encouraged to become apostles of the good cause. The doubtful ones and waverers must be won over; the bad ones had better be left alone—at least, to begin with."

Of the means, literary, political, and domestic, by which the conspirators attain their ends Mr. Conybeare gives a detailed and very interesting account. Even a female league exists for the purpose of influencing voters through the agency of their wives.

A PLEA FOR THE STUDY OF MILITARY HISTORY.

Mr. C. Oman contributes a "Plea for Military History." He thinks that the disasters of the South African War were due to the entire ignorance of elementary military history among British politicians.

"The most discomposing incident of the last autumn was not Nicholson's Nek or Magersfontein, but that astounding message sent from London to Australia, which told our willing colonists that, if they wished to supply men for the war, infantry would be preferable. That one sentence showed with a fatal clearness that the responsible persons at headquarters had not realized that the chapter in the art of war which they should be studying was the great American struggle of 1861-65. Any one who has carefully read through the records of that contest can see that it alone among modern wars offers really useful lessons and analogies for application in the present campaign in Africa."

CUTTING THROUGH THE SUDD.

Capt. M. F. Gage gives a very interesting account of a recent voyage made by him from Uganda to Khartum with the object of examining the Sudd region of the White Nile. The passage by boat through the Sudd was only accomplished after extraordinary difficulties, and took several months. Of the manner in which the obstruction is formed, Captain Gage says:

"From Shambe to 9 deg. N. Lat., the river is bordered at intervals on either bank by extensive lagoons, filled with floating islands of papyrus grass, termed Sudd, which sail about at the will of the wind. These, during the rainy season, are blown in large masses by the frequent squalls which are prevalent at that period into the river, and are carried down by the current, often wrenching fresh pieces of papyrus from that bordering the river during their course. These formidable floating islands of papyrus grass, with roots sometimes

as much as ten feet in length and one foot diameter, continue their course until, either at the bend of the river or when the latter suddenly narrows, they become jammed. Fresh islands constantly arriving from behind with the current tend still more to compress the block thus formed, until in course of time a formidable barrage completely blocks the course of the river. There being no solid banks in these latitudes, the huge volume of water descending from the south then swerves from its true course and flows over the surrounding marshland, thereby forming a vast expanse of inundations."

THE SWISS ARMY.

Mr. C. G. Coulton contributes a description of the Swiss army. The Swiss army is probably by far the cheapest in the world, taking into consideration the three points of money, length of service, and efficiency. In 1900 it will cost far less than the imperfect British volunteer system. Every adult Swiss is liable to serve, but the physical test is so strict that nearly 50 per cent. are rejected. The rejected pay a tax of \$1.25 per head, with an income tax of about 1% per cent. For the first thirteen years of his service the recruit belongs to the *elite*, and is called out every other year for exercise. The cavalry alone is called out every year. In the intermediate years the soldier shoots 40 rounds per annum. In his thirty-third year he passes into the Landwehr, and in his forty-fifth year into the Landsturm. In 1899 the Swiss army with reserves numbered 284,000 fighting men. Captain Gage made inquiries from a number of authorities as to the physical and moral effect of the Swiss military system, and the conclusion he came to was that in every respect it was beneficial.

JUDGMENTS ON THE BOER WAR.

"The Greater Britain" section is exclusively devoted to the war. The following is the writer's judgment:

"It will not be surprising to find, at a very early date, a strong recrudescence of the agitation against the war-office methods in the conduct of the campaign in South Africa. Officers, correspondents, and private observers of reliability are returning from the front; and the criticisms which they are likely to make, after peace has been concluded, will neither be consoling to our national pride nor reassuring to those who have the welfare of the country at heart. There is reason to believe that one day, sooner or later, it will be established that the fighting force of the Boers has never exceeded 35,000 to 40,000 men; that our commissariat has been conducted with scandalous ignorance and waste; that the transport system, from start to finish, has been badly mismanaged. Finally, those who have been through the campaign or have watched it in any capacity have been obliged to regretfully come to the conclusion that the proportion of British officers who have achieved any notable success or given any signal proof of good military qualities is surprisingly small."

A "Special Supplement" of 36 pages is devoted to a complete history of the war, by Mr. H. W. Wilson. Mr. Wilson thinks that the Boers never had at the utmost more than 40,000 men in the field. His conclusions are as follows:

"In tactics the Boers all through proved themselves ahead of the British army, and man for man, superior to our soldiers. It was said before the war that they would never attack, though Majuba was even then an instance to the contrary. But when well led, they

could, and did, attack with complete success—as, for example, at Spion Kop. There can now be no doubt that the force opposed to us in that battle was not one-third the strength of Buller's army."

THE RIGHTS OF THE WEAK.

Mr. W. H. Mallock writes a somewhat casuistical article upon "The Rights of the Weak," in which he concludes, to his own satisfaction, that the weak have no rights at all.

"The right of the great state is guaranteed by something which is internal to itself. The right of the weak state is guaranteed by something which is external to itself. It is guaranteed by the forbearance of the great state, which guarantee rests on the dictates of the great state's conscience as to what, under the circumstances, is equitable. If, therefore, owing to a change in circumstances, the great state comes to feel that the weak state uses its rights in any unjustifiable manner, the weak state's guarantee of its independence necessarily disappears at once."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Alfred Austin reprints a paper on "Dante's Realistic Treatment of the Ideal," which was read before the Dante Society on June 13. Mr. Arthur Galton gives his "Final Impressions of the Roman Catholic Church."

"The House of Usna" is the title of a drama by Miss Fiona MacLeod. It deals with the reign of Connor MacNessa, who was king of Ulster, and high king of Ireland at the beginning of the Christian Era.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

THE paper on Bordighera, in the July number of the *Westminster*, has already been noticed.

Mr. Hugh H. L. Bellot brings his review of the problem in South Africa to a close by urging that after annexation a military dictatorship must continue until it is considered safe to introduce a fair measure of responsible self-government. The interval might be used to redress economic grievances, abolish monopolies, ascertain the respective numbers of Boers and Uitlanders, and so forth. He insists that England must trust the Boers as she has trusted the once disloyal Canadians, and must aim at the fusion of the two races.

Mr. A. E. Maddock laments the popular frenzy which brands opposition to the war as disloyalty. This leads him, relying on etymology, to declare that "loyalty simply means legality,—i. e., justice,"—and to hope that rational criticism will in time supersede the race hatreds left behind them by the old monarchies. Nora Twycross deplores the support given to militarism by women, who ought to be the greatest advocates of peace.

Art is nearly as prominent as war in this number. Henry Bishop discusses the distinctive qualities of Rembrandt, and H. M. Strong contributes a eulogy of Aubrey Beardsley's achievements. Mr. Strong declares Beardsley initiated, developed, and brought to maturity an art astoundingly new.

The single-tax panacea, which rarely escapes advocacy in the *Westminster*, appears now in the novel guise of a court trial. We are given a verbatim report of the case of Labor *versus* Landlordism, in the Court of Common-sense, the opposing counsel being Mr. Sin-

gle Tax, Q.C., and Mr. Laissezfair, Q.C. The plaintiff is John Hodge, the defendant is Lord Broadacres; and among the witnesses called are Charles I., William the Conqueror, and Adam!

Mr. Oliphant Smeaton considers that Hector Macpherson has succeeded remarkably well in his endeavor to cram the results of Mr. Herbert Spencer's life and philosophy into a book of 227 pages.

THE CONTINENTAL REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

WE have noticed elsewhere M. Leclercq's article on "The Origins of the South African Republics." As regards the rest of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for June, it must be admitted that the usual high standard has not, for once, been altogether maintained.

ARTIFICIAL COLORING MATTER.

M. Dastre contributes to the first June number an extremely learned and technical article on the chemical industry of artificial coloring matters. The general character of the changes which this industry has undergone may be briefly explained: It has been the substitution, sometimes slow and gradual, at other times sudden, of artificial products for natural ones. This process has been effected, in most cases, at the cost of the agricultural industry. Colors borrowed from vegetable or animal sources are suddenly, one fine day, produced artificially in the laboratory, and lo! all of a sudden a flourishing industry is menaced, declines, and disappears. A remarkable example is to be found in the fact that, at the end of the eighteenth century, Spain used to supply France with large quantities of soda, derived from seaweed of various kinds; but this industry was destroyed in a moment by the discovery and adoption of the Leblanc process, which rendered France independent of Spain in this respect. So, too, with the discovery of aniline dyes, which wrought an absolute revolution in the dyeing trade. But it is mainly on the future that M. Dastre fixes his eyes; he sees in this industry an unlimited field for discoveries of importance, and he attributes the supremacy of Germany in this field to the fact that she has known how to enlist the highest science in the service of industry.

THE OLD EMPEROR WILLIAM.

To the second June number M. Emile Ollivier contributes a long and historically interesting paper on the old Emperor, King William of Prussia. No prince, he says, better understood and fulfilled the duties of royalty. His education was entirely military, and he was 44 years old before he was initiated into state affairs. But he was too conscientious to remain a simple figure-head, and with infinite labor he acquainted himself with the details of government, and even with the principles of jurisprudence. He worked from morning till night without any recreation except the theater, and even there he was always accessible to deal with important business. "I have not the time to be tired," he said to those who were astonished at his enormous labors. He had the royal gift of choosing his assistants well, and of attaching them to him by delicate attentions. In his private life he was kind, polite to ladies, devoid of vindictiveness, of a placid, gentle humor, fond of obliging people, and, while strikingly economical, yet ready if occasion demanded to dispense royal splendor. In his youth he was of a romantic disposition, and if it had not been for the formal veto of his father, he would have married to please himself. As it was, he married, by order, the Princess Augusta of Saxe-

Weimar, the bent of whose mind rendered her scarcely a suitable wife for him. Her poetic, literary, and artistic culture was too exceptional; and, though she was not without influence over him, yet their relations were often strained. He was first and foremost a King of Prussia—a man of conquest, ready to take what he could get without scruple, and believing what was profitable to be lawful. War was ever in his thoughts, and it seemed to him a necessary refreshment for nations. His mission seemed to him less that of making some millions of men happy than that of conquering Germany; in fact, he found quite natural, and even holy, forms of deceit from which his soul would have shrunk if they had been concerned merely with his own private affairs.

MADAGASCAR.

M. Lebon continues his series of papers on Madagascar by dealing this time with the process of pacification after annexation. M. Lebon considers that Madagascar has been badly treated in regard to finance, the home government being unwilling as a rule to spend enough. As regards the economic development of the island, for which means of communication are the most essential requirement, he considers that France has repeated in Madagascar the same error which has affected the whole of her colonial history. She has not known how to follow up rapidly great military sacrifices with corresponding expenditure on public works. M. Lebon contrasts the energy displayed by England in constructing the Uganda Railway, as well as the military line which owed its origin to Lord Kitchener in the Soudan campaign.

NOUVELLE REVUE.

THERE is no lack of interesting papers in the *Nouvelle Revue*, although it no longer has the advantage of the editorial direction of Mme. Juliette Adam.

PÈRE DIDON.

An article signed only by the initials "E. M." gives an interesting picture of Père Didon. Obituary notices have sufficiently expressed the grief which the news of Père Didon's death aroused among his numerous friends in England. There is, therefore, no need to follow the writer in his sketch of Père Didon's life. The part of educator, which filled the last portion of his life after his reconciliation with the Vatican, is probably what Père Didon will be remembered for by posterity. At the school of Arcueil he showed his great powers of organization, as well as the sweetness and charm of his personal nature; he believed in spreading sunshine and light around him, and all sadness was banished. He had a splendid appetite, and a great love of manly sports, in which he brought up his pupils. At table Père Didon's gayety was irresistible. Never did modern monk penetrate more intelligently the spirit and manners of our time: he set his watch by the hour of the century. Essentially a Liberal and a Democrat, he seemed to bring to the solution of modern problems

that sympathy and forgetfulness of self which distinguished some of the greatest names in the history of monasticism. He was once foolishly called the Coquelin of the Church, but Père Didon was anything but an actor; and if he was not exactly a monk to the very marrow of his bones, he was certainly a believer.

THE BOER WAR.

Captain Gilbert continues in the second June number a description of the military operations in South Africa, in which he takes us down to November 15, 1899. Captain Gilbert's papers are worthy of attention as being the work of a professional soldier, who seems to be on the whole uninfluenced by political or national prejudice on either side, and is therefore able to discuss the military problems involved in the war in the dry light of reason.

REVUE DE PARIS.

WE have already had occasion to note the considerable improvement which had been effected in the *Revue de Paris*, and this improvement is fully maintained in the June number.

SPORTS IN OLD FRANCE.

Modern France, in spite of Père Didon, is not supposed to be much addicted to athletics; and perhaps it is with a view of remedying this that M. Jusserand writes on the subject of sports in old France in the first June number, in continuation of the series which he began in May. He begins with the jousts and tourneys in the time of René of Anjou. In the joust there were different prizes given to the man who should make the finest lance-thrust, to the man who broke most lances, and so on—curiously parallel to the methods of an athletic meeting of to-day. The joust was an imitation of the single combat, or duel to the death, just as the tourney was an imitation of a regular battle. The sixteenth century was the golden age of individual prowess in arms; distance and difference of nationality were no bar, but the chivalry of every country of Europe met at great trials of strength and skill.

"L'AIGLON" AND THE COUNTESS CAMERATA.

The recent production of M. Rostand's play, "L'Aiglon," lends interest to a short paper by M. Frédéric Masson on the part played by the Countess Camera'ta at Vienna. Last April, M. Masson had said in the *Revue de Paris* that the countess could not come to Vienna in 1830 to be near the Duke of Reichstadt. M. Masson, however, has been furnished with letters by a very high authority which tend to modify, if not to disprove, his previous statement.

M. SPULLER AND M. GAMBETTA.

M. Depasse presents five interesting letters from M. Spuller to Gambetta, written on the morrow of the war of 1870, during and after the Commune. M. Spuller was the most faithful and most disinterested of Gambetta's friends, and his moral and political influence has been too little recognized by historians of the French Republican party. The letters show, for the first time, the great part which M. Spuller played in the Gambettist-Opportunist politics.

OTHER ARTICLES.

We have noticed elsewhere M. Mille's article on the Boers, and among others which should be mentioned are an anonymous historical paper on the assassination

of two plenipotentiaries of France at the gates of Rastatt in 1799; a description of the picturesque customs of the Amsterdam Stock Exchange in the seventeenth century; a selection of letters written to Gen. Mathieu Dumas during the campaign of Marengo by General Dampierre; and a lively description, in the form of extracts from letters, of the Cape Nome gold fields, to which is added an excellent map showing the position of the fields in relation to the Klondike district on the one side and Siberia on the other.

THE ITALIAN REVIEWS.

THE political situation in Italy and the recent elections naturally excite the attention of all the serious reviews, and pessimistic views concerning the future appear to prevail in most quarters. The *Rassegna Nazionale* (Liberal Catholic) tries to make the best of what it clearly regards as a bad business, and blames the *Osservatore Cattolico* for indirectly, at least, supporting the extreme Left in opposition to the Ministerial candidates. The *Civiltà Cattolica* (Jesuit) congratulates the Church on the continued abstention of Catholics from the polls, while complacently noting the increasing corruption and disorder of political life in Italy. The weighty *Nuova Antologia* devotes no less than three articles, two by Senators and one by a Deputy, to various aspects of the situation. The most noteworthy contribution is that of F. Nobili-Vitelleschi, who, in an article entitled "A New Cry of Pain," declares roundly that it would not be easy to find any country that had been so badly governed as Italy during the last twenty-five years. "The confusion of parties, their self-seeking, the mutability of policy, the turbulent proceedings in Parliament, the frequent changes of ministries and prorogations of the Chamber, the constant dissolutions, the method of nominating to the Upper Chamber, are very far from being proofs of good government."

Apart from home politics, the most topical articles in the *Nuova Antologia* are two which form part of a series describing the travels of an Italian engineer through the interior of China, and illustrated by a number of excellent kodak views. The journey, which was undertaken in connection with the laying down of a new railway, only dates from last year; and in the light of current events, it is interesting to note that it was accomplished without any difficulties, although here and there the author refers to the antagonistic humor of the Chinese lower classes.

The *Civiltà Cattolica* (June 16) points out that the assumption universally adopted by the Italian non-Catholic press earlier in the year, that the *Anno Santo* would prove a failure, is fast giving way before the undeniable facts of the case. As a proof of the crowds of foreigners who have thronged the Eternal City, the writer asserts that the receipts of the Roman Tramway Company during the eight weeks from mid-March to mid-May equaled in amount the whole of the receipts for the year 1899. There is an article condemning the moral tone of Sienkiewicz's two novels, "Quo Vadis" and "Without Dogma," which are enjoying an enormous popularity in Italy just now. Apparently, "Quo Vadis" is only ecclesiastically sanctioned in an expurgated edition.

The *Rassegna Nazionale* publishes a lecture on "The Delineation of Sorrow in Art," by the veteran

novelist A. Fogazzaro, which has attracted considerable attention of late among Italian critics.

The *Rivista Politica e Letteraria* publishes an enthusiastic review of Cassandra Vivaria's novel, "Via Lucis," which is to appear in translated form as a serial in its pages.

The *Rivista Popolare*, a small fortnightly publication, edited for the people by the well-known deputy, N. Colajanni, prints (June 15) a very bitter letter by Ouida against England, in which she prophesies that when England shall have swallowed the Transvaal she will turn her attention to Mozambique.

THE GERMAN MAGAZINES.

IN the June number of the *Deutsche Revue*, M. von Brandt contributes a paper on "Asiatic Shadows." The "shadows" in question are those thrown upon English prestige and English influence in every part of the great Eastern Continent. The writer points to the progress in colonization, in conquest, and in influence made by Russia, on the one hand, and the stationary or even retrograde movement of Great Britain on the other. In order to make this more marked, M. von Brandt has ignored any advance that has been made by England in China and elsewhere, and only mentions Ranjut and Chitral. He says that Russian enterprise has been everywhere triumphant—in Persia, in China, on the Indian frontier, in Afghanistan. Only in Korea it has not achieved that success wished for by the statesmen at St. Petersburg. The result of this is that the Chinese and Japanese, seeing the English policy, which has been unfolded before their eyes since 1895, can only come to one conclusion—namely, that England is afraid of Russia; that her policy is but a broken reed, and that her hand can give no support to any who may wish to lean on her.

M. von Brandt mentions the anti-English feeling in America, and even foresees the probability of a war between the two great English-speaking nations. In his opinion, all that England has left is the command of the sea; and upon that even now shadows are being thrown—shadows which have real forms behind them, which grow slowly yet surely. He quotes the trade returns of the various nations with China and Japan to show that England is falling behind in the race, having to take second place to America and Russia. Were it not that the French have demonstrated their incapacity for colonization, their presence in southern China would be a great menace to England. In his closing paragraph, however, the writer sets forth the fact that the wealth of England is still the great source of her strength; but even more than this the great element of her power is found in the remark made by Graf von Schwerin when he visited England—namely, that in England the great families always stood forth in the cause of freedom, while in Germany the old families only tried to see whether it were possible to get more privileges for themselves.

ROUMANIA.

Dr. Hans Kleser writes a very long historical article upon the position and significance of Roumania among European states. He opens his article with a description of the journey of King Karl of Roumania through Russia to St. Petersburg last year. The significance of

this visit is much greater than has been generally recognized. It really marks the recognition of Roumania as an independent sovereign state whose future is assured. The chief dangers that the little kingdom has now to fear will arise from internal troubles. Dr. Kleser goes minutely into the details of Roumanian history, and touches upon the march of Russian enterprise towards the West in much the same way as M. von Brandt refers to her Eastern advance.

A GERMAN'S IMPRESSIONS OF MOROCCO.

The widespread feeling in Germany that it would be a good thing to acquire a few more colonies and greatly develop those they already have finds expression in many articles in the magazines upon the present German possessions and those states in which there is a strong German influence. Among the latter is Morocco, and in the June number of the *Deutsche Rundschau* we find a most interesting article called "Impressions of Journeys in Morocco," by Theobald Fischer. Mr. Fischer has traveled a great deal in Morocco, a country in which he says there are important German interests. He describes some of his journeys, from which it would appear that he had to rough it pretty considerably. The difficulties of travel in this part of Africa are many. He says that at present there is no artificially built road in the whole of Morocco, and that bridges are almost unknown. All the larger streams are crossed by means of ferries, a method which causes great delays, especially when the ferry-men refuse to perform their duty. He also seems to have suffered great inconvenience owing to the gates of all towns being shut at sunset, in which case the caravan has to camp without the walls. Not only are the gates of the town closed, but the gates of the different divisions of the town are also kept shut after dark, a custom which renders visiting after sunset practically impossible.

Mr. Fischer's general impression of Morocco is that it is a land which has been richly endowed by Nature, and with a position which gives it great superiority, but which at the same time is devastated and depopulated by a horrible arbitrary power. No man can be sure of his life or his property. The village sheik skins his peasants in order to enrich himself. He in turn loses his position, his wealth, and possibly his life, if he fails to give the Sultan and his *entourage* the customary yearly presents, or if another man offers more for his place. The Sultans themselves generally end by means of poison. Only the man who has absolutely nothing is moderately safe. Speaking of the crushing out of a rebellion which took place some time ago, he says that at first every soldier in the Sultan's army was paid five francs for each head that he brought in. The natural result was that the soldiers killed everybody that they could—camel-drivers and the like. So many heads came in that this bonus was taken off, in consequence of which innumerable desertions took place, as the soldiers found it quite impossible to live upon their pay, which amounted to 10 cents a day. He tells some grewsome stories of the tortures employed, and concludes: "Rotten through and through as it is, this state, whose existence is a disgrace to Christian Europe, would succumb to the first blow from outside. The jealousy of the powers is responsible for the fact that this blow has not already been delivered."

INDEX TO PERIODICALS.

Unless otherwise specified, all references are to the July numbers of periodicals.
For table of abbreviations see last page.

- Abyssinian Capital, Journey to the—II., M. S. Wellby, Harp.
Adams, John, President, E. P. Powell, Arena.
Africa: Uganda to Khartoum, Trip from, M. F. Gage, NatR.
Alcohol, Manufacture of, from Paper and Sawdust, C. A. Mitchell, Cham.
Americanism, Genesis of, S. Kingswan, RasN, June 1.
America, Prehistoric, Among Ruins of, Louise E. Dew, Int.
Amsterdam Stock Exchange in the 17th Century, A. E. Sayous, RPar, June 15.
Arch, Joseph, S. J. MacKnight, AngA.
Aristotle, Politics of, W. A. Dunning, PSQ, June.
Armenians, Religious Customs Among the, P. Terzian, Cath.
Armies: Feeding the Fighting Man, M. Tindal, Pear.
Arms, Reform College of, A. W. Hutton, Contem.
Army in the Tropics, Ration for an, C. A. Woodruff, JMSI.
Army: Proposed Reorganization, H. T. Allen, JMSI.
Army, Swiss, G. G. Coulton, NatR.
Art:
Aivazowski, Ivan C., B. Karageorgevitch, MA.
Art of 1900, The, A. L. Baldry, IntS.
Art, Our True Relation to, C. W. Harvey, NC.
Bartholomew, Charles L., the Cartoonist, AI.
Beardsley, Aubrey, H. M. Strong, West.
Benson, Frank W., and His Work, W. H. Downes, BP.
Bernard, Albert, J. Bois, RRP, July 1.
Cincinnati Exhibition of American Art, BP.
Color, Sphere for Teaching, A. A. Munsell, AE, June.
Design in a Dead Century, Effie B. Clarke, AJ.
Falgüère, Alexandre, H. Frantz, MA.
Fra Angelico in Rome, A. McLeod, AJ.
Good and Evil in Art, D. Conti, RasN, June 1.
House, Furnishing of a, by Public School Children, A. J. Warner, AE, June.
Illustration, Pen and Ink, AI.
Illustrators, American Women, Regina Armstrong, Crit.
Leather Work, Artistic, AI.
Le Marais, Ernest E., H. Ryner and G. Lanoe, HumN.
"Libre Esthétique," Salon of the, Octave Maus, MA.
Literary Pictures of the Year, G. K. Chesterton and J. E. H. Williams, Bkman.
Keller, Arthur I., W. Patten, BB.
Lustre Ware, H. C. Stangade, AA.
Metal, Art of—VIII., Repoussé, AA.
Munkácsy, Michael, MA.
Musée Rodin, Paris, C. Quentin, AJ.
National Gallery in 1900, M. H. Spielmann, NineC.
Nicholson, William, AA.
Oak Leaves, Autumn, Painting of, AA.
Paris Exposition, American Sculpture at the, L. Taft, BP.
Paris Salon, 1900, MA.
Parlaghy, Vilma, Clara Ruge, Mun.
Rembrandt, Art of, H. Bishop, West.
Royal Academy—II., MA.
Sorrow in Art, A. Fogazzaro, RasN, June 1.
Sporting Cups, Improvement of—II., IntS.
Stokes, Mr. and Mrs. Adrian, W. Meynell, AJ.
Turner, J. M. W., Unpublished Letters of, MA.
Victoria, Queen, as an Etcher, C. Brinton, Crit.
Water-Colors, Methods Employed in Painting with, J. W. Pattison, AE, June.
Wiertz, Antoine, H. T. Sherman, Int.
Asia: see also China.
Eastern Asia, Ocean Transportation to, E. T. Chamberlain, NAR.
Engineering Development of the Far East, W. B. Parsons, Eng.
Russia to Control All Asia? Is, A. H. Ford, Cos.
War, The Coming, H. Maxim, Home.
Astronomy, Measurement of Photographic Intensities, E. C. Pickering, PopA.
Athletic Contests, By-gone International, W. B. Curtis, O.
Australian Constitution, New, H. H. Lusk, AMRR.
Australian Federation, J. A. Andrews, HumN, June.
Axeman'ship, A New-World Sport, H. A. Nicholls, Str.
Banking in Australia, BankL.
Bank of England, Variations in the Rate Charged by, BankL.
Baths, Public, System of, G. Brown, San.
Beira Railway, With Lancet and Rifle on the, L. O. Cooper, Fort.
Belgium Elections, C. Woeste, RGen.
Belgium: Industrial Census of 1896, E. de Ghélin, RGen.
Belgium, Neutrality of, Duc de Broglie, RDM, July 1.
Benevolence, Study in, W. E. Simonds, Dial, June 16.
Bernard, Claude, the Physiologist, J. J. Walsh, Cath.
Bernhardt, Sarah, L. Strachey, FrL.
Bicycling in the West, Over, June.
Biological Research, Recent, E. B. Wilson, IntM.
Biology, Advance of, in 1897, C. B. Davenport, ANat, June.
Birds, Language of, M. Bréal, RRP, June 15.
Bolivia, Road to—II., W. E. Curtis, NatGM.
Bordighera, Italy, W. Miller, West.
Bossuet as a Preacher, A. H. Currier, BSac.
Boston, Historic, Facts Regarding, F. A. Waterman, NatM.
Boston, Notable Trees About, Abbie F. Brown, NEng.
Boston Subway System, G. J. Varney, NatM.
Box Tricks, Mysterious, J. Scott, Str.
Brandes, George, Jonas Lie and, Winifred L. Wendell, SelfC.
Bryan, Mr., the Democratic Leader, in 1900, C. B. Spahr, AMRR.
Bryan, William Jennings, W. A. White, McCl.
Buchanan, President: His Proposed Intervention in Mexico, H. L. Wilson, AHR.
Building-Trades Conflict in Chicago, S. V. Lindholm, JPEcon.
Cable-Line, Projected, to the Philippines, C. Hale, NAR.
California Plymouth Rock, Mary H. Field, Chant.
Canada, City Government in, S. M. Wickett, PSQ, June.
Canadians, French, French Language and the, J. Bidault, RRP, June 15.
Canoe Craft, Up-stream, A. B. Chandler, O.
Catholic Counter-Reformation in Bohemia, L. F. Miskovsky, BSac.
Census Office, Machinery in the, C. M. McGovern, Pear.
Census, Twelfth, Forecast of the, M. G. Mulhall, NAR.
Census, Twelfth, Preparations for the, W. C. Mitchell, JPEcon.
Chamberlain, Joseph, J. McCarthy, Out.
Charities and Correction, National Conference of, Char.
Charity: Public Outdoor Relief, C. A. Ellwood, AJS.
Chateaubriand, H. Bordeaux, RGen.
Chaucer, Geoffrey, Portraits of, M. H. Spielmann, MA.
Chicago, Housing of the Poor in, F. B. Embree, JPEcon, June.
Children, Dependent, State Care of, Henrietta C. Wright, NAR.
Children, Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent, Care of—IX., H. Folks, Char.
Children's Toys in Siam, H. Hillman, WWM.
Children, Town, in the Country, Mrs. S. A. Barnett, NineC.
China: see also Asia.
"Boxers," Chinese, L. J. Davies, NatGM.
China, Distracted, Black.
Chinese Civilization: The Ideal and the Actual, D. Z. Sheffield, Forum.
Chinese Revolutionary Junta, Ains.
Chinese: Will They Migrate? J. M. Scanland, Arena.
Crisis in China, A. Sowerby, Contem; Fort; R. van Bergen, Home.
Crisis in China and the Missions, A. P. Doyle, Cath.
England's Vacillation in China, H. Norman, NineC.
Journey Through China, A. Pratesi, NA, June 1 and 16.
Kiaochou: A German Colonial Experiment, C. Denby, Jr., Forum.
Missions and Missionaries in China, P. Bigelow, NAR.
Reform, Struggle for, in China, C. Johnston, NAR.
Revolt of the Yellow Man, W. T. Stead, RRL.
Scramble for China, D. C. Boulger, Contem.
Tsze Hsi, Empress of China, W. T. Stead, RRL.
United States and China, Mutual Helpfulness Between the, Wu Ting-Fang, NAR.
Christian Endeavor Society, J. W. Spurgeon, Sun.
Christian Schools, Rise of the—De la Salle, ACQR.
Christ, New Thought of the, R. H. Newton, Mind.
Christ's Resurrection, Stapfer on, A. Hovey, AJT.
Chronicles, Concerning the Date of, K. D. Macmillan, PRR.
Church, Early, Penitential Discipline in, J. Hogan, ACQR.
Church, How to Win Men to the, C. N. Cobern, Hom.
Church of England, W. Clark, SelfC.
Church, State, and Education, A. C. Millar, Gunt.
Cities, Rapid Transit in, G. H. Johnson, FrL.
City Government in Canada, S. M. Wickett, PSQ, June.
Climabake, The, J. S. Metcalfe, Pear.
Climatological Association, American, Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the, San.
College Literature and Journalism, C. F. Bacon, Crit.
College Rooms and Their Traditions, E. Boltwood, Mun.
Colonial System, Evolution of a, E. M. Avery, AMonM.
Colonies and the Mother Country—II., J. Collier, PopS.
Columbus, Last Journey of, G. F. Airolli, RasN, June 16.
Commerce, Romance of, YM.

- Commercial Ascendancy of the United States, C. D. Wright, Cent.
- Condiments, Relishes, and Spices, A. H. Gouraud, SelfC.
- Conscience and Obligation, A. Lefevre, Phil.
- Continuum, Notion of, A. E. Mach, OC.
- Conway, Sir W. Martin, F. Steelcroft, Str.
- Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, and Kepler, C. Sterne, OC.
- Copyright, Anglo-American Literary, A. Austin, PMM.
- Corn, Indian, C. F. Millsbaugh, Chaut.
- Cotton-Mills in Cotton-Fields, Leonora B. Ellis, AMRR.
- Cranes, Foundry, J. Horner, CasM.
- Crazes, Psychology of, G. T. W. Patrick, PopS.
- Cricketer Captaincy, Cham.
- Cricket, Parious Condition of, H. G. Hutchinson, NatR.
- Crimea, In the Haunted, Mémie M. Norman, Contem.
- Crime: Is It Increasing? R. P. Falkner, Forum.
- Criminology, Ethics of, H. Harrell, Arena.
- Cromwell and Liberty, G. McDermot, Cath.
- Cromwell, Oliver—IX., In Scotland, From Dunbar to Worcester, Civil Problems and the Soldier, J. Morley, Cent.
- Cromwell's Battle Tactics, F. N. Maude, U. S. M.
- Cruising, Single-Hand, W. P. Stephens, O.
- Cuban Teachers in America, Mary C. Francis, NatM.
- Cuba of To-day and To-morrow, J. D. Whelpley, Atlant.
- Cuba, Society in, Mary C. Francis, Mun.
- Cuba, United States in Cuba, Leonora B. Ellis, Arena.
- Dante's Realistic Treatment of the Ideal, A. Austin, NatR.
- Derby, American, W. H. Rowe, O.
- Devil, Non-Existence of the, C. Caverno, Arena.
- Dhoukobortsi—A Persecuted People, J. N. McGovern, Int.
- Didon, Péro, Nou, June 1.
- Diplomats, Our Literary—II., From the "Era of Good Feeling" to the Ashburton Treaty, L. Swift, BB.
- Dramatists and Their Methods, H. Wyndham, PMM.
- Drink Traffic, Tyranny of the, J. A. Steuart, YM.
- Earth's Development, Phases of the, E. Renouf, PopS.
- Ecclesiasticus, R. D. Wilson, PRR.
- Eclipse of the Sun, Total, May 28, 1900, G. M. Searle, Cath; H. C. Wilson, PopA; S. P. Langley, Pops.
- Education:
- Athletic Master in Public Schools, H. J. Spenser, Contem.
- Church, State, and Education, A. C. Millar.
- Classical Conference, Proceedings of the, School, June.
- Commencement Season, Dial, June 16.
- English University Education, Cost of, LeisH.
- Higher Education in the Twentieth Century, C. W. Heisler, Luth.
- Ideals of Christian Education, J. H. Barrows, BSac.
- Manual Training in Mental Development, H. W. Hetzel, Arena.
- "Quincy Method," AJS.
- Rural Pupils, Free High Schools for—II., H. R. Corbett, School, June.
- Science in British Higher Grade Schools, A. T. Simmons, West.
- Spencer's Essay on Education, D. S. Jordan, Cos.
- Technical Education at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, G. F. Swain, Pops.
- Vacation Schools and Playgrounds in New York, Georgia F. Arkell, AE, June.
- Year's Progress in Secondary and Higher Education, B. A. Hinsdale, Dial, July 16.
- Egypt in the Middle Ages, S. Lane-Poole, Long.
- Electrical Measurements of Energy, G. L. Addenbrooke, Eng.
- Electricity in the Home, F. J. Nash, Ains.
- Electric Power for Factories, W. S. Aldrich, CasM.
- Energy, Human, How to Increase, N. Tesla, RRP, June 15.
- England: see Great Britain.
- Ethics, Relation of, to Religion, W. G. Everett, IJE.
- Evolution in New-Church Light—IV., G. Hawkes, NC.
- Ezra, Documents of the Book of, J. O. Boyd, PRR.
- Fall of Man, Economic Interpretation of the, T. N. Carver, BSac.
- Festivals and Processions, Civic: I., Elements of a Successful Parade, B. Ferree; II., Some Practical Suggestions, C. R. Lamb, Cent.
- Farming, Old Connecticut, C. N. Hall, NEng.
- Fiction: Rascal as Hero, Edith K. Dunton, Atlant.
- Fiction, Undergraduate in, A. B. Maurice, Bkman.
- Fiction, Unrealism of—II., H. I. Stern, SelfC.
- Financial System, Our Bungle, J. H. Walker, Gunt.
- Finland and Russia, A. Birrell, Contem.
- Finney, President, and an Oberlin Theology, A. T. Swing, BSac.
- Fireworks, Pictures in, W. G. FitzGerald, Str.
- Flag, American, Birthplace of the, J. Q. Adams, FrL.
- Flag, Evolution of Our, Della Johnson, SelfC.
- Fly Casting, Practical, J. H. Keene, O.
- Fly-Wheels, Development in, C. H. Benjamin, CasM.
- Folk-Rhymes of Places, A. L. Salmon, Gent.
- Fourth of July in the Early Twenties, Carrie S. Palmer, SelfC.
- France:
- Anti-Slavery Movement of the Nineteenth-Century, France and the, G. Bonet-Maury, RDM, July 1.
- Army, French, of To-day, USM.
- Conspiracy Against the Republic, F. C. Conybeare, NatR.
- Court of Justice, A. French, R. Murray, Cass.
- Education, What France Does for, J. C. Bracq, NEng.
- France, Russia, and the Peace of the World, K. Blind, Fort.
- Old France, Bit of, Harriet Monroe, Atlant.
- Paris Elections and the Socialist Party, G. Rouanet, RSoc, June.
- Sports of Ancient France—III., J. J. Jusserand, RPar, July 1.
- Statesman in French Literature, G. Pellissier, RRP, July 1.
- University and the Republic in France, X. Torau-Bayle, RPP, June.
- Galapagos Islands, King of the, T. Leander, Cham.
- Garden, Content in a—II., Candace Wheeler, Atlant.
- Gates, English Town and City, Sarah Wilson, Cham.
- Geologic Records, Events in, F. W. Simonds, ANat, June.
- Geometry, Non-Euclidean, W. H. S. Monck, PopA.
- Germany: Hohenzollerns, The, F. W. Fitzpatrick, SelfC.
- Germany, The United States and, W. C. Fox, Forum.
- Gnostics, Modern, Nou, June 1.
- Gold Mines of British Columbia, Cham.
- Goldsmith, Oliver, Forgotten Home of, K. E. Harriman, Int.
- Golf, Ladies', Review of, L. Mackern and E. M. Boys, Bad.
- Golf, Strokes of: Putting, W. J. Travis; Driving, C. B. Macdonald; Approaching, H. M. Harriman, O.
- Gothic or Mixed Race?, Are We a—II., M. Emery, Gunt.
- Gounod, Charles, Evelyn Martinengo-Cesaresco, Mac.
- Governmental Methods, American, C. R. Woodruff, PSQ, June.
- Government Service: Does It Pay? A. M. Low, Forum.
- Grasmere Sports, A. J. George, Out.
- Great Britain: see also Transvaal.
- Administrative Reform in the Public Service, P. L. Gell, NineC.
- Ambassadors, Her Majesty's, R. Machray, Cass.
- Anglo-American Entente, A. M. Low, McCl.
- Army, British—I., USM.
- Army, British, Staff of the, USM.
- Army Officers, English, Black.
- Chamberlain, Joseph, J. McCarthy, Out.
- Chatham's Colonial Policy, H. Hall, AHR.
- Dissolution, Prerogative of, E. Robertson, NineC.
- Engineers, Royal, Reorganization of the, W. B. Brown, USM.
- England and Italy, B. King, Mac.
- English Constitutional History, Critical Period of, G. B. Adams, AHR.
- Expansion of England, E. D. Mead, NatGM.
- Imperialism, Future of, J. Lewis, Can.
- Labor versus Landlordism, West.
- Loyalty and War, A. E. Maddock, West.
- Marines and Coaling Stations, J. C. R. Colomb, USM.
- National Defense, Vital Points of the, D. T. Timins, Cass.
- Parliament. "A Khaki Dissolution," NatR.
- Peace, Policy of, E. Dicey, Fort.
- Social Reform and the General Election, T. Burke, Forum.
- Swiss Army—Its Lessons for England, G. G. Coulton, NatR.
- Workmen's Compensation Act, Judge Parry, Fort.
- Greece and Ireland, E. M. Lynch, Gent.
- Green, William Henry, J. D. Davis, PRR.
- Grindelwald, Growth of, F. Gribble, O.
- Guadalupe, Mexico, G. C. Cunningham, Over, June.
- Hague Conference, A. Merignhac, RPP, June.
- Harvard College Fifty-Eight Years Ago, G. F. Hoar, Scrib.
- Harvard, Religious Situation at, D. Drake, Out.
- Hawaii's Real Story, F. L. Clarke, Forum.
- Healing, Mental and Spiritual, Helen Van-Anderson, Mind.
- Health, Tendency to, D. G. Mason, Scrib.
- Hebrew Fiction, L. Abbott, Out.
- Hebrew Philosophers—Philo, N. Schmidt, CAge.
- Heine's "Frau Mathilde," Temp.
- Henley Week, Mrs. Burton Harrison, Cos.
- Herschels and the Nebulae, J. E. Gore, Gent.
- Histories, Popular, J. H. Robinson, IntM.
- History, Military, Plea for, C. Oman, NatR.
- Holy Spirit in the Early Apostolic Age, R. A. Falconer, PRR.
- Hooliganism and Juvenile Crime, A. W. Drew, NineC.
- Horses, Diving, A. H. Broadwell, Str.
- Hosts and Hostesses, Concerning, T. H. S. Escott, Fort.
- Housing in the Great Cities of the United States, P. Escard, RefS, June 16.
- Howells, William Dean, W. Clarke, YM.
- Hudson, Hendrick, Chaut.
- Hugo, Victor, Literary Ideas of, P. Stapfer, BU.
- Hull-Ottawa Fire, F. Gadsby, Can.
- Hymnals, Lesson of the New, E. Dickinson, BSac.
- Hypnotism, Educational Use of, J. D. Quackenbos, Harp.
- Imagination, Creative, Nature of the, T. Ribot, IntM.
- Immigration, Irish, Century of, H. J. Desmond, ACQt.
- Impressionism and Appreciation, L. E. Gates, Atlant.
- India: In the Jungles of the Ghosts, H. Hudson, O.
- Indians, Pagan, of Canada, M. O. Scott, Can.
- Indians: Story of the Little Big Horn, C. A. Eastman, Chaut.
- India, Problem of the Famine in, J. T. Gracey, MisR.

- Inference, Practical Procedure in, J. G. Hibben, Phil.
 Inoculation, Preventive—IL, W. M. Haffkine, PopS.
 Inspiration, Old Testament and, M. Coover, Luth.
 Insurance: Lessons of the \$175,000,000 Ash-Heap, W. J. Boies, Forum.
 Invalid, How to Cheer an, Anna S. Reed, SelfC.
 Invention as a Factor of National Wealth, W. C. Dodge, CasM.
 Invertebrates, North-American—X., Mary J. Rathbun, ANat, June.
 Ireland, Rural, In the Byways of, M. MacDonagh, NineC.
 Irish Greens, On, Mac.
 Irish National Education, J. J. O'Shea, ACQR.
 Iron, "Best Yorkshire," Making, E. Matheson, CasM.
 Iron Trade, British View of the, J. S. Jeans, Eng.
 Italy: Attitude of the Intransigents During the Election, RasN, June 16.
 Italy: On the Eve of the New Parliament, RasN, June 16.
 Italy, Political Spirit of, P. Orano, RPL, June 15.
 Japan, Christian Missions in, F. Penman, Cath.
 Japan, Modern, D. Glass, AngA.
 Japan, Railroad Control in, K. Abe, Arena.
 Jesus, Period of Doubt Among the Friends of, E. I. Bosworth, BSac.
 Jesus, Personality of, P. Carus, Mon.
 Jewish Synagogue, Jesus and the, E. K. Mitchell, Bib.
 Joinville, Prince de, A. Laugel, RPar, July 1.
 Journalism, Invasion of, A. R. Kimball, Atlant.
 Judas: Did He Really Commit Suicide?, J. R. Harris, AJT.
 Judiciary Act of 1801, M. Farrand, AHR.
 Kansas a Free State, Making, R. J. Hinton, Chaut.
 Kansas City, Missouri, C. S. Glead, Cos.
 Kentucky, Court of Appeals of, J. C. Doolan, GBag.
 Kindergarten, Indians in the, Daisy C. Laird, Kind, June.
 Kindergarten Institute, Chicago, Bertha Johnston, Kind, June.
 Kindergarten Union, International, Seventh Annual Convention of the, Kind, June.
 Lace-Making in Belgium, E. F. Johnson-Browne, Cath.
 Laughter, Prolegomena to a Theory of, J. Sully, Phil.
 Lavroff, Pierre, HumN; C. Rappoport, RSoc, June.
 Liberty and Government, H. E. S. Fremantle, IJE.
 Libraries, Public, Provision for Children in, Katherine L. Smith, AMRR.
 Library, Public, and the Public School, AMRR.
 Lie, Jonas, and George Brandes, Winifred L. Wendell, SelfC.
 Life Assurance, Prejudices About, J. W. Alexander, Atlant.
 Light, New Sources of, H. C. Bolton, PopS.
 Literary Criticism, American, W. M. Payne, IntM.
 Literature, American, Beginnings of, A. S. de la Faverie, HumN, June.
 Literature, American Outdoor, H. L. West, Forum.
 Literature: Certain Characteristics of the I-Novel, Katharine, Dial, July 1.
 Literature, Plots in, B. Capes, Corn.
 Little Big Horn, Story of the, C. A. Eastman, Chaut.
 Loan Associations, Benevolent, Katherine L. Smith, Arena.
 London, Military Traditions of the City of, Kathleen Schlesinger, PMM.
 London Railway, Central, A. J. Knowles, Cass.
 London Railways, Future of, G. F. Millin, Contem.
 London: St. Stephen's Church, Walbrook, H. C. Shelley, Can; NEng.
 London: Victoria Tower, Story of the, S. Fisher, AJ.
 Loring, Commodore, Charles H., W. M. McFarland, CasM.
 Lourdes, a Town of Modern Miracles, C. Johnson, Out.
 Luther and the Augsburg Confession, J. W. Richard, Luth.
 Machine Shop, Commercial Organization of the—IL, H. Diemer, Eng.
 Machine-Shop Work, Economies in, O. Smith, CasM.
 Machinists' Strike, Settlement of the, Eng.
 McKinley, President William, Administration of, AMRR.
 Macklem, Rev. T. C. S., A. H. Young, Can.
 Madagascar, Pacification of, A. Lebon, RDM, June 15.
 Madison, James, Episode in the Career of, Maria M. Marshall, GBag.
 Magic, Old and the New, P. Carus, OC.
 Malaria and the Malarial Parasite, P. Manson, PopS.
 Mammals of Prince Edward Island, R. T. Young, ANat, June.
 Marengo Campaign, Letters on the, Adj.-Gen. Dampierre, RPar, June 15.
 Marlowe's "Faustus," W. B. Carpenter, Sun.
 Marxism, F. D. Nieuwenhuis, HumN, June.
 Master, Life of the—VII., Jesus in His Relations with Children and in His Dealings with Men, J. Watson, McCl.
 Materialism, C. Thomas, Luth.
 Melancthon's Greek Letter to Camarius, W. A. Lambert, Luth.
 Mining, Bridge of Opportunity in, W. H. Lynch, AngA.
 Mining in British Columbia, H. M. Lamb, Eng.
 Ministerial Failure, Intellectual Cause of, D. S. Gregory, Hom.
 Missions:
 Caledonia, Indians of, Bishop Ridley, MisR.
 China, Missions and Missionaries in, P. Bigelow, NAR.
 Christian Endeavor in the Orient, F. E. Clark, MisH.
 Ecumenical Missionary Conference of 1900, F. F. Ellinwood, Hom.
 Eromanga, New Hebrides Islands, H. A. Robertson, MisR.
 Gospel for a Witness, F. L. Chapell, MisR.
 Opportunity and Obligation, Present, M. D. Babcock, MisR.
 South Africa, Mission Work in, W. Searle, MisR.
 Mississippi, "The River People" of the, D. Marshall, Scrib.
 Missouri, C. M. Harvey, Atlant.
 Mohammedanism, Failure of, D. S. Margoliouth, MisR.
 Monetary Legislation, Recent, J. L. Laughlin, JPEcon, June.
 Money and Prices, R. Mayo-Smith, PSQ, June.
 Money and Prices, Value of, G. J. F. Grant, West.
 Montenegro, Prince of, Visit with the, E. A. Steiner, Out.
 Moore, Alfred, J. Davis, GBag.
 Moose, 'Mid the Haunts of the, Black.
 Moral Obligation, Source of, J. S. Mackenzie, IJE.
 More, Sir Thomas, H. G. Ganss, ACQR.
 Morocco, Memories of, Corn.
 Morocco Scare, W. B. Harris, Black.
 Mothers, National Congress of, Fourth Annual Meeting of the, Kind, June.
 Mouravieff, Count, The Late, W. T. Stead, RRL.
 Municipal Socialism, J. Bourdeau, RDM, July 1.
 Municipal Trading, Lord Avebury, Contem.
 Musical Life, Memories of a, W. Mason, Cent.
 Music and Human Life, M. Emmanuel, RPar, June 15.
 Music Halls, A. Wilson, Contem.
 Music, Intellectual Value of, Carina C. Eaglesfield, SelfC.
 Muskoka, Ontario, W. R. Bradshaw, AngA.
 Mystery-Plays, So-Called, E. F. L. Gauss, OC.
 Mythology, Indian, Twelve Sisters in, RRP, June 15.
 Naval Strength of the Sea Powers, J. H. Schooling, Fort.
 Navy, Historic Old Ships of Our, Minna Irving, SelfC.
 Natural Man, Ethics of the, N. M. Steffens, PRR.
 Nature's Perennial Youth, D. Batchellor, CAGE.
 New Church, Distinctive Work of the, J. Reed, NC.
 New-Church Truth and Clear Thinking, J. A. Hayes, NC.
 New-Church Truth and Right Living, F. A. Dewson, NC.
 Newman, Cardinal, Two Mottos of, W. Ward, Fort.
 Newport, Magnificent, H. Davis, Mun.
 Newspapers, Eighteenth-Century, Gleanings from, LeisH.
 Neurone Theory, G. H. Parker, ANat, June.
 Newspapers, Scandinavian, D. K. Dodge, Bkman.
 New York City, Bradford Map of, W. L. Andrews, Bkman.
 New York, Transformation of, E. W. Mayo, Ains.
 Norway, the Land of the Midnight Sun, M. L. Harger, SelfC.
 Oberammergau, Passion Play at, H. Devrient, Forum.
 Oberlin's Contribution to Ethics, W. E. C. Wright, BSac.
 Ocean Traveling, C. G. Calkins, Ains.
 O'Connell, Daniel, as Counselor, M. MacDonagh, Temp.
 "Old Ironsides" as Sailors Saw Her, J. R. Spears, Chaut.
 Old Testament Theology, Present, G. S. Burroughs, BSac.
 Ontario, Wheel Highways of, R. Bruce, O.
 Paris, Artistic, R. Whiteing, Cent.
 Paris Exposition:
 Amusements at the Exposition, Josephine Tozier, Over, June.
 Architecture of the Exposition, L. H. Gibson, BP; HumN.
 First View of the Exposition, F. A. Kidder, Cos.
 Glories and Shortcomings of the Fair, Zoe A. Norris, Home.
 Paris Exposition, H. de Varigny, BU; H. H. Statham, Fort; F. Bourmand, RGen, June.
 Power Features of the Exposition, W. H. Donner, Eng.
 Sculpture, American, at the Exposition, L. Taft, BP.
 Telescope, Great, Building of the, A. Anderson, Str.
 Parkman, Francis, the Historian, W. W. Hudson, SelfC.
 Pascal, Visit to, A. Suarès, RDM, July 1.
 Paul, Saint, and Apostolic Succession, W. Weber, Mon.
 Perception, J. Hyde, NC.
 Philanthropy, A Profitable, Helen R. Albee, AMRR.
 Philippines, Projected Cable-Line to the, C. Hale, NAR.
 Photography:
 Clouds, Photographing, R. Melville, WPM.
 Enlarging by Sunlight and by the Electric Light, W. Abney, WPM.
 Ferrocyrides, Toning with, L. P. Clerc, APB.
 Flash-Light Photography, H. McB. Johnstone, PhoT.
 History, Early, of Photography, PhoT.
 Lantern Slide Making for Beginners—IX., PhoT.
 Neck in Portraiture, F. M. Sutcliffe, PhoT.
 Negative-Making, F. J. Clute, PhoT.
 Photography as a Sport, W. Nutting, FrL.
 Photography in Warm Climates, WPM.
 Photography, Unconventional, Pictorially Considered, H. McB. Johnstone, APB.
 Plates versus Films, A. T. Newton, WPM.
 Platinotype Paper, WPM.
 Silver Prints, Production of, Without Toning, M. Wilson, APB.
 Stereographs, Inferiority of Single Pictures to, C. Himes, PhoT.
 Telephotography, F. S. Dobbins, WPM.
 Washing of Prints, WPM.
 Physical Training in Women's Colleges, Wern.

- Fig, The Sanitary, J. B. Learned, San.
 Pine, Torrey, Belle S. Angier, Over, June.
 Plague at Oporto, A. Calmette, NAR.
 Plague, Bubonic, C. Edson, IntM.
 Playfair, Lyon, LeisH; M. W. Hazeltine, NAR.
 Plays, Historical American, A. E. Lancaster, Chaut.
 Poetry and the Ordinary Man, S. R. Tarr, SelfC.
 Poets as Legislators, A. D. Vandam, Fort.
 Political Affairs: Republican View of the Presidential Campaign, C. H. Grosvenor, NAR.
 Political Affairs: Bryan, Mr., Proclamation of, Gunt.
 Polo, the Rich Man's Game, H. Pratt, Pear.
 Poor, Relief and Care of the, at Home, E. T. Devino, Char.
 Porter, Sarah, W. M. Sloane, Cent.
 Porto Rico, F. W. Mansfield, JMSI.
 Porto Rico, Possibilities of, J. C. Burnes, Home.
 Positivist, Why I Am Not a, E. de Roberty, HumN.
 Preacher: What Should He Preach? F. S. Forbes, Mind.
 Preachers, Effective, J. Parker, Hom.
 Provincetown, Massachusetts, E. J. Carpenter, NEng.
 Psychology, Applied—IV., H. G. Petersen, CAGE.
 Psychology, Physiological, Essay in, J. J. Walsh, ACQR.
 Psychology, The New, and Moral Training, H. Davies, IJE.
 Pyrenees, Literature of the, G. Compayré, Nou, June 15.
 Quebec, Fall of, C. T. Brady, McCl.
 Races, Subject, Treatment of, Mary A. M. Marks, IJE.
 Radcliffe, Mrs., Novels of, A. Lang, Corn.
 Railroad, Soldiers of the, C. Warman, Mun.
 Railway Freight Cars, Pooling of, J. R. Cavanagh, JPEcon.
 Railway Notes from the Ural Range, L. Lodian, CasM.
 Randolph, Mrs. Thomas Mann, AMonM.
 Rangeley Lakes, Maine, A. L. Golder, NEng.
 Referendum in America, E. Maxey, Arena.
 Religion as a Personal Equation, H. C. King, BSac.
 Religions, First International Congress of History of, M. Jastrow, Jr., IJE.
 Religions: How They Affect Commerce, C. C. Adams, Ains.
 Revolution, American, Memorials of the, Linda de K. Fulton, Chaut.
 Ritual in the Reign of Maximin, J. Rickaby, ACQR.
 Roads, Better, Pear.
 Roman Catholic Church, Bible in the, B. F. De Costa, Cath.
 Roman Catholic Church, Some Final Impressions of the, A. Galton, NatR.
 Roman Question in 1862, L. Thouvenel, RPar, July 1.
 Rosebery, Lord, Past, Present, and Future, A. Mee, YM.
 Roslin Chapel, Scotland, B. M. Buckhout, SelfC.
 Rural Districts, Industries for, Helen R. Albee, AMRR.
 Ruskin, John, Man and Prophet, R. W. Bond, Contem.
 Russia a Catholic Nation? Is, B. de l'Epine, RGen, June.
 Russia: Is She to Control All of Asia? A. H. Ford, Cos.
 Russian Oppression in Lithuania, A. Letuvis, HumN, June.
 Russian Turkestan, Fate of, H. Kraft, RPar, July 1.
 Sacraments, Concerning the Use of the, W. E. Parson, Luth.
 "Sacrifices of Masses," J. F. Besant, ACQR.
 St. Helena, Run Through, J. Walker, LeisH.
 Salmon, W. J. Gordon, LeisH.
 Salmon Angling, D. Sage, O.
 Saloon Territory, Limiting, J. N. Cross, BSac.
 Salt in Early American History, E. E. Sparks, Chaut.
 Samoa: The Island of Tutuila, A. de Lautreppe, FrL.
 Sampson, Deborah, Mabel P. Haskell, LHJ.
 San Francisco's First Post-Office, H. A. Benedict, Over, June.
 Sanity, How to Safeguard One's, J. M. Buckley, Cent.
 San Marino, Republic of, Italy, M. P. Heffernan, Cath.
 Santa Catalina, California, C. F. Holder, WWM.
 Scandinavian Newspapers, D. K. Dodge, Bkman.
 Schaumburg, Emilie, Virginia T. Peacock, Lipp.
 Scheffel, Joseph Victor, H. Francotte, RGen.
 Science in Europe To-Day—II., H. S. Williams, Harp.
 Science in Religious Instruction, F. W. Very, NC.
 Scientific Law, Nature of, T. J. McCormack, Mon.
 Scottish Reformation—II., D. M. Barrett, ACQR.
 Scouts, Western, E. B. Osborn, Mac.
 Sea-Builders, R. S. Baker, McCl.
 Sedan Chair, A. M. Stevens, Gent.
 Senators, The House and the Election of, B. Winchester, Arena.
 Sermon, Illumination of the, D. J. Burrell, Hom.
 Shakespeare, Dr. Furness' Variorum Edition of, H. A. Clapp, Atlant.
 Shakespeare, Staging of, H. B. Tree, Fort.
 Shakespeare, William—VII., The First Fruits, H. W. Mabie, Out.
 Ship-Building Yards of the United States, W. Fawcett, Eng.
 Shipping Subsidy Bill, E. T. Chamberlain, Forum.
 Sicily, Summer in, A. E. P. Dowling, ACQR.
 Silken Trade, Gallant, Alice M. Earle, NEng.
 Sing Sing, Newspaper at, H. Hapgood, Ains.
 Slave-Trade in America—I., J. R. Spears, Scrib.
 Sleep, Mystery of, Mind.
 Snakes, Venomous, Corn.
 Social Control—XVII., Maintenance of Ethical Elements, E. A. Ross, AJS.
 Socialism and Agriculture, E. Vandervelde, RSoc, June.
 Society: What Shall It Do to Be Saved? E. B. Payne, J. P. Irish, S. P. Mead, and A. B. Nye, Over, June.
 Sociology, Naturalistic Tendency in, D. E. Jenkins, BSac.
 Sociology, Scope of—IV., A. W. Small, AJS.
 Sousa, John Philip, H. T. Gardner, Ains.
 Southern States, Social and Economic Revolution in the, P. A. Bruce, Contem.
 Spain: The Crisis of a Nation, R. Mella, HumN.
 Speech, American Educated, S. D. McCormick, Bkman.
 Spencer, Buckle, and Comte, Notes on, L. Gambetta, NAR.
 Spencer, Herbert, Hector Macpherson on, O. Smeaton, West.
 Sport, Psychology of, P. de Coubertin, RDM, July 1.
 Stage, Teaching Function of the, G. W. Shinn, CAGE.
 Stars, Chapters on the, S. Newcomb, Pops.
 Stevens, George W., Black.
 Stein, Heinrich von, H. S. Chamberlain, RDM, June 15.
 Stellar Spectra, Representative, W. W. Payne, PopA.
 Stevenson, Robert Louis, in San Francisco, W. M. Clemens, NatM.
 Strauss, David Friedrich, G. Krüger, AJT.
 Strokes and Oarsmanship at American Universities, C. Mel- len, O.
 Summer Resorts of the Century, W. Perrine, LHJ.
 Sunday-School Hymns, Instruction by, Fredrica Beard, Bib.
 Superstition, Tenacity of, D. F. Hannigan, West.
 Sweden's Queen: A Democrat in a Palace, YW.
 Swinburne, Algernon Charles, J. Douglas, Bkman.
 Swiss Passes, Free-Wheeling Over, Bad.
 "Symbolo-Fideisme," A. C. Zenos, PRR.
 Synthesists, Four—Comte, Spencer, Lilienfeld, and Schaeffle, B. H. Meyer, AJS.
 Tax, Inheritance, Decision, W. C. Mitchell, JPEcon, June.
 Taxes, Direct, Under the Constitution, C. J. Bullock, PSQ.
 Tax, Service, Place of the, J. H. Hamilton, JPEcon, June.
 Telegrams, Sixpenny: Why They Do Not Pay, J. H. Heaton, NineC.
 Tennyson in Two of His Poems, Irene C. Byrne, SelfC.
 Textile Schools, Developments in, Jane A. Stewart, AMRR.
 Theatre, German, in New York, N. Hapgood, Bkman.
 Theatre, Puritanism and the, W. Archer, Crit.
 Therapeutics of the Future, L. Caze, RRP, July 1.
 Thing, What Constitutes a, H. M. Stanley, Phil.
 Thoreau, Henry David, F. M. Smith, Crit.
 Thrift, Organized, V. Thompson, Cos.
 Tolstoism and Anarchy, HumN.
 Tools, Machine, in the Mechanic Arts, C. Sellers, CasM.
 Tornadoes, Freak, W. A. Page, Home.
 Torrington, Connecticut, in the Revolutionary War, B. A. Hinsdale, AMonM.
 Town and Country, Warfare Between, L. Wuarin, RDM, June 15.
 Tragedy, On Climax in, L. Campbell, Fort.
 Trance, Voluntary, of Indian Fakirs, R. Garbe, Mon.
 Transit, Rapid, in Great Cities, G. H. Johnson, FrL.
 Transvaal: see also Great Britain.
 Artillery in South Africa, C. H. Owen, USM.
 Boer Ambulance in Natal, With a, G. O. Moorhead, Corn.
 Boer as a Soldier, T. F. Millard, Scrib.
 Boer at Home, Anna Howarth, Corn.
 Boer Lines, Inside the—III., E. E. Easton, Harp.
 Boer Prisoners of War, Cass.
 Boers and "Poor Whites," Cham.
 Boers in History, R. McCann, Gunt.
 Boers, Ultimate Triumph of the, C. Lombroso, NAR.
 Dutch East India Company at the Cape of Good Hope, J. Villaraiz, BU.
 England's Right to Interfere in the Internal Affairs of the Transvaal, J. S. Buchan, AngA.
 Frere, Sir Bartle, South African Policy of, W. B. Wors- fold, Corn.
 Ladysmith, Relief of, R. H. Davis, Scrib.
 Lessons of the War, NineC.
 Magersfontein Battlefield, Visit to, W. S. Fletcher, Cham.
 Problem in South Africa—V., H. H. L. Bellot, West.
 Settlement in South Africa After the War, S. C. Cron- wright-Schreiner, NAR.
 Soldier Settlers in South Africa, J. G. B. Stopford, NineC.
 Story of the Boer War, H. W. Wilson, NatR.
 Transvaal War and Modern Tactics, J. Bürde, Contem.
 War Correspondents, English, F. A. McKenzie, Harp.
 War Operations in South Africa, Black; Fort.
 Trees, F. French, Scrib.
 Tropical Diseases and Cures, T. P. Porter, Cham.
 Trout Culture in Mendocino, E. D. Ward, Over, June.
 Trusts, J. B. Clark, PSQ, June.
 Trusts and the End, J. B. Walker, Cos.
 Trusts: Coöperative Business *versus* Trusts, D. MacArthur, Arena.
 Trusts: Over-Capitalized Industrial Corporations, E. G. Johns, Arena.
 Tshäikovski, Peter Ilyitch, A. E. Keeton, Contem.
 Tuberculosis, Extermination of the Human Race by, F. Crotte, San.
 Tuberculosis, Study as to the Causes of, B. F. Lyle, San.
 Tuberculous, Sanitariums and Climatic Conditions for the, W. S. Watson, San.

Turkey and the United States, J. S. Kirreh, Arena.
 Turkey, Literary Reforms in, H. Danisch, HumN.
 Turkey, Women in, Rights and Wrongs of, Lucy M. J. Gar-
 nett, Cos.
 United States:
 Anglo-American *Entente*, A. M. Low, McCl.
 China and the United States, Mutual Helpfulness Be-
 tween, Wu Ting-Fang, NAR.
 Commercial Ascendancy of the United States, C. D.
 Wright, Cent.
 Executive, Independence of the—II, G. Cleveland, Atlant.
 Germany, The United States and, W. C. Fox, Forum.
 Territory and District, M. Farrand, AHR.
 Turkey and the United States, J. S. Kirreh, Arena.
 United States as a World Power, C. A. Conant, Forum.
 Vagrant and the Law, G. H. Westley, GBag.
 Venice, Beautiful, Lillie P. Robinson, SelfC.
 Vice, One Aspect of, E. C. Moore, AJS.
 Vittoria, Battle of, S. Crane, Lipp.
 Voice Physiologically Considered, C. W. Emerson, Wern.
 Waldenses, Origin and Early Teachings of the, H. C. Ved-
 der, AJT.

Warfare: Bearer Company in the Fighting Line, H. Staple-
 ton, USM.
 Warfare: Bullet Wounds, N. S. Jarvis, JMSt.
 War Lessons for Laymen, A. P. Blocksom, JMSt.
 Warren, William, Reminiscences of, J. H. Wiggin, CAg.
 War, The Coming, H. Maxim, Home.
 Weak, Rights of the, W. H. Mallock, NatR.
 Weather Bureau, Work of the, T. Waters, Ains.
 White, Gilbert, and His Recent Editors, A. Newton, Mac.
 Wilkins, Mary E., at Home, Katharine Hall, FrL.
 Williams, Judge George H., J. A. Watrous, NatM.
 William, King, of Prussia, E. Olivier, RDM, June 15.
 Woman in Modern Sports: A Symposium, RRP, July 1.
 Women in Philanthropy, May W. Mount, FrL.
 Women's Clubland in Paris, Mrs. S. A. Tooley, YW.
 Workmen in Paris, Lodgings for, Refs, June 1.
 World: How Will It End? H. C. Fyfe, Pear.
 Worship of Relics, A. Luchaire, RPar, July 1.
 Yachting: The New Seventy-Footers, O.
 Yellowstone National Park—II, E. E. Treffry, SelfC.
 Youth, Personifying Passion in, J. H. Leuba, Mon.

Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

Ains.	Ainslee's Magazine, N. Y.	Ed.	Education, Boston.	NAR.	North American Review, N. Y.
ACQR.	American Catholic Quarterly Review, Phila.	EdR.	Educational Review, N. Y.	Nou.	Nouvelle Revue, Paris.
AHR.	American Historical Review, N. Y.	Eng.	Engineering Magazine, N. Y.	NA.	Nuova Antologia, Rome.
AJS.	American Journal of Sociology, Chicago.	EM.	España Moderna, Madrid.	OC.	Open Court, Chicago.
AJT.	American Journal of Theology, Chicago.	Fort.	Fortnightly Review, London.	O.	Outing, N. Y.
ALR.	American Law Review, St. Louis.	Forum.	Forum, N. Y.	Out.	Outlook, N. Y.
AMonM.	American Monthly Magazine, Washington, D. C.	FrL.	Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y.	Over.	Overland Monthly, San Francisco.
AMRR.	American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y.	Gent.	Gentleman's Magazine, London.	PMM.	Pall Mall Magazine, London.
ANat.	American Naturalist, Boston.	GBag.	Green Bag, Boston.	Pear.	Pearson's Magazine, N. Y.
AngA.	Anglo-American Magazine, N. Y.	Gunt.	Guntton's Magazine, N. Y.	Phil.	Philosophical Review, N. Y.
Annals.	Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila.	Harp.	Harper's Magazine, N. Y.	PhoT.	Photographic Times, N. Y.
APB.	Anthony's Photographic Bulletin, N. Y.	Hart.	Hartford Seminary Record, Hartford, Conn.	PL.	Poet-Lore, Boston.
Arch.	Architectural Record, N. Y.	Home.	Home Magazine, N. Y.	PSQ.	Political Science Quarterly, Boston.
Arena.	Arena, N. Y.	Hom.	Homiletic Review, N. Y.	PopA.	Popular Astronomy, Northfield, Minn.
AA.	Art Amateur, N. Y.	HumN.	Humanité Nouvelle, Paris.	PopS.	Popular Science Monthly, N. Y.
AE.	Art Education, N. Y.	Int.	International, Chicago.	PRR.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review, Phila.
AI.	Art Interchange, N. Y.	IJE.	International Journal of Ethics, Phila.	PQ.	Presbyterian Quarterly, Charlotte, N. C.
AJ.	Art Journal, London.	IntM.	International Monthly, N. Y.	QJEcon.	Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston.
Atlant.	Atlantic Monthly, Boston.	IntS.	International Studio, N. Y.	QR.	Quarterly Review, London.
Bad.	Badminton, London.	IA.	Irrigation Age, Chicago.	RasN.	Rassegna Nazionale, Florence.
BankL.	Bankers' Magazine, London.	JMSI.	Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H.	Record.	Record of Christian Work, East Northfield, Mass.
BankNY.	Bankers' Magazine, N. Y.	JPEcon.	Journal of Political Economy, Chicago.	Refs.	Réforme Sociale, Paris.
Bib.	Biblical World, Chicago.	Kind.	Kindergarten Magazine, Chicago.	RR.	Review of Reviews, London.
BSac.	Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O.	KindR.	Kindergarten Review, Springfield, Mass.	RRM.	Review of Reviews, Melbourne.
BU.	Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne.	LHJ.	Ladies' Home Journal, Phila.	RDM.	Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris.
Black.	Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh.	Leish.	Leisure Hour, London.	RDP.	Revue du Droit Public, Paris.
BB.	Book Buyer, N. Y.	Lipp.	Lippincott's Magazine, Phila.	RGen.	Revue Générale, Brussels.
Bkman.	Bookman, N. Y.	LQ.	London Quarterly Review, London.	RPar.	Revue de Paris, Paris.
BP.	Brush and Pencil, Chicago.	Long.	Longman's Magazine, London.	RPP.	Revue Politique et Parlementaire, Paris.
Can.	Canadian Magazine, Toronto.	Luth.	Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa.	RRP.	Revue des Revues, Paris.
Cass.	Cassell's Magazine, London.	McCl.	McClure's Magazine, N. Y.	RSoc.	Revue Socialiste, Paris.
CasM.	Cassier's Magazine, N. Y.	Mac.	Macmillan's Magazine, London.	RPL.	Rivista Politica e Letteraria, Rome.
Cath.	Catholic World, N. Y.	MA.	Magazine of Art, London.	Ros.	Rosary, Somerset, Ohio.
Cent.	Century Magazine, N. Y.	MRN.	Methodist Review, Nashville.	San.	Sanitarian, N. Y.
Cham.	Chambers's Journal, Edinburgh.	MRNV.	Methodist Review, N. Y.	School.	School Review, Chicago.
Char.	Charities Review, N. Y.	Mind.	Mind, N. Y.	Scrib.	Scribner's Magazine, N. Y.
Chaut.	Chautauquan, Cleveland, O.	MisH.	Missionary Herald, Boston.	SelfC.	Self Culture, Cleveland, Ohio.
CAge.	Coming Age, Boston.	MisR.	Missionary Review, N. Y.	SR.	Sewanee Review, Sewanee, Tenn.
Cons.	Conservative Review, Washington.	Mon.	Monist, Chicago.	Str.	Strand Magazine, London.
Contem.	Contemporary Review, London.	MunA.	Municipal Affairs, N. Y.	Sun.	Sunday Magazine, London.
Corn.	Cornhill, London.	Mun.	Munsey's Magazine, N. Y.	Temp.	Temple Bar, London.
Cos.	Cosmopolitan, N. Y.	Mus.	Music, Chicago.	USM.	United Service Magazine, London.
Crit.	Critic, N. Y.	NatGM.	National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C.	West.	Westminster Review, London.
Deut.	Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart.	NatM.	National Magazine, Boston.	Wern.	Werner's Magazine, N. Y.
Dial.	Dial, Chicago.	NatR.	National Review, London.	WWM.	Wide World Magazine, London.
Dub.	Dublin Review, Dublin.	NC.	New Church Review, Boston.	WPM.	Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y.
Edin.	Edinburgh Review, London.	NEng.	New England Magazine, Boston.	Yale.	Yale Review, New Haven.
		NIM.	New Illustrated Magazine, London.	YM.	Young Man, London.
		NW.	New World, Boston.	YW.	Young Woman, London.
		NineC.	Nineteenth Century, London.		

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW.

CONTENTS FOR SEPTEMBER, 1900.

The Chinese Empress.....	Frontispiece	Home and Foreign Politics in Caricature.....	287
The Progress of the World—		Can China Be Saved?.....	294
A Calm Political Summer.....	259	By Talcott Williams.	
A Preoccupied Administration.....	259	Missions in China.....	302
Our Moral Leadership in the Chinese Expedition.....	260	By James S. Dennis.	
No Politics in the Chinese Question.....	260	Japan's Present Attitude Towards China...	308
China and the Philippines.....	260	By Joseph King Goodrich.	
The Philippines and the Campaign.....	260	Pressing Needs of the Philippines.....	312
Some Notable Points of View.....	261	By John H. Parker.	
The Bryanism That Is at Stake.....	262	America and the Reconstruction of China...	314
Bryan's Indianapolis Speech.....	262	By William N. Brewster.	
A Matter of Definitions.....	262	King Humbert, of Italy: A Character Sketch.	316
A Useless Comparison.....	263	With portraits of the late King Humbert, Queen Margherita, King Victor Emmanuel III., and Princess Hélène.	
A Doctrine Pushed to Extremes.....	263	Collis P. Huntington.....	323
As to Getting a Philippine Harbor.....	264	With portraits of Mr. Huntington.	
Mr. Bryan's Solution.....	264	The National Prohibition Party and Its Candidates.....	327
Framing a Stable Government.....	265	By Edward J. Wheeler.	
What Does Philippine Independence Mean?.....	265	With portraits of John G. Woolley, Mrs. John G. Woolley, Henry B. Metcalf, and William T. Wardwell.	
Some Logical Conclusions.....	265	Leading Articles of the Month—	
Some Close Distinctions.....	266	America's Duty in China.....	333
The Philippines Necessarily Dependent.....	266	Russia's Stake in China.....	333
A Condition, Not a Theory.....	267	A Defense of the Chinese.....	334
The Commander-in-Chief Next March.....	267	The International Problem in China.....	335
The Only Practical Way to Grant Independence.....	267	The Boxers.....	338
The Proprieties of the Case.....	268	Secret Societies and the Chinese Government.....	339
The Other Alternative.....	268	Japan's Modern Navy.....	340
Cuba's Constitutional Convention.....	269	France's Fleet and Her Colonial Army.....	342
Towne Declines in Favor of Stevenson.....	269	Our New Place Among the Nations.....	343
The Anti-Imperialists.....	270	The American Psychic Atmosphere.....	343
New York Republican Politics.....	270	Living in Oklahoma.....	344
New York Democratic Politics.....	271	Australasia's Place Among the Nations.....	345
Two Southern State Elections.....	272	Italian Politics.....	347
This Month's Elections in Two Eastern States.....	272	Italian Interests in Argentina.....	348
Wisconsin's Reform Methods.....	273	The Herald of a New Italian Literature.....	349
North Carolina's Suffrage Amendment.....	273	Sicily as a Summer Resort.....	350
The Movement to Disfranchise Negroes.....	274	Germany's Dependence on England.....	351
The Census and Reapportionment.....	275	The Demand for a Pig-Iron Reserve.....	352
Suffrage, Restriction, and the XIVth Amendment.....	275	The Value of Brains in the Socialist State.....	353
The Southern Position.....	275	"Popular Universities" in France.....	354
How Many Millions Are We?.....	275	A Year's Plunge into Paris Slums.....	355
Factors of Growth. (1) Immigration.....	276	Great Paintings Selected by English Artists.....	355
Factors of Growth. (2) Natural Increase.....	276	The World's Art as Mirrored at Paris.....	355
Peking Relieved.....	277	Relics and Their Cult.....	356
The Massing of the Occupation Force.....	277	Manila's School System.....	357
Wanted: A Court of Inquiry.....	277	Mrs. Gladstone as Wife and Philanthropist.....	358
Assassination of King Humbert.....	278	Studies in Development.....	359
King Alexander's Marriage.....	279	How a Lion Is Tamed.....	359
John Bull's Burdens.....	279	How to Care for One's Eyes.....	361
Military Events in South Africa.....	280	With portraits of Lord Hopetoun, Gabriele d'Annunzio, and the late Mrs. Gladstone, and other illustrations.	
The Duke of Saxe-Coburg.....	280	The Periodicals Reviewed.....	362
Some Obituary Notes.....	281	The New Books—	
With portraits of Elihu Root, George S. Boutwell, Edward M. Shepard, Francis V. Greene, Benjamin B. Odell, Jr., Bird S. Coler, Charles B. Aycock, William J. Sanford, Robert M. La Follette, W. W. Stickney, John F. Hill, Count von Waldersee, William W. Rockhill, Sir Robert Hart, Charles Edward of Saxe-Coburg, the late Duke of Saxe-Coburg, the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Connaught, the late Baron Russell, and the late John Clark Ridpath, cartoons, and other illustrations.		Roosevelt as a Man of Letters.....	377
Record of Current Events.....	282	By George Haven Putnam.	
With portraits of Roger Wolcott, Kogoro Takahira, Mrs. E. H. Conger, and E. H. Conger, map showing advance of the allies to Peking, and other illustrations.		New Books on China.....	378
		Index to Periodicals.....	380

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THE CHINESE EMPRESS.

(From a Drawing by a Native Artist.)

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

Review of Reviews.

VOL. XXII.

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER, 1900.

No. 3.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

*A Calm
Political Sum-
mer.*

With the beginning of September, we shall see some signs of activity in the Presidential campaign. It has been customary, in Presidential years, to keep the canvass hot for almost four months. This year, however, as if by common consent, July and August have been comparatively quiet, so far as public speaking, torch-light parades, and the outward demonstrations of campaigning are concerned. Never before in a Presidential year has the country seen so much evidence of the growth of the summer-vacation habit. In that respect even the past four years have shown notable gains. The political leaders have done no little

conferring and planning; but they have managed to do it for the most part in a leisurely way, with rest and recreation as the ostensible pursuits. Doubtless we shall see a better and wiser management of the campaign in the coming eight weeks, by reason of the comparatively calm and deliberate manner in which the contesting parties have prepared themselves for the ordeal.

*A Preoccupied
Administra-
tion.*

Meanwhile, the administration at Washington, which the Republicans ask the country to approve and to continue in power for another four years, has had little time to devote either to electioneering or to political dress parade. It has had its hands too full of important business to give itself primary concern over the political situation. President McKinley endeavored to obtain some rest by going to his much-beloved home at Canton, Ohio. The critical nature of some of our public business, however, especially our relation to the troubles in China, has kept the President much of the time at the long-distance telephone in communication with the White House and the State and War departments at Washington; and it also necessitated his brief return to the capital to attend Cabinet conferences on July 16 and August 15. Mr. Hay, who holds the portfolio of State at a time when our foreign affairs have been of more than usual complexity and importance, went to his summer home in New Hampshire on August 3, from which somewhat alarming reports were circulated throughout the country that he was nervously broken down from overwork. He himself, however, declared that his indisposition was only temporary. The Secretary of War, Mr. Root, who has found himself in administrative charge simultaneously of an expedition in China, an extensive and difficult guerrilla war in the Philippines, and the military occupation and government of Cuba, has stuck to his post with no sign of any abatement of energy or vigor. In the affairs of the Treasury Department, there has been nothing to give Mr.



Photo by Clinedinst.

MR. ROOT IN THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

(The Secretary of War was the busy member of the Cabinet last month.)

Gage anxiety. Expenditures have been heavy, but the revenue has been large, and the current season presents no peculiar or difficult problems in public finance. The other departments, also, have been running on a steady keel.

Our Moral Leadership in the Chinese Expedition. When the trouble began in China several months ago, although we, like other powers, had great interests at stake, it did not seem likely that we should play a very conspicuous part in the events that were impending. It turns out, however, that in the moral sense we seem to have come into the very forefront of the situation. The territorial pretensions or desires of the European powers made it difficult for them to trust one another, while also rendering it almost impossible for them to exhibit a frank and open policy in the existing crisis. The United States, however, had nothing to conceal, and was in a position to express its views with perfect openness. The correspondence of our State Department with the Chinese Government, while on its face so obvious and sensible that it would seem the merely natural thing, was, in point of fact, a very remarkable and unusual chapter in modern diplomatic methods. If the United States could have entered upon this phase of diplomatic activity before the needless and exasperating attack of the Europeans upon the Taku forts, it is not unlikely that much trouble could have been averted.

No Politics in the Chinese Question. It is fortunate for the country that no one in this year of political excitement can make a party issue out

of the share we have taken in the attempt to rescue the envoys and foreigners at Peking, and to restore normal conditions in China. We have neither now nor at any previous time been guilty of aggression toward China, and we have now no ulterior ends to gain. Having ascertained that our minister, Mr. Conger, and numerous other Americans, together with a still larger company of Europeans, were yet alive at Peking, while in great danger,—the Chinese Government being confessedly in control of the situation,—there was nothing we could possibly do except to make our demands upon China, and then to do all that we

reasonably could without delay to enforce them. Surely no speaker in this year's campaign, whatever his political preferences, will venture to criticise the administration for taking this course.

China and the Philippines. It is likely, however, that some speakers will affirm that if we had taken a different course in the Philippines we should have been free to act with greater promptness and on a larger scale in China. Such speakers will take the position that we might, by pursuing a different method, have made friends instead of enemies of the followers of Aguinaldo, while at the same time keeping a considerable force of soldiery at Manila, which could have been spared for use in China. However ingenious such a statement may seem, it involves too many assumptions to be taken seriously. If we had turned the Philippines over to Aguinaldo two years ago, how should it have occurred that there would have lingered at Manila a large American army, free to be dispatched to China on the outbreak of a wholly unexpected campaign? For purposes of argument, the safer position would seem to be that the Chinese embargo has no important bearing upon the position we hold in the Philippines.

The Philippines and the Campaign. As to the Philippine question itself, Mr. Bryan and the Democratic leaders have unquestionably determined to keep it at the front in all their talking and writing as, to use their constantly reiterated expression, the "paramount issue" of the campaign. It would certainly be the logical thing that Mr.



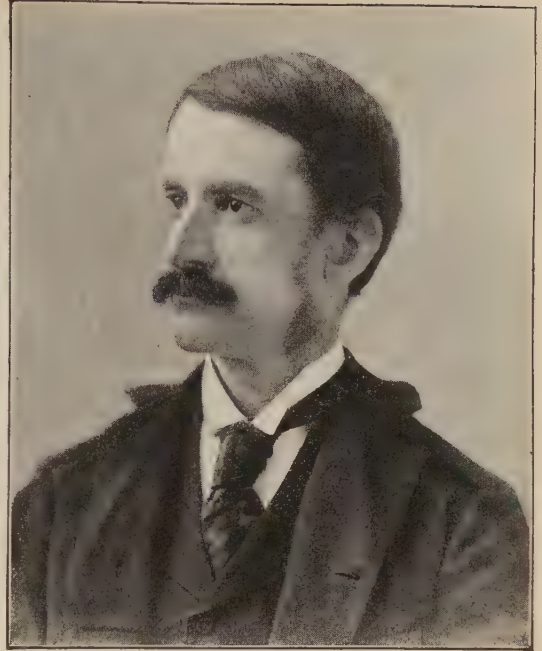
AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN CHINA.

(A detachment of United States marines from Manila.)

McKinley, in running for a second term, should stand or fall upon his record; and, doubtless, the most important part of that record is comprised in the conduct and results of the war with Spain. But the party that should normally have taken the opposition attitude has altered the situation by bringing forward the free-silver question as a positive tenet of its own. On this matter we have found no reason to modify the views expressed in these pages last month. If, for example, one of the parties in Utah should in its State platform declare imperialism to be the paramount issue this year, but should in the same platform insert a plank advocating the enactment of laws permitting and protecting Mormon polygamy, the real issue when election time came around would not, in fact, be imperialism, but polygamy, for the simple reason that the people themselves would regard the domestic and local question as of far more vital interest.

*Some Notable
Points
of View.*

It is true that the venerable Mr. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, and some other men who will support Mr. Bryan this year, have said that,—while they are as much opposed to free silver as they were four years ago, when so strenuously demanding the defeat of Mr. Bryan,—they now consider imperialism so tremendous a question that they would much rather



HON. EDWARD M. SHEPARD, OF NEW YORK.

(Who has declared for Mr. Bryan and is mentioned for the governorship.)



HON. GEORGE S. BOUTWELL, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

(President of the Liberty Congress held at Indianapolis by the Anti-Imperialist League, August 15.)

have free silver, financial panics, and industrial paralysis than to give Mr. McKinley another term in the White House. This is a frank and courageous opinion, and is entitled to high respect for the honesty of its admissions. Not so much can be said for some others who opposed Mr. Bryan four years ago on the money question, and are now taking the ground that the monetary standard is not really at stake in this campaign. When one remembers the first week in July, and the things that were said and done in Kansas City, and Lincoln, Neb.,—where the silver question was the only one under real discussion, with the result that the immediate restoration of free coinage at the ratio of 16 to 1 was demanded in the Democratic platform,—it is hard indeed to follow the reasoning of such advocates of the gold standard as Bourke Cockran and Edward M. Shepard, both of whom published long letters in the middle of August in announcement of their support of Mr. Bryan, on the ground that his election would be a deadly blow to imperialism, while entirely without menace to the gold standard. These gentlemen attempt to prove too much. Older men, like Mr. Boutwell and Mr. Carl Schurz, carry more weight, because they face the truth without flinching. They hold that our most fundamental institutions are at stake in the new departure we

have made in acquiring an Asiatic dependency like the Philippines; and, having looked the political field over carefully, they reach the conclusion that a third ticket would not accomplish anything, and that the only way to gain what to them is the necessary object of defeating Mr. McKinley is to support Mr. Bryan. They do not, however, in the same breath attempt to stultify Mr. Bryan by making it out that the reiteration of the Chicago platform at Kansas City and the express adoption of a free-silver plank are of no significance, and would not, in the case of Mr. Bryan's election, endanger the gold standard. They merely choose the lesser of the evils, without trying to deceive either themselves or others.

*The Bryanism
that is
at Stake.*

It is entirely permissible that different opinions should be held as to the relative importance of public questions. It is our impression that vastly more people will vote either for or against Mr. Bryan because they favor or oppose the "Bryanism" represented by the Chicago platform of 1896 than because they either favor or oppose Mr. Bryan's more recent attitude on the question of imperialism. With men like Mr. Boutwell, McKinleyism is so much the dominating issue that they are willing to submit to Bryanism, much as they dislike it, because it is the only alternative in sight. It remains to be seen, however, whether, with the people of the country at large, Bryanism does not present a more aggressive and potent issue than McKinleyism. Senator Hoar, for example, represents a type of anti-

Imperialist who would rather condone the Philippine policy of Mr. McKinley than help to put a free-silver man in the White House; or, to put it briefly, he thinks Bryanism rather than McKinleyism is the really controlling issue in this campaign. Mr. Hoar is much reproached by the "antis."

*Bryan's
Indianapolis
Speech.*

Mr. Bryan received formal notice of his nomination at Indianapolis on August 8, and delivered, on that occasion a speech which has attracted very great attention. He devoted his remarks to the one subject of the "imperial" policy of Mr. McKinley. Many of the newspapers jumped to the somewhat hasty conclusion that Mr. Bryan has decided to ignore the rest of the Kansas City platform; but this Indianapolis speech is to be followed by the more formal and elaborate letter of acceptance, in which the candidate promises to review and discuss all the issues mentioned in the platform—including, of course, free silver. This notification speech was certainly an eloquent arraignment of the administration's Philippine policy. It forms a long document, nearly all of which is devoted to an abstract argument designed to prove that it is both morally and politically inconsistent for us as a republic to hold sovereignty over the Philippine Islands. The burden of the speech is the inalienable right of all men to govern themselves as they may choose, and the impossibility that a republic should exercise an imperial policy and at the same time be true to republican principles. This fine oration must have been very effective, as delivered with Mr. Bryan's consummate skill as a platform speaker; and as printed and widely distributed, it is unquestionably having great influence as a cogent and persuasive appeal to the political conscience.

*A Matter
of Definitions.*

It has always been difficult, however, to make these arguments—which ignore time, place, and circumstance, and which consist of pure reasoning based upon general maxims as their premises—square with actual history and human experience. An especial difficulty lies in the many meanings that the word "government" actually possesses. For example, the people of Canada are to-day by all odds a more truly self-governing community than the people of England. Yet, by a curious paradox, the people of Canada are, in a certain sense, governed by the people of England. It is exactly in this latter sense that Mr. Bryan uses the word "government" in this long speech of his. We do not believe that when the signers of the Declaration of Independence moralized about the right of self-government and the consent of the



WHO CAN BLAME HIM?

AUNTIE IMPERIALISM: "Senator Hoar left us; we did not leave him."—From the *Minneapolis Journal*.



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MR. BRYAN READING HIS NOTIFICATION SPEECH AT INDIANAPOLIS, AUGUST 8.

(Prominent in the group are the faces of Mr. Stevenson, candidate for the Vice-Presidency, and Senator Jones, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee.)

governed they ever meant to have it understood that any group of people whatsoever, at any time, ought to be permitted to set itself up in the full and sovereign sense as a member of the family of nations. It is manifestly impossible that the people of the Philippine Islands—who do not in any true sense constitute a nationality; who are of different races, of different languages, and without true bonds of political and social unity—should at once set up an independent republican form of government, and take a place in the group of sovereign nations which have intercourse with one another through modern diplomacy on the basis of their acceptance of a certain body of principles and practices known as international law, and which show ability to hold their people to the observance of treaties and to the duties of international comity.

A Useless Comparison. It will not do to keep falling back forever on the remark of Admiral Dewey, that he knows the Cubans and also the Filipinos, and that in his judgment the Filipinos are better fitted for self-government than are the Cubans. Comparisons of that kind do not answer questions or meet responsibilities. Modern popular government is not an Asiatic but a European affair. The people of Cuba, like those of the United States, are of European origin—excepting, of course, the negro element; and all men of all races in Cuba speak one language. The island, moreover, has had a provincial and administrative history that has made it more truly a social and political unit than is, for exam-

ple, the island of Ireland. Doubtless a selected group of individual Filipinos would show evidences of education and refinement, and might seem to Admiral Dewey well qualified for governmental work. Major Parker, in this number of the *REVIEW*, compliments them highly. But to say that the Philippine Islands, taken as a group, with all their varied populations, form a single political entity now better prepared for the assumption of the responsibilities of self-government than the island of Cuba is simply to take a position so fantastic that it is hard to see how any one can make the assertion with a sober face.

A Doctrine Pushed to Extremes.

Mr. Bryan's unqualified exposition of the doctrine of the right of self-government goes infinitely farther than the State's rights doctrines entertained by the most extreme of the Calhoun and Jefferson Davis school before the war. For Mr. Bryan's doctrine would allow any group of men, whether in county, in town, or in school district, to set themselves up as an independent government. The State right's men at least understood the fact that sovereignty had to reside somewhere, if there was to be any government at all; and they went no farther back in their analysis than the States which were the constituent members of the Federal Union. It does not seem to us necessary to attempt to set the American people into contending camps over the mere metaphysics of the inherent rights of man. When one takes individuals and cross-examines them, one finds that there is not a shade of difference be-

tween Republicans and Democrats on the theoretical question of the desirability of intelligent self-government everywhere. It just happens, however, that at the present moment Mr. Bryan's Democratic friends throughout the South are engaged in the practical task of depriving of self-government nearly half of the entire Southern population, on the ground that participation in government is not, in fact, an inherent human right, but that the object of government is the high and true welfare of the community, and that only those people should participate in the tasks of government who are sufficiently intelli-



A QUESTION OF IMPERIALISM.

Is this the "Imperialism," the government-without-the-consent-of-the-governed, that we hear so much about?

Oh, no; this is only the new scheme in the Democratic South for depriving the colored native-born citizen of any part in the government.—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

gent and responsible. It does not seem to us that the real question at stake in the Philippines is met, or even approached, by eloquent expositions based upon glittering generalities about the inalienable rights of man.

As to Getting a Philippine Harbor. The real and practical question is, What is best to do, for everybody concerned, in a serious and critical situation? Mr. Bryan devotes many columns to abstract and lofty argument, with impressive quotations from American statesmen of an earlier day and from the Holy Scriptures. He gives only a few lines to telling us what he would really have done in the Philippine matter if he had been in authority. In the first place, he says: "A harbor and coaling-station in the Philippines would answer every trade and mili-

tary necessity; and such a concession could have been secured, at any time, without difficulty." This could hardly mean anything else except the harbor of Manila, the one important center of Philippine trade. If we could, "without difficulty," have secured this from the Filipinos, it surely would not have been because the Filipinos were at heart willing to give away their best possession. If they were to be allowed a real freedom of action as an independent government, who is there that supposes for a moment that they would have given us the harbor of Manila? Mr. Bryan in this speech, as well as in others, constantly likens the attitude of the American people toward the Filipinos to that of a highwayman committing robbery with violence. But his descent from the ideal to the practical is not altogether felicitous. His suggestion is, to quote his exact words, that "a war of conquest is as unwise as it is unrighteous." The un wisdom lies in the fact that we do not need the whole thing, and we might have got the valuable harbor, which is all we need for commercial and naval purposes, without entering upon a war of conquest. In other words, the wise highwayman would make a gentlemanly compromise with his grateful victim by accepting his gold watch as a present, and would allow the traveler to pass on with his horse, his pocket-book, and his loose change. If Mr. Bryan's suggestion means anything at all, it would seem to mean this and nothing else.

Toward the end of his speech, Mr. Bryan comes to what he calls "an easy, honest, honorable solution of the Philippine question." It involves three points.

"First, to establish a stable form of government in the Philippine Islands.

"Second, to give independence to the Filipinos.

"Third, to protect the Filipinos from outside interference while they work out their destiny."

The first of these propositions goes flatly counter to the elaborate theoretical argument which occupies nearly all the space of Mr. Bryan's speech. If, indeed, the Filipinos possess, as he affirms, the absolute right to govern themselves, then we can have no business to establish a stable government, or any other kind of government, among them. Aguinaldo and his supporters have asserted all along that they are eminently capable of establishing their own government, and that our business is simply to clear out. The administration at Washington, and Judge Taft's commission now in the Philippines, made up of Democrats and Republicans alike, are at this

moment doing everything in their power to establish a stable government in the archipelago. Human motives can never be wholly free from some taint or alloy of earthly imperfection; but it does not seem to us that anybody can very well question the uprightness and sincerity of the motives of the Philippine Commission in attempting to frame and establish a government that shall be the best possible for the natives, and that shall train and develop them in the practice of self-government.

*Framing a
Stable
Government.*

Instead of too much arbitrary rule on the part of the Americans in those islands, it is our opinion, from all we can learn, that there has been even a little too much eagerness to thrust local home rule upon the Filipino communities in advance of their preparation to govern themselves efficiently. After all, government is as much a means as it is an end in itself. Safety, good order, justice between man and man; the opportunity to worship in one's own way; the right and the chance to give suitable education to one's children; freedom to work and to enjoy, without fear or danger, the fruits of one's toil,—these are the things that government ought to accomplish. Where races of men have capacity for progress, there must come a time in their evolution when the best government for them is essentially popular and democratic. But where communities, for reasons either temporary or of a more permanent nature, could not possibly manage successfully to gain for themselves the true ends of government by democratic means, it would be both stupid and cruel to turn them loose upon themselves. Thus, Mr. Bryan is right enough in his first proposition that it is somebody else's business, and not that of the Filipinos, at the outset, to establish in the Philippine Islands a stable form of government. This is exactly what every practical statesman, if in power, would feel that he was compelled to attempt; and Mr. Bryan, in power, would doubtless act like a practical statesman. But all his preambles as to the right of the Filipinos to establish their own kind of government, stable or unstable, good, bad, or indifferent, would have gone glimmering.

*What Does
Philippine
Independence
Mean?*

Mr. Bryan's second proposition is to give independence to the Filipinos. But this does not really mean anything, because it is sandwiched in between two other propositions, both of which are of the nature of radical limitations upon independence. To begin with, Mr. Bryan's independence is not to be accorded until a stable government has been created. He prescribes no time for the ac-

complishment of this task, and there is no reason to suppose that he could possibly achieve it in a four years' term. He would, therefore, have to turn it over to his successor in office; and thus, the realization of Philippine independence might be indefinitely postponed, like the English evacuation of Egypt. The second and greatest limitation upon Philippine independence, however, lies in Mr. Bryan's third practical proposal; namely, "to protect the Filipinos from outside interference while they work out their destiny." This, of course, means a perpetual protectorate, and it means the assumption by us of entire responsibility for good government in the Philippine Islands toward all the nations of the world. For the Philippines are open to international commerce, and to the residence of all well-behaved foreigners; and we should, by Mr. Bryan's programme, be held accountable under all circumstances for the conduct of a people whom, paradoxically, we ourselves had recognized as an independent and sovereign member of the family of nations. Mr. Bryan's programme, then, would have us take a coaling-station to keep for our own, with the understanding that a stable government which we ourselves had established there—presumably by force, for in no other way could an outside nation establish a stable government in those islands—would, under moral duress, consent to the permanent loss of an important harbor.

*Some Logical
Conclusions.*

If we have the right to establish a permanent government in the Philippines, it obviously devolves upon us to decide what constitutes such a government; and the right to establish it unquestionably would involve the right of subsequent interference for its maintenance. This right of subsequent interference, moreover, is unquestionably involved in the duty we should assume to protect the Philippines against all outside interference; for if protracted misgovernment or anarchical conditions should prevail in the islands,—than which nothing could be more likely under Mr. Bryan's programme,—the moral sentiment of the whole civilized world would compel us to interfere and restore order, or else to abandon our pretense of protecting the Philippines from the interference of others. In short, by Mr. Bryan's programme, our policy in the Philippines is the maintenance on our part of perpetual responsibility toward the world at large. The Republicans, on the other hand, would say that we have to deal only with the present and early future. In the present they are doing just what Mr. Bryan advocates; namely, trying their best to establish a

stable government. As for the second proposition, which Mr. Bryan calls the granting of independence, the Republicans would claim that they are aiming to give the Filipinos local autonomy, or self-government, in their own affairs without endeavoring to set the islands adrift without chart or compass as a new ship of state.

It is hard to see what difference there is, for really practical purposes, between that higher authority over the Philippines that Mr. Bryan would exercise under the guise of a protectorate and that responsibility which we should more openly and directly assume under the theory that, for purposes of international recognition, the sovereignty of the Philippines and adjacent waters was under the Stars and Stripes. Is it not true that, doing away with mere rhetoric and forms of words, the Filipinos are just as independent under one method as they are under the other? Stable government in the Philippine Islands under American auspices is what Mr. Bryan demands, and he asserts the demand without the slightest reference to the question whether or not the Filipinos themselves want us to establish a stable government or take them in the future under our care and protection. There is no need to be mincing of language. Mr. Bryan's programme, reduced to practice, makes the Filipino people the wards of this nation irrespective of their will, presumably for their good. And in our capacity as guardian, Mr. Bryan would have us thriftily obtain a transfer of title from our comparatively helpless ward to an extremely valuable possession,—which in his opinion is all that we happen to need of our ward's property,—and which in the international market is by all odds the ward's most important asset. And yet Mr. Bryan quotes Senator Lodge's Philadelphia speech with deep moral disapproval, because Senator Lodge was frank enough to say that he believed that the promotion of our commercial interests in the Philippines and the far East was entirely compatible with our treating the Filipino people both honorably and beneficially, and that it was a distinctly proper object of the work of our government in its diplomacy and external relations to promote the expansion of our trade.

*The Philippines
Necessarily
Dependent.*

The people of the Philippine Islands could not possibly take their place as a member of the family of nations with no responsible backer; because, if for no other reason, they would not be admitted into the family fellowship. The American flag as the symbol of the larger and external status of the Philippine Islands does not mean anything in

any sense humiliating to the Filipinos. Their objection to the Spanish flag arose solely from the most protracted and colossal misgovernment on Spain's part, and not from any instinctive development, among the Filipinos, of the spirit of national unity and independence. There has never been any evidence of the existence of such a spirit. Dr. Rizal, who was the real head and inspiration of the revolt that produced Aguinaldo as one of its military chiefs, was merely contending for the carrying out of certain promised reforms in the Spanish colonial administration. As a matter of recent history, Mr. Bryan himself stoutly defended the treaty agreed upon at Paris under which Spain was eliminated from the Philippines by the process of transferring such title as she had to us. Nothing could be more contrary to the spirit of sincere criticism than the flippant assertion that we went into a slave-market and bought the Filipinos at \$2.50 a head, when, in point of fact, as the easiest way to settle certain property questions,—the ownership of various public buildings, and other valuable property unquestionably belonging to Spain,—we paid the sum of \$20,000,000. The transaction was perfectly honorable on both sides, and did not in any way affect the future political status of the Filipino people. If that treaty of peace had been promptly ratified, as it ought to have been, the war between our troops and those



WHAT REPUBLICAN MILITARISM MEANS.

"I don't want to see the day when the American citizen will be like his fellows in Europe, every man as he goes to his work carrying one soldier on his back."—CARL SCHURZ.
From the *Journal* (New York).

of Aguinaldo which began a year and a half ago would, in all human probability, never have occurred. We should have proceeded to establish good government just as rapidly as possible, and it would have been both easy and safe to have conceded to the Filipinos incomparably more than they had ever asked from the Spaniards.

A Condition Not a Theory. There is not a human being in the United States who has ever wanted to hold the Filipinos in subjection or vassalage. But the events of the past eighteen months have at once illustrated and brought about a condition of things under which it is clear that Filipino independence would be impossible for a long time to come. As a matter of mere preference, most of us want neither colonies, possessions, nor protectorates in the Orient; and least of all do we want military campaigns, whether in the Philippines or in China. But in the Philippines, as well as in China, no less than in Cuba two years ago, we are merely doing a part of the ugly but needful police duty of civilization. Our soldiers are suffering in the Philippines because Filipino guerrillas decline to accept the American amnesty proposals; and their refusal is said to be based largely upon the theory that their position is the football of American politics, and that the election of Mr. Bryan would mean the triumph of their cause. If, then, Mr. Bryan should be elected in November, it is to be inferred that the flames of the insurgent cause would be rekindled everywhere. But Mr. Bryan would remain a private citizen until the 4th of next March; and Mr. McKinley's administration would, for four months, be in a most difficult predicament. Our army would either have to give up what it now holds in the Philippines or else face redoubled insurgent activity with increased effort on our own part. This would mean a very fierce and bloody campaign, with the loss of many brave American officers and men.

The Commander-in-Chief Next March. Under those circumstances, what would Mr. Bryan, as Commander-in-Chief of the American Army, do on the day after his inauguration, early in March? Would he discredit the work of our troops, and order them to their barracks to await their turn to embark for America on the transport ships? Would he recall Judge Taft and his fellow-commissioners, and authorize Aguinaldo to assume the temporary reins of government, military and civil? He would certainly have to do something. It is true that Mr. McKinley, as President and in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief, is at present the final authority in Philippine affairs; but if Mr. Bryan were President, how

could he avoid occupying exactly the same position until Congress had ordained otherwise? But let us suppose, in the event of Mr. Bryan's election in November, that Mr. McKinley should decline to take the responsibility of sending reinforcements to the Philippines and pushing the campaign. Would he be justified in withdrawing our troops, and leaving the islands in the hands of armed insurgents, who deny the sovereignty that we officially assumed in the eyes of the whole world when we ratified the peace treaty that Mr. Bryan himself declared we ought to ratify? If Mr. McKinley should take this alternative course, and give up the campaign early in November,—thus in the only practical way conceding independence to the Filipinos,—by what means would Mr. Bryan break his way again into those islands in order to establish the "stable government" which he says it would be his first task to set up?

The Only Practical Way to Grant Independence. Is it not time to come down out of the clouds of theoretical reasoning about the inalienable rights of man, in order to look plainly at the actual situation? We have been fighting in the Philippines for a year and a half; and we must deal with the situation as we find it at the end rather than at the beginning of that period. In contests of this kind, it is customary for one side or the other to win. We can admit ourselves worn out, and therefore practically defeated by the Filipino insurgents, and in pursuance of such confession we can acknowledge their independence and withdraw exactly as the British withdrew from this country in 1783. In that case, nothing could be more absurd than to make the condition that we should stay by, establish a stable form of government, withdraw when we saw fit, keep permanent possession of the principal harbor, and then maintain a permanent protectorate. George Washington did not deal with the British on any such basis as that. If, indeed, we have made a huge mistake in the Philippines, and if we have no right or business to be there, and if Aguinaldo is another George Washington, and if the Filipinos are eminently capable of self-government, then Mr. Bryan reasons to a most unsuitable conclusion. We should acknowledge our position in the Philippines to be morally and physically incapable of maintenance, and should make a treaty of peace under which we should withdraw completely, acknowledging the independence of the Filipinos, giving them as their due and proper right the public property that we took over from Spain, and claiming nothing whatever from them in return. We should leave the Philippines as Spain has left the West Indies.

*The
Proprieties
of the Case.*

Under those circumstances, to ask them to give us a harbor and coaling-station would be as impertinent as it would be for them to ask us to give them Honolulu. And it would be still more impertinent for us, after our behavior to them and our inglorious attempt to defeat them on their own soil, to offer to be their sponsor and protector in the face of the world at large. The English fought us in the Revolutionary War until they thought the game was no longer worth the candle, and then they acknowledged our independence. They had their grave doubts about our ability to form a stable government; and they looked on while we floundered through our wretched experiment with the Articles of Confederation before we established our sound and stable framework of government under the Constitution in 1789. But they did not propose to establish our government for us while acknowledging our independence, nor yet to exercise a protectorate over us in perpetuity. Let us have the manliness to do the one thing or the other in the Philippines. If the Filipinos have won their independence and deserve it, let us eschew metaphysics, recognize facts, and come home. If they have a moral title to their independence, backed up by military prowess and the evidence of political capacity, then it follows that we are the last people in the whole world to have a right to take from them a port or a coaling-station. And it would be ridiculous in the extreme for us to introduce the new sister into the international family.

*The Other
Alternative.*

That is one straightforward alternative; and we for our part should advocate it with all our might if we thought the facts justified it. But we do not believe that Aguinaldo is a George Washington, or that there exists any such thing as a great and promising Filipino nation moved by the spirit of political progress and fighting intelligently for independence and a place in the family of nations. What we do believe is that there is a large population in the Philippine Islands that needs peace and order; and that, as matters now stand, the only outlook they can possibly have for those ordinary conditions that make life worth living lies in the suppression of the warfare maintained by guerrilla bands of Tagals, and a chance for American administration to show what it can do. We have gone so far in this matter that true economy of human blood, effort, and treasure lies in our going a little farther and completing our work. The best way out of the woods is to press straight on to the other border, which does not now seem so very far distant. If there ever is to be an independ-

ent and sovereign Philippine nation, it can rest only upon the basis of a considerable historical period of experience in self-government with limited sovereignty under strict American auspices. Two or three centuries of Spanish colonial methods have not fitted the Philippine Islands for immediate emergence as a sovereign political entity. Perhaps 50 or 100 years of American tutelage may complete the work of evolution;—and, in that case, it will be entirely safe to trust the Americans who will be on hand 50 or 100 years hence to deal with the question of Philippine independence as the facts and circumstances may justify. Mr. Bryan's programme does not seem to us to point to any real solution. We cannot undo what has been done since the early days of May, 1898. We must deal with the Philippine question as it is in the latter half of the year 1900. As matters now are, we can acknowledge defeat, withdraw from the Philippines, and disclaim responsibility. This is the scuttle policy that President Jordan, of the Leland Stanford University, has advocated, and that Mr. McKinley declares he cannot adopt. The only other practical alternative is to stay in the Philippines, and seek, by all possible means, to bring hostilities to an end; to establish firm and orderly government; to train the natives by degrees to the exercise of self-government in villages, towns, districts, provinces, islands, and eventually, in a confederated archipelago as free and democratic as the Dominion of Canada. When that time comes, the Philippines will be ready to decide whether they prefer to remain under the auspices of the American flag or to enter upon the more ambitious and dangerous experiment of complete independence in their external relations. This freedom of choice is always open to our Canadian neighbors.



THE BOXER: "Don't I come in for a little sympathy, too?"—From the Journal (Detroit).

Cuba's Constitutional Convention.

Events of far-reaching importance are impending in Cuba. On Saturday, the 15th day of the present month, on promulgation of an order from General Wood, —himself acting by instruction of the War Department at Washington,—the citizens of Cuba are to elect members of a constitutional convention. This will not be a large body, but will contain thirty-one members, divided into six groups, each group to be elected on a general ticket by the voters of a province. Thus the people of the Province of Pinar del Rio will elect three delegates, those of the Province of Havana eight, those of the Province of Matanzas four, those of the Province of Santa Clara seven, those of the Province of Puerto Principe two, and those of the Province of Santiago seven. The delegates, though elected on the 15th of this month, will not assemble until the first Monday in November; that is to say, the day before the Presidential election in the United States. Thus their deliberations, which are likely to occupy a considerable time, will not be in any way influenced by campaign considerations in this country; nor, on the other hand, will the future relations of Cuba to our government be likely, under these circumstances, to form a party issue here.

Remarkable Scope Assigned.

The order expressly states that the convention is to "frame and adopt a constitution for the people of Cuba, and, as a part thereof, to provide for and agree with the Government of the United States upon the relations to exist between that government and the government of Cuba, and to provide for the elections by the people of officers under such constitution and the transfer of government to officers so selected." The order evidently assumes that while the people of Cuba are to begin at once to govern themselves as regards all matters that belong to home rule or domestic administration, they are, for the immediate future at least, to have close relations with this country. It would be far better for Cuba if there should be no false sentiment blinding the people to the danger of getting rid too soon of the American connection. The government now maintained there under General Wood is one of the most honest and efficient in the whole world. Whether tacit or avowed, Cuba will be under something like a protectorate. It is to be hoped that good sense will prevail on both sides in the working out of the details of the new relationship. It is to be noted that no provision is made for the submission of the constitution to popular vote. Criticism begins to be aimed sharply against the plan of having the convention anticipate the new government in negotiations with the United States.

Towne Declines in Favor of Stevenson.

As our readers are well aware, it had been generally expected that the Democratic convention at Kansas City would accept the Populist candidate for the Vice-Presidency, the Hon. Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota, in view of the Populist indorsement, in advance, of the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. Mr. Bryan wished it and expected it; but it did not so turn out. Mr. Towne has since withdrawn from the candidacy he had accepted, and he is to be one of the most prominent of the Bryan and Stevenson orators of the campaign. It is not worth while to attach present importance to the report that he is to be Secretary of the Treasury in case of Mr. Bryan's election, because no such report could possibly be authorized. But undoubtedly Mr. Towne will be among those closest to the President, if the Democrats should prevail in November. It is reported that in his campaign speeches he is to be assigned particularly to the task of answering the speeches of Governor Roosevelt, for whose platform efforts there is an unprecedented demand among the Republicans of the West. As head of the Silver Republican organization for some years past, Mr. Towne has been, above all things, identified with the 16-to-1 movement. He is henceforth to be regarded as a Bryan Democrat. A character sketch of Mr.



A CROWDED BALLOON.

MR. BRYAN TO MR. TOWNE: "Courage, Charles—courage! We're a bit crowded here. Keep a firm hold and you'll land all right."—From the Post (Washington).

Towne, together with one of Mr. Stevenson, the Democratic nominee for Vice-President, is reserved for our next number. The Populist and other organizations that had named Mr. Towne for Vice-President have, through their executive committees, accepted Mr. Stevenson; and thus there will be none of the difficulty about the State electoral tickets that would have occurred if Mr. Bryan's supporters had been divided in their allegiance to the Vice-Presidential candidates.

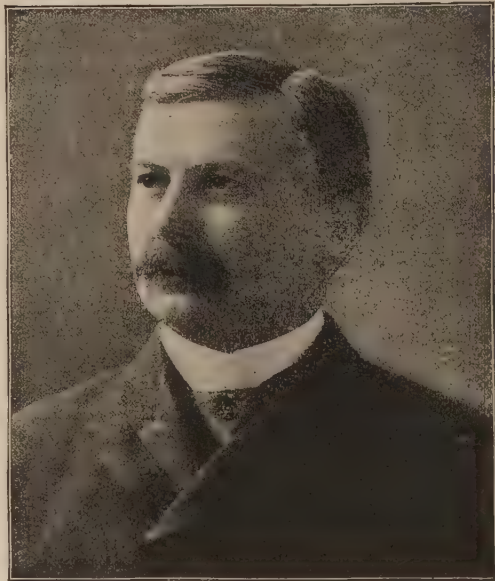
The Anti-Imperialists.

The gatherings at Indianapolis in the middle of August made it clear that most of the leading anti-Imperialists will support the Bryan and Stevenson ticket. They take this ground on the theory that Mr. McKinley must be beaten, even at the expense of free silver. There are many Gold Democrats, however—like ex-Senator Palmer, of Illinois, who headed the ticket of the National Democracy four years ago—who object more radically to Mr. Bryan's free-silver doctrines than to Mr. McKinley's alleged imperialism. They will, therefore, support the Republican ticket. A limited number of gentlemen who attended the conferences at Indianapolis, under the leadership of Mr. Thomas F. Osborne, of Auburn, N. Y., thought it best to decline to act with either of the two principal parties this year, and it is their intention to put a third ticket in the field. Their determination is creditable to their sincerity. They do not expect, of course, that very many voters will actually support their candidates. Bolters are somewhat more likely this year to support the Prohibitionist candidates, Woolley and Metcalf. We publish elsewhere an excellent contributed article on the Prohibition party as it stands to-day, and its ticket and platform. It is written by a member of that party.

New York Republican Politics.

When the Republicans at Philadelphia prevailed upon Governor Roosevelt to accept the Vice-Presidential nomination, they were abundantly warned that they were doing that which would add a good deal to the difficulties of the political situation in the State of New York. It had been understood for months that Governor Roosevelt was to be renominated for a second term; and it was believed that his excellent administration would secure for him a magnificent indorsement at the polls. Governor Roosevelt, more than any other man, had shown himself able to work with the regular organization of the party while satisfying the reasonable demands of independent citizens for a thoroughly businesslike and efficient administration. Gen. Francis V. Greene, whose recent absorption in politics has taken the emi-

nently practical form of the chairmanship of the County Committee in New York City, combines a great many of the qualities that ought to render him, like Roosevelt, acceptable to all elements of the Republican party. General Greene's talents are so great,—and his vigor of mind and body and his firmness of will so well suited to political leadership,—that he seems destined to add a political career of importance to the successes he has already achieved as a military man, a business man, and a writer. By the way, he now contributes the introduction to the new pop-



GEN. FRANCIS V. GREENE.

(Chairman of the Republican County Committee of New York City, and elected last month, at Denver, first president of the Society of the Army of the Philippines.)

ular edition of Roosevelt's works that the Messrs. Putnam are bringing out in fifteen volumes. Dr. Andrew D. White, who has come from his post as ambassador at Berlin for a brief visit at his old home at Ithaca, N. Y., and President Seth Low, of Columbia University, have both been favorably mentioned as possible candidates; and either of them in the governor's chair would do great credit to the party and the State. Two names have been much suggested as in the line of political promotion. The first is that of Hon. Benjamin B. Odell, chairman of the State Committee, and the best liked practical politician in New York. Mr. Odell's popularity among men in political life is unquestionably due to sound and admirable qualities. He has not, however, come directly enough before the voters of the State at large to be widely known except as the



HON. BENJAMIN B. ODELL, JR.

(Chairman of the Republican State Committee of New York.)

head of the Republican organization under Mr. Platt's direction. If Mr. Odell is not nominated, it will be due to an unusual firmness of character, the evidence of which will add a new element to his strength as a public man. The other name suggested as in the line of promotion is that of the gentleman who has been serving two successive terms as Lieutenant-Governor; namely, the Hon. Timothy L. Woodruff. Mr. Woodruff was made the formal candidate of the New York delegation at Philadelphia for the Vice-Presidency, and is as popular in his own city of Brooklyn as is Mr. Odell in the Newburg district. It is always a good sign when a man's most loyal and devoted adherents are those of his own immediate neighborhood. Many other men, besides those here mentioned, have been talked about among politicians and in the newspapers as possible Republican candidates. The nominating convention will be on September 4.

New York Democratic Politics. The Democratic opportunity in the State of New York, whatever it might have been, has been seriously injured by the intensifying of the strife between the factions controlled respectively by Richard Croker as head of Tammany Hall and ex-Senator David B. Hill as leader of the Democracy outside of the metropolitan district. The later phases of

this strife date from the stormy and dramatic scenes at Kansas City, where Mr. Croker refused to allow Mr. Hill to represent New York on the platform committee, and Mr. Croker made himself responsible for the free-silver plank, which otherwise Mr. Hill could have kept out of this year's national platform. Mr. Hill's candidate for the governorship is the Hon. Bird S. Coler, a young gentleman of remarkable enthusiasm and independence of character, now serving as Controller—that is to say, as chief financial officer—of the great City of New York. Although elected on a Tammany Democratic ticket, Mr. Coler has stood out resolutely against Tammany methods and schemes, and is to-day, perhaps, the most conspicuous personal object of Tammany Hall's fear and disfavor. His special antipathy is the Ramapo company's scheme to victimize New York City with a contract for private water supply. He is perfectly right in all that he says on that subject. If it were not for Tammany's opposition to him, Coler would probably be the most formidable candidate the Democrats could put in the field. It seems to us quite likely that Tammany will be able to prevent his nomination at the Saratoga convention, which meets September 11. Probably the best



HON. BIRD S. COLER.

(Controller of New York City.)



HON. CHARLES B. AYCOCK.
(Governor-elect of North Carolina.)



HON. WILLIAM J. SANFORD.
(Governor-elect of Alabama.)

candidate the Democrats could nominate would be Mr. Edward M. Shepard, provided the two factions of the party could accept him as a compromise and agree to support him in good faith. Mr. Shepard has come out in a letter strongly indorsing Mr. Bryan on the issue of imperialism, although he opposed the Chicago ticket four years ago on the money question.

*Two Southern
State
Elections.*

The election in North Carolina on August 2 (to one aspect of which we shall make reference on a later page) resulted in an enormous Democratic majority, and in the election for governor of the Hon. Charles B. Aycock. Although only forty-two years old, Mr. Aycock has been conspicuous in North Carolina politics for many years, and he is praised as a man of a very high personal type. He is a Baptist, a promoter of education, and was the foremost student orator of his day in the University of North Carolina. The State election in Alabama was held on August 5. The new legislature will have 120 Democratic members as against 13 of all other parties. The governor-elect is the Hon. William J. Sanford. It is reported that the new legislature will reelect that distinguished member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, Senator John T. Morgan. No great importance, as respects party forecasts, is to be attached to these two Southern elections.

*This Month's
Election in
two Eastern
States.*

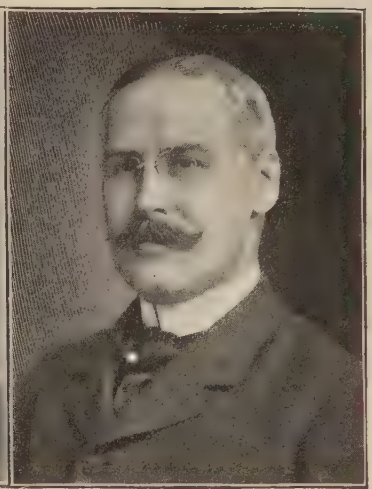
Very keen interest, however, is felt in the pending State campaigns of Vermont and Maine. These two are about the only Northern States whose local elections are not held in November. It is, of course, confidently expected that the Republicans will carry both States; but great significance is attached to the size of the majority. In the Presidential election of four years ago, Vermont cast five times as many votes for McKinley as for Bryan; while Maine cast about two times and a half as many. This was very exceptional, however, as compared with the two or three previous Presidential elections. A decided shrinkage in the Republican majorities of these two New England States would be taken as indicating a corresponding relative Democratic gain throughout the North. The Vermont election occurs on September 4, and that of Maine on September 10. The Hon. W. W. Stickney will undoubtedly be elected governor of the Green Mountain State, and the Hon. John F. Hill, the Republican nominee, will be elected governor of Maine. A number of the most prominent Republicans in the country have been sent to Maine to make speeches. A great deal of newspaper comment was occasioned by the reported refusal of the Hon. Thomas B. Reed, Maine's most conspicuous public man, to take a part in the speaking. It was said that his refusal was



HON. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE.
(Republican nominee for Governor of Wisconsin.)



HON. W. W. STICKNEY.
(Republican nominee for Governor of Vermont.)



HON. JOHN F. HILL.
(Republican nominee for Governor of Maine.)

based on the ground that he was out of public life for the present, and was too busy with his law practice. The newspaper cartoonists found the topic congenial, and Mr. Reed might fill a large scrapbook with August caricatures in which he was a central figure.

*Wisconsin's
Reform
Methods.*

The Republican party of Wisconsin has adopted a reform that we commend to the attention of Republicans in the States of Pennsylvania and New York. The voters have been allowed in primary election to express their preference as respects the nominee for governor. The result has been the nomination of the Hon. Robert M. La Follette. Mr. La Follette has stood for this principle for several years. He is an excellent nominee, and he has won in a square fight against the so-called machine. The following plank has been inserted in the Republican platform :

The great reformation effected in our general elections through the Australian ballot inspired us with confidence to apply the same method in making nominations, so that every voter may exercise his sovereign right of choice by direct vote without the intervention or interference of any political agency. We therefore demand that caucuses and conventions for the nominations of candidates for offices be abolished by legislative enactment, and that all candidates for State, Legislative, Congressional, and county offices be nominated at primary election, upon the same day, by direct vote, under the Australian ballot.

If this method had been in use in the State of New York, and the primary election could have been held early in June, the Republicans of the State, by an overwhelming majority, would have demanded the renomination of Theodore Roose-

velt. If wisdom were widely enough diffused, Roosevelt might be nominated yet for governor, on demand of the Republican voters, and the National Republican Committee would be requested to select another candidate for the Vice-Presidency. This is what ought to be done ; but, of course, nothing of this kind could possibly happen under our present political system.

*North
Carolina's
Suffrage
Amendment.*

North Carolina takes rank as the fourth State of the South to adopt a constitutional amendment virtually depriving the great bulk of the negro citizens of their right to vote. In discussing this movement in the South, it is well to take broad views and to lay aside all prejudices. We do not believe that the average negro of the South is, at the present time, in any way benefited by his nominal right to take part in the business of politics and government. It is to his present advantage to cultivate friendly relations with the best people of both races in his neighborhood, and to use every means to improve his mental, moral, and material status. As regards politics, he should be contented if he sees ahead of him a reasonable chance for his children. The negro race was precipitated into politics under circumstances which made it impossible for it to bring credit upon itself. The best thing for the race in the long run is to be put where it can come gradually into its fair share of political power under strict tests of fitness. The new North Carolina constitutional amendment establishes the reading and writing test. All negroes, as well as all white men, otherwise qualified as citizens of North Carolina, may under this provision

continue to vote at elections if "able to read and write any section of the constitution in the English language." After December, 1908, no new voters will be allowed to register excepting only those who possess the reading and writing qualification. But between now and that date those who were voters anywhere in the United States on January 1, 1867, or at any previous time, and those who are lineally descended from such voters, may register and vote, irrespective of the restrictions as to reading and writing. The intention of this peculiar arrangement is to avoid the general disfranchisement of the white illiterates of old North Carolina stock, of whom there are a great many in the State, while disfranchising the illiterate negroes who became voters in accordance with the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States. As the matter stands under the new arrangement, all white citizens of North Carolina will be allowed to vote, excepting illiterate immigrants or their illiterate descendants not naturalized so long ago as thirty-three years; and all negro citizens who are able to read and write will keep the franchise. Or, to put it the other way about, those now excluded from the polls are negro illiterates and such white illiterates as have been naturalized since 1867, or are the descendants of those who were not American voters in or prior to that year. This arrangement, on the face of it, ought not to be disheartening to the negro race. It should simply give them a new incentive to overcome obstacles and meet the new constitutional test. In a few years the discrimination will have been outlived. The

Southern dread of the illiterate negro vote has heretofore tempted a resort to methods both deplorable and vicious. It is better to have a restricted suffrage than a nominally universal one where elections are a farce. All this is not said by way of apology for the way in which this recent North Carolina campaign was conducted. It is to be assumed that no community will cheerfully and deliberately vote to disfranchise itself to a considerable extent for its own highest good; and the narrowing of the political fabric at its base is always essentially a revolutionary proceeding. And so this North Carolina electoral contest was unquestionably accompanied by violence, intimidation, and fraud—to what extent we do not know—in the securing of a majority of 60,000 for the new arrangement.

It is said that this North Carolina amendment will disfranchise 75,000 negro voters. Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina are the three other States that have taken a similar action; and it is alleged that the aggregate result in these four States is the exclusion of from 400,000 to 500,000 colored voters. The State of Virginia has voted in favor of a constitutional convention with the well-known purpose of taking a like action. The movement is under such headway in Alabama that no one doubts its early success there also. The matter has been much discussed in Georgia, where apparent setbacks do not seem to us to indicate any likelihood that this State will not also in the early future follow the example of its neighbors. The movement began under the apostleship of the late Senator James Z. George, of Mississippi, some ten years ago. The South Carolina enactment following that of Mississippi bears the date of 1896; that of Louisiana comes a little later. In so far as franchise restrictions on their face apply equally to the entire citizenship, and do not set up class or race distinctions, they are not likely to be annulled by an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. But they have one very practical bearing that interests the people of the whole country. Under the amended Constitution of the United States, representation in Congress is not based essentially upon the relative number of people living in the various States, but rather upon the number of legal male voters. This distinction was not of sufficient practical importance to be observed by Congress in making the reapportionments that followed the enumerations of 1880 and 1890. But the reapportionment which must take place by virtue of the census of the present year cannot be properly made in disregard of the profound changes that four States have now enacted in their suffrage laws.

The Movement to Disfranchise Negroes.



A TRIUMPH FOR WHITE SUPREMACY.

Ninety per cent. of the colored vote of North Carolina will be disfranchised to-day.

From the *Tribune* (New York), August 2.

*The Census
and
Reapportionment.*

The original reason, as our readers are well aware, for the taking of the census every ten years, is the necessity of a reapportionment among the States of representation in Congress, upon the basis of their relative changes in population. The fundamental principles of the apportionment are prescribed by the Constitution and are mandatory upon Congress. The fourteenth amendment to the Constitution declares that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." The fifteenth amendment declares that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." It does not, however, follow that the States may not exclude citizens from voting by reason of their lack of certain specified educational or property qualifications. The fourteenth amendment, second section, declares that "when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State."

*Suffrage Restriction
and
the XIVth
Amendment.*

Massachusetts and Connecticut for a good while have placed educational restrictions upon the right of the citizen to vote, and some other States have placed tax restrictions. Under a literal compliance with the apportionment clause of the fourteenth amendment, Massachusetts would have her representation in Congress assigned only after due calculation of the effects of her laws that restrict the voting right. It is not likely, of course, that there are enough illiterates excluded in Massachusetts to diminish the State's quota of Congressmen. But it is entirely possible, under the somewhat complicated arithmetical methods by which the distribution is made, that a very few votes more or less might decide whether Massachusetts should be given twelve seats or thirteen. The ratio of illiteracy being very light in States like Massachusetts and Connecticut, no attempt seems ever to have been made in apportionments,

since the adoption of the fourteenth amendment to raise the question of the exclusion of citizens of the United States from the right to vote.

*The
Southern
Position.*

The people of the South have never, so far as we are aware, denied for a moment that their new franchise systems, intended to keep illiterate and ill-qualified negroes from voting, would manifestly, under the Constitution, subject their States to a reduced representation in Congress. They have merely taken the ground that if their restrictive laws were not expressly directed against the colored race, but on their face applied alike to all races, the new arrangements would be permissible under the Constitution of the United States, provided they were willing to accept the penalty of a reduced Congressional representation. The question will present many practical difficulties. The restrictive laws of the different States are by no means uniform in their provisions, and it will not be easy to devise a way to secure the necessary evidence as to the number of people actually excluded. The constitutional principle is clear; but the application of the principle is very far from being a simple matter. Whatever may be the outcome, the question is almost certain to be quite thoroughly discussed. It had been said that an attempt would be made in the taking of the census to secure the information needful in order to ascertain the facts. Inasmuch as the principal original purpose of the census was the collection of the information necessary in order to make constitutional reapportionments, it is presumable that the census-takers ought to be instructed to supply the information necessary to enforce the second section of the fourteenth amendment—just as in slavery times it was the constitutional duty of the census-takers to find out the number of slaves in the different slave States, in order that those States might be allotted the representation that they were entitled to on the computation of a certain percentage of their bondsmen.

*How Many
Millions
Are We?*

There has naturally been a great interest in the population aggregates that the census results will show. In the summer of 1890 the population was slightly more than 62,620,000; in 1880 it was a little more than 50,150,000; in 1870 it was, in round figures, 38,550,000. Thus in the decade from 1870 to 1880 the average yearly net increase of population was about 1,160,000; in the decade from 1880 to 1890 the yearly gain was almost 1,250,000. In some quarters it had been predicted that the census of 1900 would show a total of 80,000,000. The new census directors them-

selves encouraged that expectation, and even more, when, in their official statement of March 11, 1899, they got at certain other matters by "assuming the population of the United States at this time to be, in round numbers, 80,000,000 people." Such a result would have required an increase from 1,250,000 to 1,750,000 average yearly increase. The estimated population of the United States on January 1, 1899, as given by the "World Almanac" on the authority of the governors of the States and Territories, was 77,800,000. If these estimates were correct, the rate of gain for eight years and a half since midsummer, 1890, had been 1,786,000 per year. Assuming a continued increase at the same rate for the remainder of the census period of ten years, the total gain for the decade would be 17,860,000, and the aggregate population of the United States in the month of June, 1900, would be 80,480,000. Between 1880 and 1890 our gain was approximately 25 per cent., an average of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per year. But if the gubernatorial estimates were correct, we should have been gaining in the present decade at the rate of a little over 2.8 per cent. each year, or approximately 28.5 per cent. for the decade. If it should be shown by the census that we had merely gained at the rate per cent. of the last census, our aggregate increase would be nearly 15,500,000, and our total population in 1900 would be somewhat in excess of 78,000,000. But it is certain that we have not maintained the percentage rate of the last decade.

Factors of Growth.
(1) *Immigration.* The growth of population is due, obviously, to two factors—first, the increase due to the excess of the birth-rate over the death-rate; and, second, immigration. If there had not been a little drop in the movement of population from Europe to America after the opening of 1885, we should have been indebted to that source for more than half of our population-increase in the decade from 1880 to 1890. We have no accurate statistics of the immigration—whether European or Canadian—that came into the United States by way of our northern boundary-line. We certainly gained considerably more than 5,000,000 people in the last census decade by immigration; and if the whole number could have been counted, it is probable that we should have been obliged to assign to that factor at least 5,500,000 out of a total gain of 12,500,000. Thus the ordinary increase by the excess of births over deaths would account for approximately 7,000,000, and immigration for 5,500,000, in the gain from 1880 to 1890. But it is now certain that the aggregate number of immigrants to the United States for

the decade just ended will fall a good deal short of the number for the preceding decade. The immigration statistics for the first nine years of the ten are accessible, and they show an aggregate of a little over 3,300,000. The tenth year has brought an estimated half-million of European working people to our shores. But if we should also make a very liberal allowance for unrecorded accessions by way of the Canadian frontier, it would still remain true that we could scarcely look to immigration as a source from which to derive more than 4,000,000 of our expected census increase of population.

Factors of Growth.
(2) *Natural Increase.* Is it true, then, that there has been any appreciable increase during the present decade in the birth-rate, or, on the other hand, any marked decrease in the death-rate, which would favorably affect the average annual increase of our total numbers? Doubtless the continued improvement of sanitary conditions in the large towns and the general progress in the conditions of living and in the treatment of disease are adding steadily if not rapidly to the average longevity of our people. But all indications would tend to confirm the impression that the average annual birth-rate is declining rather than gaining in the United States. In France, for example, although the modern improvements in sanitation, treatment of disease, and care of children are diminishing the death-rate, there has at the same time been such a falling off in the birth-rate that the total population figures are approximately maintained solely by reason of a moderate stream of immigration from Italy and other neighboring countries. It is perhaps true that there are now some localities of considerable extent in the United States where, if it were not for the fact that there is some immigration, and also that there is a comparatively high birth-rate among the immigrants, the total population would by no means hold its own, on account of the lower birth-rate among the native American element. An analytical study of the facts that the new census will gather must throw much light upon interesting questions touching the present tendencies of population in this country. If the statistics are to be relied upon, the increase in population that was due to the excess of births over deaths was about 14 per cent. for the ten years 1880-90; but—further assuming the correctness of the immigration statistics for the past decade—if we accept the estimates which call for a population of 80,000,000 this year, we shall have to look to the excess of births over deaths for a gain of almost 22 per cent. To any one at all familiar with vital statistics, it is evident without further

discussion that such a radical change in the conditions of population-increase in the United States could not possibly have taken place. Even if one were to be content with estimating that we should have gained population at the same average rate in the current decade as in the one preceding, it would still be necessary, on account of the falling-off in immigration, to rely upon a considerably higher rate of gain in the excess of births over deaths in order to bring up the total. And there is no sufficient reason to believe that the actual census work will show any such gain. If the decade should have resulted, not in the maintenance of the same rate per cent. of gain as that of the preceding ten years, but simply in the gain of a like number of people—namely, about 12,500,000—our total population would be, in round figures, 75,000,000. Those who expect a greater aggregate than 75,000,000 will be disappointed.

*Peking
Relieved.*

The relief of the envoys and other foreigners at Peking was accomplished by the successful entrance of the allied troops on August 14. About 16,000 men participated in this difficult military enterprise, of whom about two thirds were Japanese and Russians, and the remainder British and Americans. Although the Germans, French, and Italians are contributing to the international army, they did not happen to have many men at the front when this expedition was started from Tientsin on August 2. The railroad had been rendered unavailable for use by the Chinese, and the movement of troops was on foot, while supplies were transported by water, the course of the river Peiho being closely followed. The hardest fight on the line was at Peitsang, a few miles out from the starting-point, which was captured on August 5, with a loss to the allies of 1,200 in killed and wounded, and a much larger loss to the Chinese. More fighting occurred on the way, the earlier accounts of which were meager, although the Japanese seem to have shown great spirit and to have taken the brunt most of the time. The small force of Americans, under the leadership of General Chaffee, won universal praise. Li Hung Chang, on behalf of the Chinese Government, had appealed to the United States for peace, and had begged that the foreign troops should not enter Peking; but our government had insisted that, as a preliminary to negotiations, the troops must enter Peking and rescue the imperiled Europeans and Americans. Mr. Conger is reported as declaring that the Chinese Government, and not the Boxers, will be shown to have maintained the artillery attack of weeks upon the envoys and their companions in the British Legation.

*The Massing
of the Occu-
pation Force.*

Foreign troops have been steadily arriving in China, and Russia is massing an enormous army in Siberia and Manchuria for the purpose of teaching a memorable lesson to the Chinese who have been carrying border warfare across the long boundary-line that separates the Slav from the Mongol empire. No one knows exactly how many troops the Japanese are sending; but, apart from Russia's large force in the north, there is some reason to suppose that the end of September will find from 75,000 to 100,000 men forming the army that by common agreement is to be under



COUNT VON WALTERSEE.

the chief command of the German Field Marshal Count von Waldersee. This distinguished officer left Germany on August 20, and is expected to arrive at Shanghai about September 22. It is greatly to be hoped that there will not be more fighting. It will be some time before the record can be made up of massacre and destruction; but there is full reason to believe that many missionaries and other foreigners have been put to death, not to mention hundreds, or even thousands, of native converts to Christianity.

*Wanted:
A Court of
Inquiry.*

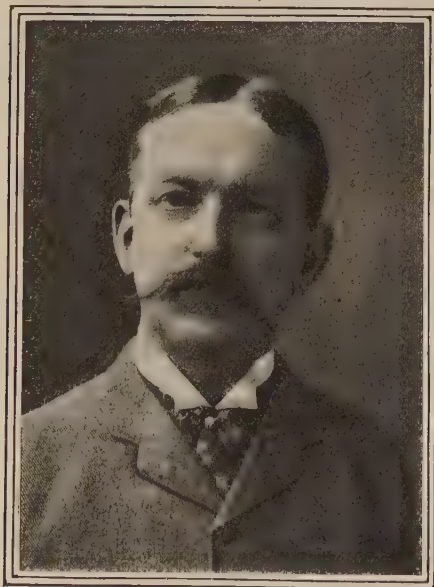
The position of the United States will be favorable to the maintenance of the Chinese empire, rather than to the partition of China among other powers.

But there will have to be much investigation and discussion before wise and intelligent action can be decided upon. We call the attention of our readers to several very valuable and timely articles upon the Chinese problem contributed to the present number of the REVIEW. It seems to us that the situation affords a most excellent opportunity to set in motion that part of the machinery of the recent Hague Treaty framed at the peace conference which provides for international courts of inquiry as preliminary to the settlement of a dispute or difficulty. What the world most needs now, in the Chinese situation, is a correct understanding of all the facts. We know that the Chinese Government has been guilty of serious duplicity; but how far that duplicity has gone, and to what extent the government has been responsible for the outrages committed by the Boxers, can be known only after considerable inquiry. Such investigation, of course, can be greatly aided by Peking survivors like Sir Robert Hart and the members of the various legations; but it would be well if a formal court of inquiry were established. For this purpose America would be well represented by Mr. W. W. Rockhill, who has already been sent to China as a special commissioner. Germany shows a disposition to be very severe toward China, with the assassination of her minister as the principal excuse. The United States, as the most disinterested of all the powers, will be able to exer-



SIR ROBERT HART.

(British Inspector-General of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs, at his office in Peking.)



WILLIAM W. ROCKHILL.

(Appointed by the President as a special commissioner to investigate the Chinese troubles.)

cise great influence in the solution of some of the difficult international problems that must now be considered.

Anarchist activity has again manifested itself in the assassination of a European crowned head. King Humbert, of Italy, whose life had been attempted on two or three occasions, was shot on July 29. The assassin, Bresci, belonged to a group of Italian anarchists at Paterson, N. J. The plot seems to have had ramifications, and to have included a more or less definite plan to kill the President of the United States, as well as several kings, queens, or heirs-apparent. An unsuccessful attack was reported upon the Shah of Persia, who has been visiting in Europe, shortly after the murder of Humbert. It will be remembered that the life of the Prince of Wales was attempted in Belgium some months ago. None of these assaults had a personal motive, but all of them, like that which destroyed the life of the Empress of Austria, are the expression of the fanatical anarchists against the existing institutions of government. We



THE MURDERED KING OF ITALY LYING IN STATE.
(Victor Emmanuel, his son and successor, stands at the left.)

publish elsewhere a character sketch of the late King of Italy. His son and successor, who married a Montenegrin princess, lacks the kingly personality of his father, but bids fair to show a keener interest in public affairs and a better intellectual training for his duties.

The Princess Hélène, of Montenegro, who becomes Queen of Italy, is not the only lady of the Balkan regions who has had a prominent place in the world's news within the past few weeks. The little kingdom of Servia was thrown into an uproar over the marriage of the young King Alexander to Mme. Draga Maschin, who was formerly one of the ladies-in-waiting to the King's mother, Queen Nathalie, and who was a widow of the comparatively mature age of thirty-six, whereas the young king was not twenty-four until the 14th day of August. The king's father, ex-King Milan, showed his displeasure by resigning his post as commander-in-chief of the army, and the cabinet refused to serve any longer on the news of the announcement of the forthcoming event. Young Alexander was not deterred, however, and the marriage was solemnized with great ceremony on Sunday, August 5. A new cabinet is installed; and here, for the present, the incident ends. Its remoter consequences may

be serious, however; for the Obrenovich dynasty is always in need of outside support, and cannot well afford to displease the authorities at Vienna and Budapest.

John Bull's Burdens.

The talk in England is of an approaching dissolution of Parliament, with an election to occur, perhaps, at about the time of our Presidential contest. The burdens of empire continue to rest very heavily upon the shoulders of John Bull. He is particularly sensitive to the financial aspects of his military adventures, and the war in South Africa begins to roll up a huge bill. There are now practically 250,000 soldiers in that distant country, who must be maintained on a fighting basis by the British taxpayers; and this means several hundred million dollars a year. A new war loan has been floated, more than one-half of which—namely, \$28,000,000—was awarded to American subscribers, who had made application for bonds in excess of the whole amount of the loan. There was much irritation in England over what was called an appeal to outside financial aid. The loan could all have been taken in London, and it is not quite clear what motive the British Government had in giving more than one-half of it to American investors, irrespective of the home demand. This financial incident by no means proves that the United States has now become, like England, a creditor nation. We continue to send abroad vast quantities of our products every year, in order to pay the interest upon American national, State, and municipal bonds, railway securities, and industrial shares to European capitalists, whose money by the hundreds of millions of dollars is invested in this country.

Colonial Problems.

England's situation in India presents a variety of difficulties—famine, cholera, and the plague having of late resulted in unprecedented suffering and death, with a recurrence of suspicious uneasiness among the warlike tribes of the Northwest frontier. India's financial troubles are still further aggravated by the diminution of revenue from the opium trade, following the crisis in China. The campaign for the relief of Koumassi in Ashanti, which resulted in the rescuing of the small and starving English garrison in July, by no means settles the trouble in that quarter; and a new expedition is preparing to begin over again the conquest of the country in October. In our hemisphere, the Alaskan boundary question has been reopened by the publication of the exact terms of a *modus vivendi* that many Americans fear may lead to the permanent cession of a part of our coastline. Canada will have involved

the mother-country in a dispute of unwelcome magnitude if she continues to insist upon her new interpretation of the old Russian treaty that prescribed the line between Alaska and British North America.

*Military
Events in
South Africa.*

Great numbers of English soldiers continue to be sent home from South Africa as invalids, and fresh troops are going out to take their places. The war is approaching its end, but its last phases are painful and difficult in the extreme to Lord Roberts and his generals. The surrender of General Prinsloo to General Hunter, at the end of July, was an event of importance, since it meant the yielding up of 3,350 fighting men of the Orange Free State, most of whom were mounted. Soon afterward a force of nearly 700 surrendered to General Rundle in the Harrismith district, near the border-line to the west of Ladysmith. Gen. Christian De Wet has been winning great renown as a daring and swift raider, infinitely superior to any of the British leaders who have been trying to capture him, including the much-praised Baden-Powell himself. President Krüger is reported to have been at Barberton, in the mountainous country near to the Swaziland frontier; and there, it is said, the Boers will make their last stand, rather than at Lydenburg, the place formerly selected. General Roberts, in the middle of August, adopted new measures of greatly increased severity toward the Boer population as a whole, giving up his previous plan of accepting oaths of neutrality and issuing passes.

*The Duke
of Saxe-
Coburg.*

A minor crown has been transferred through the death of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, better known as the Duke of Edinburgh, who was the second son of Queen Victoria, and the most popular in England of all the Queen's children. Prince Alfred, though jovial and of easy manners, was not an idle prince, but a real worker. He went to sea at fourteen, and by genuine merit rose in the British navy to be the admiral in command of the Mediterranean squadron. The English, seven years ago, were very sorry to have him go to Germany to take the throne of the little duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, which had come his way by virtue of a chain of family relationships that it is not necessary here to recall. He was almost fifty-six years old at the time of his death. His wife was a daughter of the Emperor Alexander II., of Russia. It will be remembered that at the time he chose to accept the throne of a German principality, and took the oath of loyalty to the constitution of the German Empire in the presence of Emperor William, there was a great

deal of discussion in England as to his status there, particularly with reference to the annuities he was receiving from the British treasury, to the extent of not less than \$125,000 a year. There also arose a question as to his right to sit in the House of Lords. His son and heir, Prince Alfred, died early last year; and the Queen's next son, the Duke of Connaught, who became the heir-presumptive, preferred England for himself and his children, and resigned in favor of the young Duke of Albany, who, being recognized as the heir, went to Coburg to receive a German education only a few months ago. This young gentleman, now just sixteen years of age, is the son of the late Prince Leopold, of England, Duke of Albany, Queen Victoria's fourth son, who died suddenly in March, 1884, nearly four months before the birth of his son on July 19. Leopold had married the daughter of a



THE NEW DUKE.
(Charles Edward of Saxe-Coburg.)



THREE SONS OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

(The late Duke of Saxe-Coburg is at the right, the Prince of Wales at the left, the Duke of Connaught in the center.)

local German prince, and it was, therefore, natural enough that she and her son should be ready last year to go back to Germany to a quiet and lucrative dukedom. The very easy duties of the regency of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha will be performed by a modern-looking young man known as "H. S. H. the Hereditary Prince of Hohenlohe-Langenburg," who is the new Duke's guardian.

Many distinguished names will be found in the obituary list of the past month besides the reigning sovereigns of Italy and Saxe-Coburg. For real power among men of our generation, the late Collis P. Huntington (an account of whose career is published in this number of the REVIEW) outranked most kings and dukes. America since the Civil War has afforded great financial and industrial opportunities, and Mr. Huntington was foremost among the men whom those opportunities brought into great power.



THE LATE BARON RUSSELL.
(Lord Chief-Justice of England.)

The most eminent of English-speaking lawyers was Charles Russell, who had become Chief-Justice of England and a peer under the title of Baron Russell of Killowen. He was almost as well known, at least by reputation, among American lawyers as among those of Great Britain. Gen. Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, distinguished in the Civil War, afterwards governor of Ohio, and Secretary of the Interior under President Grant, was an eminent Cincinnati lawyer, the author of important books on the Civil War, and esteemed in all parts of the country. Ex-Senator Ingalls, of Kansas, during the eighteen years of his membership in the United States Senate, was one of the most notable members of that body. He was a man of brilliant intellect, but in his later years to some extent misunderstood and misjudged. Dr. John Clark Ridpath was not merely the popular historian

whose one-volume work has been more widely read by far than any other history of this country, but he was also a profound thinker, a man of deep convictions, and a political and social reformer of absolute courage. He was born in Indiana sixty years ago, and had much to do



THE LATE DR. JOHN CLARK RIDPATH.

with the development of De Pauw University, of which he was for some years a professor and officer. For some time he edited the *Arena*, and he wrote various books. He was one of the ablest of the advocates of the Chicago platform of 1896. The Rev. Dr. Cyrus Hamlin was an American missionary in Turkey for many years, and afterwards president of Robert College, at Constantinople. From 1877 to 1885 he was a professor of the Bangor Theological Seminary, and president of Middlebury College, Vermont. Wilhelm Liebknecht was a Socialist member of the Reichstag from Berlin, as well as the editor of *Vorwärts*, the Socialist organ. He had suffered many years of banishment and served some terms of imprisonment for the sake of his political convictions. No one will deny his great intellectual force and his thorough sincerity.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From July 21 to August 20, 1900.)

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

July 23.—First Assistant Postmaster-General Perry S. Heath tenders his resignation.

July 25.—Kansas Fusionists (Democrats, Free-Silver Republicans, and Populists) nominate John W. Briedenthal for governor....Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General Bristow's report on the Havana postal frauds is made public....The national committee of the Gold Democratic party, in session at Indianapolis, decides not to put a Presidential ticket in the field.

July 31.—New Hampshire Democrats nominate Dr. Frederick E. Potter for governor...."Red-shirts" break up a Populist-Republican meeting at Smithfield, N. C.; the State Legislature adjourns *sine die*....Superintendent Z. R. Brockway, of the Elmira Reformatory, Elmira, N. Y., resigns, to take effect on December 31....The United States War Department orders an election in Cuba on the third Saturday in September for the purpose of choosing delegates to a constitutional convention.

August 1.—Iowa Republicans nominate candidates for minor State offices.

August 2.—In North Carolina, Charles Brantley Aycock (Dem.) is elected governor, and the constitutional amendment disfranchising illiterate negroes is carried by a large majority.

August 6.—In Alabama, William J. Sanford (Dem.) is elected governor by about 75,000 plurality; a legislature is chosen favorable to the reelection of United States Senator John T. Morgan.

August 7.—Hon. Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota, formally declines the Populist nomination for the Vice-Presidency.

August 8.—W. J. Bryan and A. E. Stevenson are formally notified at Indianapolis of their nomination for President and Vice-President by the Democratic National Convention....Wisconsin Republicans nominate Robert M. La Follette for governor, on a platform advocating the abolishment of caucuses and party conventions and nomination by direct popular vote.

August 14.—The Havana Municipal Council, by a vote of 20 to 1, rejects the new city charter....The executive committee of the National party (third-ticket) meets at Indianapolis.

August 15.—The Liberty Congress (anti-Imperialists) meets at Indianapolis....Washington (State) Republicans nominate J. M. Frank for governor....Governor Beckham convenes the Kentucky Legislature in extra session, on August 28, to amend the Goebel election law.

August 16.—The Liberty Congress of the Anti-Imperialist League, in session at Indianapolis, declares for the election of Bryan.

August 20.—William M. Johnson, of New Jersey, is appointed First Assistant Postmaster-General.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

July 23.—The Nationalists of France experience a signal defeat at a by-election at Nort, M. Thiébaud, the



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HON. ROGER WOLCOTT, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

(Appointed Ambassador to Italy, to succeed Gen. W. F. Draper.)

Nationalist candidate, receiving only 2,236 votes, while M. Gentil, Radical Republican, receives 5,979.

July 25.—President Zelaya, of Nicaragua, is renominated.

July 26.—In the British House of Commons, the Secretary of State for India, Lord George Hamilton, states that the Indian Government has disbursed over \$65,000,000 to famine sufferers.

July 28.—The Peruvian Congress is opened.

July 29.—King Humbert, of Italy, is assassinated at Monza by one Bresci, an anarchist.

August 1.—President Zelaya, of Nicaragua, announces the termination of the concession to the Maritime Canal Company, and formally proclaims the Eyre-Cragin canal concession....In the British House of Commons, Sir William Vernon Harcourt criticises the management of the war in South Africa.

August 2.—The British House of Commons suspends Dr. Charles Tanner, Nationalist member for the Middle Division of Cork, for insulting a member of the majority....An anarchist makes an unsuccessful attempt on the life of the Shah of Persia in Paris.

August 6.—The Italian Chamber of Deputies is reopened.

August 8.—The British Parliament adjourns....A new Peruvian cabinet is announced.

August 9.—The new cabinet of the Republic of Colombia is announced.

August 11.—King Victor Emmanuel III., of Italy, takes the oath of office, in the presence of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

July 21.—Notice is given that Portugal has deposited \$3,500,000 at Paris in payment of the Delagoa Bay award to the United States and Great Britain.

July 23.—The new Japanese Minister to the United States, Kogoro Takahira, arrives in this country.

July 24.—The agreement relating to the boundary-line between Nicaragua and Costa Rica is signed at Managua.

July 25.—The United States protests against the bombardment of Panama by Colombian insurgents.

July 30.—Ex-Gov. Roger Wolcott, of Massachusetts, is appointed Ambassador to Italy, to succeed Gen. William F. Draper, resigned.

August 4.—The text of the new reciprocity agreement between the United States and Germany is made public at Washington.

August 5.—The demands of the United States on the Turkish Government for the Armenian indemnity are renewed.

August 7.—It is announced that Sir Francis Richard Plunkett has been appointed British Ambassador to Austria, and Sir Henry Mortimer Durand British Ambassador to Spain.

August 17.—Announcement is made that the Czar of Russia will visit Paris, arriving at Cherbourg on September 14.

August 20.—It is announced that Schekib Bey has been appointed Turkish Minister to the United States.

THE CRISIS IN CHINA.

July 22.—An imperial edict, purporting to be sent by the Emperor of China to the southern viceroys and governors, is promulgated; it is dated from Peking, July 18; the edict states that the fullest protection has been afforded, and that the foreign ministers, with the exception of Baron von Ketteler, are safe....Tientsin



MR. KOGORO TAKAHIRA.

(The new Japanese Minister to the United States.)

and neighborhood evacuated by the Chinese troops.... Li Hung Chang arrives at Shanghai.

July 23.—In reply to the appeal of the Chinese Government asking his good offices in the trouble with the European powers, President McKinley calls on the Imperial government to make known to the world whether the representatives of the powers at Peking are alive, and to cooperate with the relief expedition.

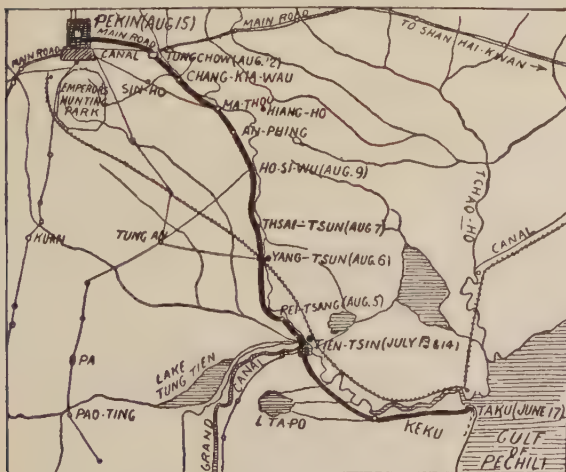
July 25.—At a meeting of the admirals at Taku it is decided, by the vote of the majority, that the railway from Tangku to Tientsin shall be handed over to the control of the Russians, the British and American admirals recording their dissent....A commission, consisting of Colonels Bower, Wogak, and Aoki, is appointed to govern Tientsin.

July 26.—Russian troops capture the forts at Newchwang.

July 31.—The message from Minister Conger states the losses at the British Legation in Peking, up to July 21, as follows: Germans, 10; Japanese, 10; French 11; British, 5; Russians, 4; Americans, 7; Italians, 7; native Christians, 9.

August 2.—The Peking relief column, 16,000 strong, starts from Tientsin.

August 5.—The Chinese are defeated by the allies at Peitsang, eight miles from Tientsin, in a battle lasting seven hours; the total casualties of the allies are about 1,200.



THE MARCH OF THE ALLIES TO PEKING.

(From the New York Sun.)

August 7.—The allies again rout the Chinese at Yangtsun, losing between 200 and 300 men.

August 9.—The United States, in a memorandum addressed to the Chinese Government, demands that firing on the ministers in Peking be stopped.

August 10.—The nomination of Field Marshal Count von Waldersee, by the Emperor of Germany, as commander-in-chief of the allied forces, is accepted as satisfactory by the United States, Great Britain, and the other powers interested....It is announced that Li Hung Chang has been appointed a minister, with powers to make peace.

August 12.—Tung Chow is occupied by the allied troops, the Chinese having fled to Peking.

August 14.—The international relief column enters Peking—the Japanese and Russians by two eastern gates, north of the canal, and the Americans and British by the gates south of the canal; the Japanese lose more than 100 killed.

August 20.—The allied forces at Peking are reported to have surrounded the Chinese troops within the inner city; fighting in the streets continues.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

July 23.—General Carrington and his Rhodesian Field Force attack the Boer position at the Selous River and carry it by assault.



MRS. E. H. CONGER.

July 27.—After killing three policemen and a boy, and wounding several other persons, a negro desperado is shot to death in New Orleans and order restored in the city.

July 29.—General Prinsloo and 3,348 Boers surrender at Naauwpoort.

August 3.—Four cases of plague and two deaths are reported from London, Eng....The summit of Mount Marcy, in the Adirondacks, is covered with snow.... Fire starts in the forests of the Yellowstone National Park.

August 4.—Fire in the lumber district of Ashland, Wis., destroys property valued at \$1,000,000....The Boers attack the British garrison at Elands River; Harrismith is surrendered to General Macdonald.

August 5.—Four thousand cab-drivers in Paris go on strike, demanding a lower rate for vehicles rented.

August 7.—Preliminary steps toward the formation of a farmers' trust to control the agricultural output of the Mississippi Valley are taken at Topeka, Kan., by a



UNITED STATES MINISTER CONGER.

(From a photograph of Mr. Conger taken in his private office in the American Legation building, at Peking, on May 15 last.)

conference of farmers representing eight States and Oklahoma Territory.

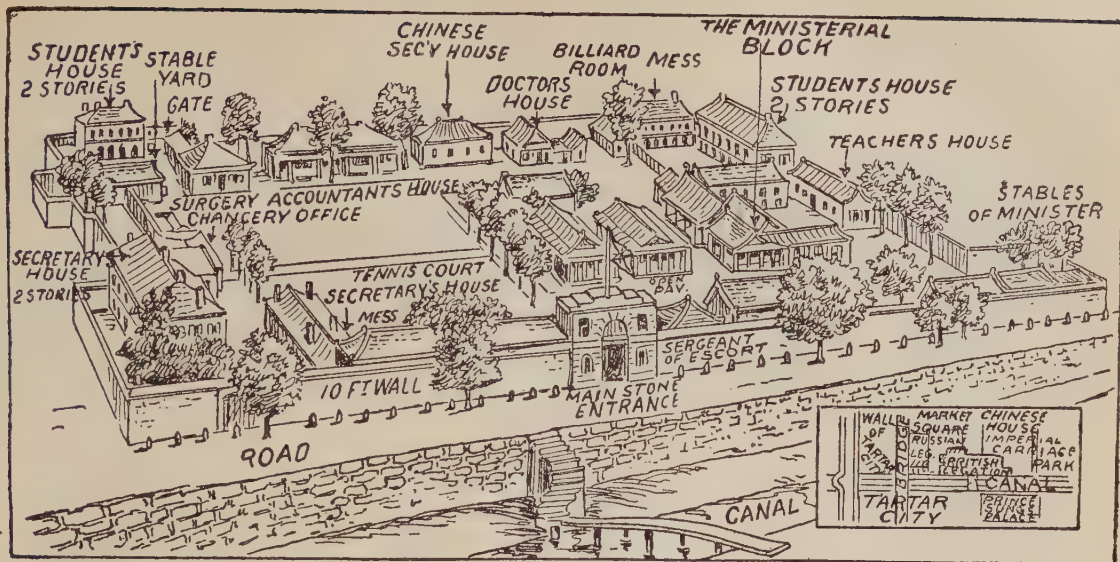
August 11.—In the French naval maneuvers off Cape St. Vincent, Portugal, a collision between the battleship *Brennus* and the torpedo-boat destroyer *Framée* results in the loss of 46 lives, including 3 officers.

August 12.—In a grade-crossing accident near Slatington, Penn., 15 persons are killed and 7 seriously injured....In the telescoping of two sections of a train near Rome, Italy, 12 persons are killed and 40 injured.

August 14.—Rain falls generally in the famine districts of India....The Hamburg-American steamer *Deutschland* completes the run from New York to Plymouth in 5 days, 11 hours, and 45 minutes.

August 17.—General Kitchener relieves the British garrison at Elands River, in the Transvaal; conspirators accused of a plot to capture Lord Roberts are put on trial at Pretoria.

August 18.—Lord Roberts issues a proclamation declaring that all Boers who do not take the oath will be treated as prisoners of war....Ex-Secretary of State



Courtesy of the New York Sun.

THE BRITISH LEGATION AT PEKING, WHERE THE FOREIGN MINISTERS WERE BESIEGED FROM JUNE 20 TO AUGUST 15.

Caleb Powers, of Kentucky, is found guilty of complicity in the murder of William Goebel and sentenced to imprisonment for life....The official announcement of the awards to exhibitors is made at the Paris Exposition.

August 19.—Nearly 700 Boers surrender in the Harmsmith district to General Rundle.

OBITUARY.

July 21.—Dr. Elias S. Peabody, a pioneer physician of Illinois, 87.

July 22.—Lucius E. Chittenden, Register of the Treasury under President Lincoln, 76.

July 23.—Baron von Manteuffel, German Conservative statesman....M. Henri Lasserri, editor of *Contemporain*, 72.

July 24.—Mrs. Mary L. Bonney-Rambaut, a well-

known worker and educator among the American Indians, 84.

July 25.—M. M. Jewett, one of the early settlers of Kansas, 72....Franklin Platt, a widely known geologist, of Philadelphia, 56.

July 26.—Henry G. Blasdel, Nevada's first elected governor, 75....Capt. James S. Biddle, of Philadelphia, 82.

July 27.—R. D. Yelland, a well-known California artist, 52.

July 29.—Edward E. Poor, former president of the National Park Bank of New York City, 63....Rev. Dr. Heman Dyer, a well-known clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 90....Ex-Judge Fitzwilliam H. Chambers, of the Detroit bar, 67.

July 30.—Rev. Dr. William Dexter Wilson, head of St. Andrew's Divinity School, Syracuse, N. Y., 84....Charles Wehle, a staff officer of Kossuth in the Hungarian revolution of 1848, 73.



A COMPANY OF CHINESE REGULAR SOLDIERS.



THE PEIHO RIVER AT TIENTSIN (IN THE EUROPEAN CITY).

July 31.—The Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and Duke of Edinburgh, the second son of Queen Victoria, 56. . . . John Clark Ridpath, the historian, 60. . . . Father A. B. Langlois, the Louisiana botanist, 69. . . . Representative William D. Daly, of New Jersey, 49.

August 1.—Judge W. H. Brooker, of Texas, 60.

August 2.—Col. John Mason Loomis, a prominent Chicago lumber merchant, 75. . . . Samuel Job, a well-known Welshman of Cleveland, 58.

August 4.—Ex-Gov. Jacob Dolson Cox, of Ohio, 72. . . . Prof. Joseph Emerson, of Beloit College, Wisconsin, 79. . . . Rev. Dr. Henry A. Hazen, statistician of the Congregational Church, 68.

August 5.—Ex-United States Senator Luke Prior, of Alabama, 81. . . . Rt. Rev. James A. Healy, bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Maine, 70. . . . Gen. Zebulon York, one of the Confederate military leaders, 81.

August 6.—William Clark, the thread manufacturer, 81. . . . Wilhelm Liebknecht, the German Socialist leader, 74.

August 7.—Dr. Elias B. Harris, a pioneer physician of California and Nevada, 75.

August 8.—Rev. Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, founder of Robert College, Constantinople, 89.

August 10.—Baron Russell, of Killowen, Lord Chief Justice of England, 68. . . . Djevad Pasha, former Grand Vizier of Turkey.

August 11.—Santiago Perez, former President of the Republic of Colombia, 70. . . . Prof. Charles Scott Venable, of the University of Virginia, 73. . . . Samuel M. Clark, editor of the *Keokuk (Ia.) Gate City*, and formerly a member of Congress, 58.

August 12.—William Steinitz, the chess-player, 63. . . . Maj. Frederick E. Prime, Corps of Engineers, U. S. A., 71.

August 13.—Collis P. Huntington, president of the Southern Pacific Railroad Company, 79. . . . Prof. James E. Keeler, director of the Lick Observatory, 43. . . . C. Morton Stewart, a prominent Baltimore merchant, 71.

August 15.—Ex-Congressman Henry Gordon Burleigh, of Whitehall, N. Y., 67. . . . Louis Menand, a widely-known horticulturist, 93.

August 16.—Ex-United States Senator John J. Ingalls, of Kansas, 67. . . . Chief Justice Henry W. Green, of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, 72.

August 18.—Justice Frederick Smyth, of the New York Supreme Court, 68.

August 19.—Sir William Stokes, surgeon in ordinary to the Queen in Ireland, 61.



FOREIGN CONCESSION, SHANGHAI.

(The foreign concessions front the river, and are under the control of the nations to which they belong.)

HOME AND FOREIGN POLITICS IN CARICATURE.

OUR cartoons this month are selected almost entirely with reference to the American campaign at home and American adventures beyond the sea. As the three drawings on this page will indicate, the Democratic opponents of President McKinley are dwelling with much reiteration upon the alleged subserviency of our State Department at Washington to the British foreign office. Last month this reproach of an alliance with England took the form of an acute attack upon Secretary Hay for the compromise arrangement he is declared to have made, by which—until the final boundary is fixed—we yield something of our long-established claims on the Alaskan coast-line. The New Orleans *Times-Democrat's* cartoonist accuses Mr. McKinley of trying to teach Uncle Sam the gluttonous manners of John Bull.



WHERE M'KINLEY IS POPULAR.

No wonder England wants to see more of McKinley!
From the *Journal* (New York).



WELL-TRAINED SERVANTS.

JOHN HAY: "Any further orders, my lord?"
PAUNCEFOTE: "Not at present, my man. If I see anything else I want, I'll ring for you."—From the *Journal* (New York).



UNCLE SAM: "Those are the manners McKinley wishes me to imitate."—From the *Times-Democrat* (New Orleans).



PRESIDENT M'KINLEY HAS KEPT HIS WORD.

McKINLEY TO GOVERNOR WOOD: "Deliver this package to Cuba by September 1."—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

Mr. Bowman, the cartoonist of the *Minneapolis Tribune*, presents current affairs from the out-and-out Republican standpoint. We reproduce four of his drawings on this page, three of which certainly have the



A KICK WITHOUT CONSENT OF THE KICKED.

THE FILIPINO: "That's worse than government without the consent of the governed."

From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

merit of genuine humor. The one at the bottom, representing Bryan in the endeavor to catch the German-American bird in the 16-to-1 trap with the chaff of "imperialism," is as clever a bit of cartoon work as we have seen this year. Even the North Carolina Democrats themselves must smile at the keen satire of the drawing in the upper right-hand corner.



BRYAN: "You better run on home, now, Charley; me and Adlai will take care of your little dolly baby."—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).



"TOO OLD A CHICK TO BE CAUGHT BY CHAFF."
From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).



THE WILD EASTERN TERROR IN THE MILD WEST.
From the *Chronicle* (Chicago).

This Democratic caricature of Governor Roosevelt is one of the mildest we could select from a hundred, more or less, that have come to our notice within the past two or three weeks. The drawing of Mr. Rehse, of the *Pioneer-Press*, is another that indicates the keen attention the Republican papers of the Northwest are giving to the Democratic attempt to capture the German vote on the imperialism issue.



BRYAN: "You'll find the young lady easy to support."
THE GERMAN DEMOCRAT: "And take that 16-to-1 ice-wagon for a mother-in-law? Not much!"
From the *Pioneer-Press* (St. Paul).



DEMOCRATIC "CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY."

"It is only the Filipino who is entitled to liberty and free speech."—From the *Tribune* (New York).



HOW VON WALTERSEE MAY BE EXPECTED TO LEAD THE POWERS.—From the *Journal* (Detroit).



IF BRYAN WERE PRESIDENT.

CROKER: "That's proper, William; don't forget to feed the tiger."—From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia).



IMPERIAL BRYAN'S HEART BLEEDS FOR THE FILIPINO.

The "constitutional" right of the Filipino to shoot holes through the flag appeals so strongly to Bryan that he does not want to hear the appeal of hundreds of thousands of negroes in the Southern States who are being denied, by violence and fraud, their constitutional right to vote by his Red-shirt followers.

From the *Tribune* (New York).

The argument by analogy is a favorite one in political controversy. Thus the Republicans are trying to confound the Bryanites who are so sensitive for liberty and the right of self-government in the Philippines, by pointing to the Democratic disfranchisement of negro voters in North Carolina and other Southern States. This comparison, of course, proves nothing at all. But it is just as pertinent as the attempt of the anti-Imperialists

GO ON HOME!—From the *Pioneer-Press* (St. Paul).DESERTED!—From the *Herald* (New York).

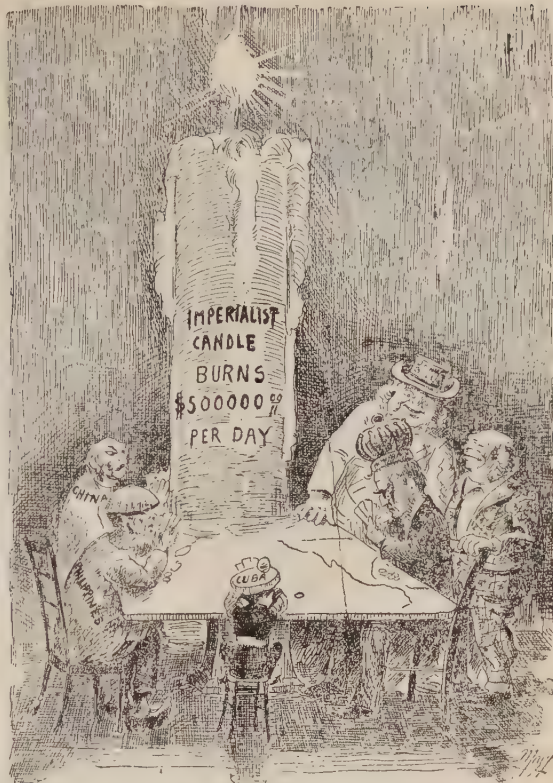
THE AWAKENING OF RIP VAN STEVENSON.

From *Harper's Weekly* (New York).



ANOTHER SURRENDER TO ENGLAND.

What's the use of grabbing land, when we are giving away what we already have?—From *The Verdict* (New York).



IS THE GAME WORTH THE CANDLE?

From the *Times-Democrat* (New Orleans).



THE EMPEROR: "Go away!"

From the *Chronicle* (Chicago).



TALKING THROUGH HIS CROWN.

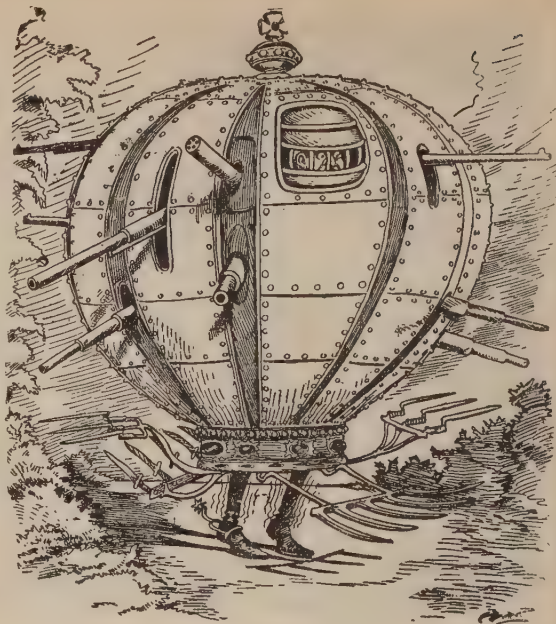
From *The Verdict* (New York).



A NEW GUIDE.

Old-world Diplomacy follows in the footsteps of "Little Breeches" Hay.—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

Mr. Belmont's weekly paper, *The Verdict*, is devoting the energies of its cartoonists to attacking McKinley's "imperialism" and his subservience to England—as witness two reproductions on the preceding page. "Bart," of the *Minneapolis Journal*, on this page, however, represents our Secretary of State as leading the whole world in the diplomacy business. "Bart" admits, however, that we were not quite perfect in our knowledge of geography when we purchased the Philippines from Spain, and gives us two drawings (repro-



THE SAFETY CROWN.

The only hope for people in the king business.
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

duced on this page) *à propos* of our purchase, for \$100,000, last month of the two little islands of Cagayan and Sibutu, which lie just outside of the line fixed in the Treaty of Paris.



JUST A \$100,000 DROP.

ALFONSO OF SPAIN: "Hi, Uncle! You dropped something."—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



AND ALFONSO KNEW HIS LESSON.

UNCLE SAM: "Guess I'd better study up on my geography. Here I've lost two nice little islands by not knowing about them in that little deal with Spain."

From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



THE AVENGER!—From *Punch* (London).



TO PEKING!

JAPAN: "En Avant!"

RUSSIA (aside): "I do hope his motives are as disinterested as mine!"

From *Punch* (London).



THE OLD SICK MAN (the Turk): "Don't worry yourself! They will not harm you. I have been here for several years and am feeling very well, because the doctors never agree."—From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin).

CAN CHINA BE SAVED?

BY TALCOTT WILLIAMS.

CHINESE history for six months past, culminating in the occupation of Peking, and the policy of the United States towards a congress of the powers, to the end of solving the problem of China while maintaining its territorial integrity, its administrative autonomy, its freedom of trade, and its independence from the control of any one nation, has raised three questions that demand an answer after the flood of detail and the roll of battle—first, what has brought the current collapse ; second, is there any path open but the division of China after this headlong violation of international obligation by those in control of the Chinese Government ; and, third, has any such path a practical basis and working precedent, or is the choice restricted either to the rotten administration of the past, now in collapse, or to some new, raw experiment, as yet untried ? To put the question differently, Has the smash of the Chinese Government left any basis on which to reconstruct a government ; was this smash due to causes that affect all or only a part of Chinese administration ; and, if any part is sound, what prospect exists that it will not travel the same path ?

The answer to these questions is that the collapse is of the Manchu, not of the Chinese, half of China, in the administration of the empire ; that the Chinese administration can continue the progress and development of the empire, if the plan on which the imperial customs revenue is now collected be extended, and that this service having succeeded for forty-six years gives a good working precedent for the future.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND RACIAL BASIS.

To the eye, China on the map is uniform ; but it is uniform without being united—of one land without being of one tongue, though of one written word ; and its differences and divisions are at least as great as those of Europe, though less perceptible, less definite, and less defined. To the Chinaman all Europeans seem alike, and to the European all Chinamen. Nor is the common stock and common origin more completely one in China. Yet the area of China proper—half the size of the United States between the oceans—has larger tracts that can support life with a rude cultivation and a smaller extent of waste land than any other stretch in a temperature as favorable. With its broad alluvial plain,

crossed by two great rivers and two lesser, the low mountain ranges which divide these river valleys without separating them, and its complete and easy communication, east and west by its rivers, and north and south by its plains and plateaus, the eighteen Provinces of China offer the largest extent on the earth's surface in which one even fertility, a continuous cultivation, and a relative absence of physical conditions which diversify and divide a region, furnish a vast mixing-board on which men of a common type are produced—the Chinese type. It would be idle to speculate as to the origin of this type. What is clear is that, if one start in the Malayan Archipelago on the one side and on the Tartar steppes on the other, and approach from the south and the north the Yangtse Valley, one passes through successive changes whose mean and average constitute the millions of China. South China inclines toward the Malayan type ; North China inclines toward the Mongol type.

A CASE OF STRATIFICATION.

The great center of China is to be found in the vast homogeneous population which fills the Yangtse Valley, and lies to its north and south. Great as are the two rivers of China, they run from east to west, and produce no differences of climate or of population. There are, instead, in China three distinct masses extending east and west on three lines—the northern third with its Mandarin dialect, the central of more ancient stock, and the southern of the Canton and Foukien dialect. Each of these dialects when spoken is incomprehensible to the others. Each when written can be read by all the others. Where other nations are organized, China is stratified. Where other nations have developed the individual peculiarities of a region, there are in China, instead, vast strata of humanity, separated by language, by dialect, and united by a guild of educated men versed in the same literature, using the same literary language, knowing the same characters, and furnishing recruits to the same official hierarchy. It is, therefore, equally easy to assert that China is a mere heap of sand and that it is the most completely organized of any portion of the human race. It is possible to speak of its millions as possessing an amazing community of intellectual and social life, and as of being so separated by language,

by tradition, and by mutual antipathy as to be divided beyond the divisions of the Continent of Europe. Both are true. The vast population lies separate, apart, and alien—village by village, city by city, province by province, and dialectical region by region. The small, minute, educated portion which is perpetually rising, often from the lowest station to the highest ranks, consists of a continuous, organized, associated body of men, such as few countries possess, even of the highest civilization, and which moves with the same impulses for all.

THE MANCHU DYNASTY.

No theory of China is complete that does not consider both these conditions: first, the existence of a population docile, obedient, without ambition beyond that of the village or town in which they live, which has furnished by education and selection another organized population, whose members have for centuries shown a capacity for carrying on the civil affairs of a great empire, and with equal corruption and skill. When Europe impinges upon the first population, it marches through China without resistance. When it meets the other class in statecraft, it finds itself baffled as it has been by no other Asiatic force. The elemental fact in the history of China for a thousand years, after other thousands in which existing conditions were created, has been a perpetual irruption of Tartar, Mongol, and Manchu conquerors, who furnished to this great double organism, with its dumb millions and its small group of articulate officials, the military power and initiative in foreign and domestic affairs which appears to be lacking in the Chinese character. The capacity for an extended rule has long been furnished in China by some foreign power bred on that great tableland which incloses China landward, where population is sparse and hardship constant. For 250 years—since 1644—this impulse has been given by a Manchu dynasty, which rudely represents, by popular ascription rather than election, the fighting force of a group of Manchu tribes whose chiefs were first settled in Moukden and then in Peking. This Manchu dynasty found China in full communication with Europe. It expelled the European, closed Chinese ports, and found its ready ally in the guild of educated Chinamen who filled the civil posts of the empire. The crux of Chinese history for the past century has been whether this exclusion should end peaceably with the retention of Chinese autonomy, or whether it should end in some catastrophe which would bring about the conquest of China by Europe. What has really taken place, during the past fifty years, has been

the gradual substitution of European ascendancy and initiative for Manchu ascendancy and initiative; while the great civil machine of China has ground on in its corrupt and remorseless way, fed always by men who were rising from the ranks through examinations—by men who buy their way into office after success in commercial life, and by those who belong to the great families, which have preserved in China, as in all countries, their position and influence through many generations.

CHINA A VILLAGE POPULATION.

This dual, one might say triple, organization runs through the entire framework and structure of the Chinese Government. There is stretched out over China a great, dumb, inert mass, for the most part a village population. The highly organized European state has 50 per cent. of its population in its cities. The less highly organized American Union has from 25 to 30 per cent. of its population distributed in its urban centers. A century ago, only 4 per cent. were gathered in the small cities and settlements that constituted such urban population as America had. With each decade the proportion has grown, and, in its growth, has marked a higher and more complex condition of society. In China no one knows to-day, within a hundred millions, what its population is, or within a wide and varying fraction what share of it is gathered in cities. In India not 10 per cent. is thus associated in urban life. It is altogether probable that in China not 5 per cent. is thus gathered. As every Oriental resident is well aware, the tendency is to exaggerate the population of a city, and to underestimate the population of the village communities. There are great tracts in China, such as Dr. A. H. Smith describes, in Shantung, and such as other observers have noted in South and in Central China, where, for an area as large as the Middle States, the population runs, league by league, at the rate of 1,000 to the square mile. Yet through all this vast section there will be, for miles, nothing but a succession of villages. These villages, small creatures of accident, prey of internecine feuds, perpetually fighting for wells, for cattle, and self-protection from robber bands, themselves tyrannized by headmen and bully, yet preserving a rude self-government; their horizon bounded by their own fields, their trade the passing commerce of the peddler, their schooling the strolling teacher, their knowledge of the empire mere rumor, their contact with it limited to tax-gatherers and magistrates, stretch with unvarying monotony over all the vast extent of China. They constitute the vast back-

ground, that appalling reservoir of humanity which perpetually moves the imaginations of men with thought of the yellow terror. Taken individually and collectively, they are, perhaps, the most docile, the least harmful, the most patient, and, so far as the full results of their industry go, the most wastefully industrious beings on the planet. The real final task that lies before the twentieth century is to give this great mass of villages, in which even the great cities of China constitute so small and insignificant a fraction of the whole population, order, honest taxation, the opportunities of industry, the differentiation of manufacture, the development of resource, and the creation of those conditions under which man can become more than a mere drudge, a hind of the fields.

THE TWO POWERS THAT RULE.

The dual forces that rule this human ocean are, first, the "literary" class—the product of endless examinations in the verbiage of Chinese classics—the official hierarchy of China. It is for the most part Chinese; though now that the Chinese education has extended to the Manchus, there are those also from the extreme north of China who share in these examinations, who rise through the appointed grades, and who reach the higher places of the empire. This body, great in its absolute number, small in relation to the Chinese millions who constitute organized China, of which almost every village has one or two, of which larger places have a constantly increasing number, who form the rank and order from which all places, all posts and offices, are selected, and to which any man of ability, whatever be his birth or station, may rise, supplies and officers not only the civil government of China, but furnishes whatever public opinion it has; writes its books, prepares its pamphlets, draws its caricatures, conducts its ceremonies, its business, and most of its worship. It can, when it chooses, stir the dumb, inert mass about it to riot and massacre; and it can also direct its energies, its aspirations and ambitions along any channel that Chinese conservatism has not clogged by the slow deposit of centuries. Confronting this civil organization, whose members regard the profession of arms as vulgar, and courage as the least of human virtues,—with the possible exception of truth and personal honesty,—are the Manchu clans, of which the Emperor's is the chief, and he the chief of his clan and his nation. The dual structure, to which allusion has already been made, runs through the Chinese administration from the Emperor down. There are, at the summit in Peking, four grand secretaries, two of whom are Manchus and two Chinese. The senior post was

always reserved for a Manchu, and Li Hung Chang possesses the distinction of being the first Chinese filling this office. To assist these four principal secretaries are two under-secretaries,—one Manchu and the other Chinese,—and a board of ten assistants.

Together, these sixteen secretaries, divided between the two races, constitute a grand secretariat, which acts as nearly as possible as the cabinet of the Emperor. Less old, but often with as large a share of practical executive power, is the Grand Council, again divided between Manchu and Chinese, with a Manchu as its president. Six administrative boards report to these two executive councils; and here, again, each board has two presidents and four vice-presidents, divided between Manchu and Chinese. In all these boards have in Peking alone a staff numbering 20,000, and throughout their organization runs the same dual machinery that gives the members of the small Manchu military castes and clans a voice in the higher administration of the empire equal to that of the selected class and personal caste which has risen by way of examinations, plus favoritism and personal appointment, from among the millions of Chinese. The provincial civil service is drawn chiefly from this Chinese class. It is much less strongly manned than the higher grades, and there are not more than 2,000 persons employed in it above the rank of assistant district magistrate. Chinese village and town communities are, after the Oriental fashion, self-directing. This civil organization, which plays a part in the administration of China not unlike that of the commissioners and collectors of the Anglo-Indian service, is recruited by appointment from the *literati* class; and an immemorial custom, which not even despotic power dares to break, selects in a crude order of promotion by order of service and priority of commission.

WHAT "CHINA" MAY MEAN.

When one, therefore, says "China," the meaning in mind may be this great mass of 300,000,000 to 400,000,000 human beings, spread in helpless and disorganized villages over 1,300,000 square miles, capable doubtless of organization, if the machinery existed, but in their present condition and for a thousand years past the easy prey of any armed conquest. "China" may again mean the Manchu organization which centers about the Emperor, which has as its heads and chiefs the great men of the Manchu families, about the greater imperial family. "China" may again mean the official hierarchy of China which furnishes education, council boards and staff, and, in the provinces, viceroys

and *taotais*, and that entire framework of educated men which binds the amorphous mass of China together. When one speaks again of the government of China, the historian or diplomat may have his attention directed exclusively to the imperial group and its agencies or to the official hierarchy whose greater figures at the head of their viceroyalties occupy a semi-independent position, with their own revenues, their own army, and their own navy, or he may be considered a blend of both. For the past four months the allied powers have been practically at war with the Manchu half of the Chinese Government, supplemented by some of the conservative Chinese of the Manchu way of thinking, while the great civil body of the empire, headed by Li Hung Chang, has maintained a wise and honorable truce.

Despotic as is the Emperor, he is powerless against the group of Manchu nobles who surround the throne. Powerful as are these nobles and the Emperor together, and capable of ruthlessly dealing with the ablest of Chinese statesmen, as they have more than once dealt with Li Hung Chang, they hesitate at meeting any organized opposition from the viceroys of the empire and, as in the present instance, have finally yielded so far as proclamations and official action went, following the policy which Li and the viceroys urged. Lastly, the official force of a province, omnipotent under ordinary circumstances in the loose organization of an Oriental country, with its undisciplined soldiers, its unpaid police, its scattered constabulary, and an historic habit of leaving to its villages rude self-rule, finds itself powerless when any local superstition or the prejudices, purposes, or policy of the *literati* of the province stir the millions beneath, and start some tide running whose waves and current will wreck any Oriental administration which opposes it. For an Oriental government, imperial, provincial, or local, while strong and despotic against the individual, is weak against the mob and the mass. The individual has no rights. He can be seized, arrested, plundered, "squeezed," punished, or beheaded at will.

CHINESE AND MANCHU FUNCTIONS.

The vast quicksand and quagmire of humanity which is the ruled base of China has, therefore, resting on its uncertain but docile depths these two machines of rule, the Manchu military caste and the Chinese official and *literati* order. One is at the capital, furnishes the military power and guards there, and fills the chief Manchu posts of the empire by birth and family or tribal connection. The other has its share of posts and places at the capital, dividing them with the

Manchu nobles, and holds most of the higher provincial posts. Of the eight viceroys, five are to-day Chinese and three Manchu; and of these two hold the semi-military commands of Chili and Sz'chuen Provinces. Of the fifteen provincial governors, ten are now Chinese and five are Manchus, and of the Manchus three have been appointed to provinces near the capital as a part of the Manchu preparation for the events of the past six months. The broad difference between the Manchu and the Chinese elements of the Chinese Government is that the first are of family and military-caste origin, while the latter reach their posts by the tests of competitive examinations, foolish in their questions, antiquated in their conception, and narrowing in their training, but still tests of ability and character, such as they are. The Manchus hold, for the most part, by no means exclusively, tribal, military posts—their entire public life, it may be, passed in this way. The Chinese hold civil posts with which are associated military offices, authority, and duties. Lastly, the Manchus represent a conquest, now near the inevitable term and collapse of all Oriental conquests; and the Chinese officials, corrupt, venal, possessing every vice of the Oriental official, represent the normal working of the presence of competition, selection, and examination, which has survived the barbarian conquests of centuries, and may easily outlast any contemporary form of government, as it has outlived all that were once its contemporaries.

THE OPPOSING MANCHU AND CHINESE POLICY.

It is due to all these combined causes that a deeper division has for a century past separated these two distinct and opposing elements in Chinese polity, government, and administration, which to the outer world seems so uniform, and which are so little united, cleft by this great division, born of differences of land, of race, of origin, of history, and of daily training. The Manchu has always represented the exclusion of the foreigner. The Chinese official has always represented compromise with him. Such a compromise had already been reached on both sides when the present dynasty appeared and closed the door of China, as the gates of the palace city remained closed until they were battered open by the guns of the relief expedition. The Chinaman of the official class has no love for the foreigner, and no respect but that born of force. He despises his learning, he loathes his manners; he abhors his reform, his administration, his commerce, his education, and his residence; but he sees the value of European progress; he knows its power, he appreciates the force behind

its knowledge and the knowledge which gives it force; and for two generations, the wiser of the official class have sought some adjustment by which they can secure the advantages Europe offers and still retain their own ideals, aspirations, and standards—their view of life, their method and manner of existence, and the official, social, and family system to which they are bred, and in which they firmly believe.

THE MUTUAL STRUGGLE FOR FIFTY YEARS.

The history of the half century past in China has been the ebb and flow of these opposing views of foreign relations. Forty years ago the Manchu, by his tyranny, precipitated the Taiping Rebellion, and by his intolerable insolence brought on the occupation of Peking. The empire was saved, not by the Manchu, but by the able group of Chinese statesmen and administrators, of whom Li Hung Chang, Tso Tsung Tang, and Tsang Kwoh-fan were chiefs. All three, with their associates, came from those great central provinces on either side of the Yangtse Kiang, which are the central core of China. The Northern Provinces feel the influence and admixture of the Tartar, Mongol, and Manchu on their borders, and represent a more turbulent population, as the Boxer outbreak has shown now, and the Nienfei rising earlier, and the long struggle over Kansuh. The Southern Provinces are hated and despised by North and Central China. The men are undersized; they show Malay characteristics, and the solitary recompense is the fighting qualities of the extreme frontier, which the Black Flags showed in meeting the French. The real China is the China of the great valley and plain. There begins its earliest history. Thence came Confucius, and his travels were confined to the space between the Hwang-Ho and the Yangtse Kiang. Out of this central core came the best of China in its early and later development. There its architecture reached its chief triumph. Thence, in this generation, come its statesmen and commanders; and out of this region, if from anywhere, will come those who will reorganize the empire in its present crisis.

No Oriental country has enjoyed such a renaissance as came to China in the thirty years from the time the two Chinese, Li Hung Chang and Tso Tsung Tang, began the suppression of revolt, central, north, and south, to the Japanese War. Two great insurrections were suppressed. Kansuh and Yunnan were recovered, Kashgar was destroyed. The Russian frontier was moved back at Ili. The convention with France conceded Chinese demands. For the first time in centuries, a Chinese was at the head of the Grand Secretariat. The army and navy of Li

was believed to be equal to the ejection of Japan from Korea. A navy as strong had been rebought in South China to replace the one destroyed by the French. The great Chinese viceroys had provided themselves with troops and arsenals, with guns and forts, which were believed to render China a formidable foe to any civilized power. The Japanese War dissipated all. It left the military and civil administration of the Chinese half of the dual structure of the imperial government hopelessly discredited. Into the reasons it is not necessary to enter. Part were temperamental and part due to the utter corruption of Chinese administration. The experience left no one in doubt that commissions organized on the lines and the basis of the customs service was the only method by which the undeniable ability of Chinese administration could be given permanent success.

THE MANCHU REACTION.

A Manchu reaction, after this helpless and hopeless Chinese collapse, was inevitable. The only thing that could save the liberal and reform Chinese party was a Manchu Emperor, who espoused their cause. Kwangsü for a brief season gave this. Two courses were before the duplex composite which constitutes the Chinese administrative machine, based, as it is, on examinations. It could accept the lesson of defeat and learn more of the European, or it could return to ancient ways. The younger members of the Chinese official class demanded the former. Even to-day, after two years of Manchu reaction, eight out of ten Chinese governors are reckoned as liberal and pro-foreign, and five (one a Manchu) out of eight viceroys.

The practical result of this was that, when the Manchu reaction came, the great provincial governments were in Chinese and pro-foreign hands. What took place in Peking was a palace revolution at Manchu hands, with the Empress leading. It swept with it only those provinces most under Manchu influence and about the capital. Throughout, the allied powers have wisely recognized the real China of the provincial administrators, all with one exception Chinese, and he the Manchu, Tuan Fang, sent to Canton to watch Li Hung Chang in this viceroyalty. If, as has been said before, the Manchu part be accepted as the "government," then the Chinese Government is responsible for mob, massacre, the attack on the legations, and resistance to their rescue. If one look beyond the Peking palace to the provincial administration on which Chinese affairs finally rest, the past three months are full of a Manchu palace conspiracy, of which the Empress is the head and Prince Tuan the effective

agent. He was chamberlain and commander of the palace guard, the Husheng, or "glorified tigers," a corps made up of Manchu reactionaries, when the Emperor was deposed September 28, 1898, by the Empress, the ablest ruler of China in the past century, with all the virtues of the Oriental despot and all the vices of the Oriental harem. For a year after, the *Peking Gazette* was crowded with the orders preparing for action, to which foreign ministers blindly closed their eyes. Two armies, Chinese and Manchu, each 75,000 strong, were organized at the capital. A Manchu was placed in command of the Taku forts, Tientsin, and the province of Chili. Hu Ping Chih, a friend of the English and Russian ambassador in 1895, was removed from Shansi, the future retreat of the Empress, and Yu Hsien, a Manchu reactionary, made governor. Kansuh was placed in charge of an anti-foreign Chinaman, Tung Fu Hsiang, whose troops, fresh from the suppression of Mohammedan rebellion, were brought to Peking. The results of this policy through 1899 met the fondest expectations of the Manchu party. For three years,—from 1895 to 1898,—Russia, Germany, and England had seized the territory of unresisting China. Under the Manchu reaction, Italy was rebuffed, English railroad and banking concessions annulled, and one power played off against another. The diplomatic correspondence published six weeks ago by the British Government is a record of the pitiable weakness to which the ministers at Peking had been reduced by this policy. One must have lived in the East, and have seen Europeans and Orientals in contact, to know how blind one may be at what every bazaar knows, and how far Orientals will go in the mingled game of fraud and force when no strong hand and keen eye is near.

THE GREAT TARTAR EBB.

To the palace conspiracy of the Manchu reaction, with such Chinese allies as it had, was at length added the "Boxer" secret society and the famine which a want of rain swept over Northern China. All the elements of an Oriental revolution and uprising were now in full play—famine, a popular and fanatical superstition; a cause which appealed to the soldiery, and a palace conspiracy made up of the Empress behind the purdah, and the chamberlain who commanded the palace guard, and held its gates. Half the overturning in the history of the East rests on these conditions. No one of them alone accomplishes more than some personal change of rulers. United, they change the character of a population, alter the policy of a dynasty, and affect the fate of a race, as this great movement promises to do. Its history

from January 24, when Pu Chun, the son of Prince Tuan, was practically proclaimed Emperor, until August 14, when Peking was stormed by the allied troops, needs no recapitulation; but the supremely able woman, Tsz Hi, whose ability is her own, and whose shortcomings are common to Eastern women, is more than the apparent head of a Manchu reaction. The tenacious defense from Taku to the "Hidden City" is but a part of the ebb of that Mongol power which, six hundred years ago, held all Asia. In all their various forms, Tartar, Turk, Mongol, and Manchu, the great interior races of Asia have ruled at every capital within its coasts. A Turk reigns in Constantinople. A Kajar Tartar at Teheran. A century ago the descendants of the Great Mogul were still at Delhi, and the Central Asian Khanates a half-century longer owned the sway of the descendants of Timur. In China, Ming succeeded Mongol, and was succeeded by Manchu; but, through all, the dominant element has been the warlike races of the north. These dynasties, sprung from the Central Asian steppes, have all used massacre as a familiar instrument of rule. One by one, in this century, they have lost their power and seen the ebb of their fortunes. Whether the Manchu disappears from Chinese affairs or retains under some weak and titular Emperor, like Kwang-sü the shadowy signs of power, the struggle closing in North China and subject to the adjustment of the allied powers is but a part of the ebb of that great tide which rose and drowned the Asian world in blood ten centuries ago, and now recedes in massacre in Turkey and in China alike.

AFTER PEKING.

Whatever be the fate of the Manchu dynasty, Manchuria is plainly won by Russia. Whether a titular occupation only take place or a titular annexation, this great realm passes inevitably into the hands of the power which controls its railroad system. The base of the Manchu dynasty, the source from which come the supplies of men, its ancient capital, Moukden, and the tombs of its ancestors, pass into alien hands. There remains, needed, under the rule of the present dynasty or a new organization, the broad, unbroken reform of China, with its provincial administration, still intact. A campaign against the retreating imperial forces, even though confined to the northern tier of provinces from Chili to Kansuh, may precipitate resistance through interior and Central China, of which Honan is the powder magazine—the most Chinese of the provinces of China. But if the council of the powers which the United States looks to, meets, it must be powerfully influenced and affected by

the precedent and practice of the past half-century in the Chinese customs service, collected for forty-six years by Europeans. For the meeting of such a council itself, auspicious precedent exists. The division of North America cost the civilized world thirty years of desolating war in the last century. The fate of India and the dubious and undecided fortunes of the Turkish empire have cost armed conflict almost every decade in a century and a half.

The Congo International Conference met fifteen years ago in Berlin, preceded by the agreement on Egypt eight years before, and succeeded by pacific agreements, to which every European state has been a party. It has been the chief fruit of that conference, in which the United States was for the first time represented in a body dealing with territory outside of the Americas, that Africa has been partitioned without war between any two European powers. As much may be reasonably expected if a like policy and practice is applied to the infinitely more difficult problem presented by China.

THE FOREIGN IMPERIAL CUSTOMS SERVICE.

In its solution, the great fact is apparent that the Manchu Imperial power has committed suicide; that the Chinese provincial administration offers a government fitted for the people, and familiar with the collection of customs duties under foreign supervision. In May, 1854, when the Triad rebels (the Boxers of their day) entered the native city of Shanghai, the provincial authorities found themselves unable to collect the imperial customs revenue, and the consuls of the United States, England, and France joined in the appointment of an inspector—an act approved by our government, so that our share in this work dates back to the Democratic administration of Pierce and Marcy. By 1860 the Taiping Rebellion threatened the existence of the empire, and Prince Kung, head of the Tsung-li-Yamen, placed in the hands of Mr. H. N. Lay, the Englishman appointed to this work, the collection of customs at the five treaty ports, and proposed that the salt-taxes of southern China should also be administered by him—a precedent to-day of an obvious value. Mr. Lay was succeeded in 1863 by Sir Robert Hart, then a young man of twenty-six. Customs were then collected at 13 ports by a foreign staff of 200 members, and the revenue was 8,500,000 *taels*—then about \$12,000,000. The service in 1899 had 875 members, of whom 85 were American—England, France, and Germany alone having a larger number on the force; the ports number 30, and the revenue collected amounts to 22,500,000 *taels*—about \$15,000,000 at the cur-

rent price of silver. Large as is this service and important the work, it rests on prescription and precedent. It has had only the implied regulation and guarantee of treaty; and when Sir Robert Hart, in 1885, was appointed British minister, he found himself unable to name his successor, at once resigned his place as her Majesty's representative, and returned to his post at the head of the customs service. Nothing could then have seemed more improbable to Sir Robert than his presence as a fugitive in the legation of which he was for a brief period the head, after thirty-seven years' service in the employ of the Imperial Government.

THE FISCAL NEEDS OF CHINA.

The customs service has charge of a revenue marine service, including revenue cutters and cruisers, and of the light and harbor service of China, and of the Imperial college. In 1893 an Imperial postal service was established under its care whose plan, as elaborated by Sir Robert Hart, proposed a foreign postal superintendent at the capital of each province, and a European postmaster in each. This was at first organized only on the coast. In 1896 regulations were issued for acquiring private postal agencies; and while the work of reorganization has been much interrupted and the government keeps up its courier system (Pao Wenkiuh), the principle of intrusting its postal service to foreign hands has been fully recognized by the Imperial administration. An Englishman has always been at the head of this customs service. An Englishman, Mr. R. E. Bredon, was in 1898 appointed deputy inspector-general, with a view to Sir Robert's succession, and over half the force—479 out of 875—is British. While there are appointments from other nations, this has occasioned a constant jealousy among the other powers; but the existence of this service, its successful working for nearly half a century, and the steady extension of its field, shows how easily it could be made the model of an international regulation of Chinese affairs.

If an international council, in accordance with the policy of the United States, were therefore to seek to establish a stable government, capable of maintaining order, protecting foreigners, and paying the indemnity bonds which must be issued,—not unlikely to double the present debt before all costs are met,—the first need must be to establish an adequate revenue and provide an Imperial *gend'armerie* as efficient as the revenue marine service which has cleared the coasts and rivers of China of both smugglers and pirates. No better way can be proposed to secure all this than the plan already in full operation for the

collection of maritime revenues and the maintenance of a maritime police—a Chinese service officered by foreigners. This plan has been tried, has been in operation for over twoscore years, and it has worked with efficiency and without friction. Of the present revenue—estimates in regard to which are, in the absence of any budget, most vague—about one-fourth, 25,088,000 *taels*, come from a land-tax, 12,952,000 *taels* from “*likin*,” an inland and octroi, salt-tax, 13,659,000, and produce taxes, 6,562,000 *taels*. The remainder of the receipts comes from native opium duty, 2,229,000 *taels*, interior customs, 1,000,000 *taels*, and various licenses, etc., 5,500,000 *taels*. Land-tax and *likin* are now shared by the provincial authorities. For every *tael* received by the government, three are believed to be collected. The *likin*, an octroi levied on entrance to provinces, cities, and towns, at ferries and bridges, and often at districts, is a most burdensome and uncertain tax on foreign goods—a sore subject in Chinese internal trade for a generation. Endless protests have been made against its imposition. Its present unregulated levy on foreign goods will never survive any readjustment of Chinese taxes.

The slightest examination of the situation shows the evident necessity of such a reorganization of the collection of revenue in general, and land and *likin* taxes in particular, as will place both these and the maintenance of order in a service officered by foreigners. If this were accompanied by a joint international guarantee of the territorial integrity of the eighteen Provinces, China would receive more than it parted with. The boundaries of territory and of race, which nature has established, which have lasted through two millenniums, and which no conquest has changed, and none is likely permanently to alter, would remain untouched, as they were when they and the termini of the Roman empire inclosed the only two great powers in existence. Within these ancient metes and bounds a swarming village population, whose consumption is to-day insignificant, the annual merchandise imports of China being about 50 cents per capita, where those of civilized countries range from \$12 for the United States to \$66 in Belgium, would be relieved of the pressure of the worst of all taxes, disorder and irregular and corrupt levies, and begin consumption on a scale commensurate with their vast population.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM.

If China could be dealt with, then, on a large, broad scale, with a free hand, what would undoubtedly be done would be to end the Manchu dynasty, to fill the Supreme Council and the

board of control, which is now composed half of Manchus and half of Chinese, with Chinese alone; have these bodies elect their presidents, giving what has been the executive for years for administration, and then organize the Chinese government, instead of, as now, half Chinese and half Manchu, all Chinese, placing the care of internal police and the collection of internal revenue in the hands of commissions under Chinese control, but officered by Europeans upon the same plan and precedent already in operation in the Imperial customs and postal collection of China. An army and navy would only be needed for disorder. The present Chinese machine of administration, with its system of examinations, promotion, selection, and mingled authority, civil and military, material and scholastic, is precisely suited to the temper and needs of the people which has developed it during the last twenty centuries. What is needed is to place at its head, under the joint control of the civilized powers, commissions which will give it just the executive initiative that Tartar conquerors have furnished for centuries.

This is pure theory, but it is theory which runs directly in line with the history of the last fifty years. During that time, bit by bit, China has lost no territory in the eighteen Provinces, except the very small area now occupied on the Liaotung Peninsula, Wei-hei-Wei, Kiaochau, and the hinterland of Hongkong, to which ought, perhaps, to be added the various foreign settlements at Shanghai and elsewhere. Russia has made vast acquisitions; but these are altogether outside of China proper, and for the most part cover territory whose allegiance to China was but slight. What has really been taking place has been the gradual substitution of European influence and control for Manchu rule. This began when the allies secured the free entrance of their subjects over the entire Chinese empire. It was continued by the organization of the customs service under European and American protection. It has been carried a step farther in the post-office. The principle exists in Chinese commercial life in the great steamship lines, which do one-fourth of the trade on the Yangtse Kiang and are owned by Chinese, but are officered by Europeans, for the most part English. It has been carried out, wherever the Chinese had an efficient army, by the presence of Europeans in command, beginning with Gordon and the American Ward; and the same principle only needs to be carried out to leave China to develop its own form of civilization, its own type of life, and its own ideals, gradually assimilating and appropriating the moral principles which underlie European and Christian civilization.

MISSIONS IN CHINA.

A DEFENSE AND AN APPRECIATION.

BY JAMES S. DENNIS, D.D.

(Author of "Christian Missions and Social Progress.")

THE missionary in China has suddenly arrested the vision of Christendom, and is engaging public attention with an interest which is almost tragic. He has become the center of a group of questions and problems concerning which the average man has little information, and upon which he is looking for clear and satisfying light. What is the legal status of the missionary; why is he in such dire peril; what responsibility rests upon him in connection with the present amazing upheaval in the empire; why did he go to China; what has he accomplished,—has he any right to live there, and what is to be done with him in the future? To the ordinary observer of events in the far East, the whole question of missions has become one of much perplexity. In the lurid light of such an unprecedented spectacle as the present condition of China, and under the influence of misapprehension, men say to themselves: If missions lead to this, is it worth while to prosecute them?

To the statesman and diplomat, in their worried hours, unless they are gifted with remarkable poise, insight, self-restraint, and breadth of historic vision, the temptation is strong to hastily place a burden of responsibility upon the missionary enterprise that does not properly belong to it. Many good people who feel sure that missions in the name of Christ have had, and will continue to have, a defensible and even indisputable function in human history, are yet, in the face of the present startling developments, not able to formulate definitely the grounds of their convictions in a way to convince an objector, even if satisfactory to themselves. Meanwhile, the irrepressible critics of the enterprise are seizing the opportunity to depreciate the work of missions in general, and in particular to administer a volume of patronizing scolding to the missionary in China. The state of the public mind in the present crisis is so alert and impressionable that confident and plausible misstatements gain a hearing which otherwise would not be given them.

There is much similarity in the subject-matter and general trend of these critical thrusts; and

it will answer our purpose if we select a few of the more prominent arguments and deal with them *seriatim*.

COUNTS IN THE ANTI-MISSIONARY INDICTMENT.

It is usually intimated, in the form of an invidious comparison, that the consul, the trader, and the diplomat, having won their way and established their position, are acquiesced in by the Chinese with a measure of tolerance, but that the missionary, on the contrary, is a hopeless outcast, who has "not even reached the rank of a necessary evil." This is an amazing assertion, indeed, when we note the fact that missionaries were in China under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church over five hundred years ago. There was an Archbishop of Peking in Marco Polo's day, and he speaks of Christians as occupying no mean position in the thirteenth century. As for the date of the entrance of the Nestorian Christians, it seems more than likely that it was as early as the beginning of the sixth century. Modern evangelical missions began in the first decade of the present century. If any foreign residents, therefore, have "won their positions" in China, they are the missionaries themselves.

The preaching of the missionary is another grievance which is apt to be dwelt upon at some length in these adverse comments. It is usually represented that it is calculated to overthrow Chinese morality, and liable to prove the destruction of the state and the ruin of society. Chinese morality sounds well; but it may safely be said that, in all respects where their moral standards are not in direct conflict with the commandments of God, they are fostered and sustained by missions. It must be confessed, not specially, moreover, to the discredit of missionaries, that they do teach that lying, stealing, licentiousness, adultery, and murder are wrong. They do not patronize and condone infanticide, and they deprecate slicing, quartering, and torturing living victims; nor are they in favor of extortion, bribery, mob violence, and looting. They know a better way to treat innocent little girls than to inflict upon them the agonies of

foot-binding, and thus maim them for life. Yes, in these and sundry other matters, they venture to suggest that Chinese practice, at least, will bear revision. It may be said that these things do not fairly represent Chinese morality. Is it not clear, however, that what a people practise for centuries, regard with more or less complacency, and in some instances with popular approval, offers a fair sample of their practical morals, although it may not have been sanctioned by the authority of Confucius?

THE REAL EXPLANATION OF THE CHINESE ATTITUDE.

In some instances the critic seems to give away his case and yield the main point of his contention by an acknowledgment that the Chinese care little for Christianity. The "fine certificate of religious tolerance" which Lord Salisbury recently gave to the Chinese is quoted approvingly in a recent anti-missionary article, and the writer himself argues that their objections to Christianity are not due to religious motives. This is true, since the Chinese are not, strictly speaking, a religious race. They do not possess devout natures, or cherish strenuous and definite religious convictions. They are a law unto themselves in morals, and look to their Emperor officially, at stated times, to go through the ritual of intercession in their behalf. So far as they have a controlling religious cult, it consists in the worship of their ancestors. Idolatry is common, gods abound, and superstitions—strange, pervasive, dominant—control their outward life and inner experience to an almost incredible extent. It would not be improper, using a stronger word than tolerance, to say that the average Chinese is indifferent to Christianity *per se*. It is to him one more superstition, which he can regard with unconcern. The contention, therefore, that the missionary, *per se*, is an object of loathing simply because of his religious teaching, or as a representative of Christianity, must be made in the face of acknowledged evidence to the contrary.

Moreover, China has already assimilated at least three strange religions—Buddhism and Mohammedanism, both the result of missionary propagandism, and Taoism, a philosophical intruder. Christianity, it must be remembered also, has been handicapped both by malignant slander and by its association with the foreigner. The campaign of venomous literature has been constant and indescribably virulent. Government documents, or what are known as the "Blue-books" of China, teem with vile charges; private tracts and placards of the most fiendish import have been allowed free circulation by the authorities; Chinese gossip has reveled in the

exploitation of the horrible customs and the dangerous ideas of both foreign and native Christians.

It is, then, the missionary, not as a religious teacher, but as a maligned and accessible foreigner, who allures the Chinese mob. His church, his school, his converts, are all regarded as parts of his *entourage*; and, unfortunately, the converts are especially attractive as objects of attack, because it is generally quite safe to smite, and slay, and loot them in the absence of any efficient protection. The causes of this hatred of foreigners are not only immemorial antipathy, intensified, in the present instance, by the exciting clangor of lies resounding throughout the empire. More specifically and directly, they are found in the increasing aggressiveness of the foreigner himself, in pushing trade; in developing new facilities of communication; in launching industrial enterprises; in intrusive prospecting of the natural wealth of the country; in supplanting native resources and economic methods, and in an all-round hustling scramble after the spoils of China,—in all of which he shows scant respect for native predilections and superstitions. The unbearable climax of the whole business, alarming and humiliating to the government and irritating to the people, was the recent political encroachments of European nations upon Chinese territory. The missionary, through no fault of his own, has been compromised even in this, since it has not safeguarded the living to have the dead appropriated as a stock-in-trade for purposes of political aggrandizement.

THE CHINESE CRUSADE ANTI FOREIGN RATHER THAN ANTI-CHRISTIAN.

It is the foreigner, then, in his increasingly menacing rôle, as the despoiler of the empire, who looms up before the Chinese imagination and becomes the true and quite sufficient explanation of the extreme virulence of the present outburst. The fact that the authorities, instead of sternly suppressing, have encouraged these turbulent movements, is an additional cause of their violence. There is abundant evidence, in the records of diplomatic intercourse with China, that duplicity, mingled with the same unquenchable antipathy as is so jauntily alleged to pertain almost exclusively to missionaries, has been long characteristic of Chinese relations with the official representatives of foreign powers. The whole diplomatic body, in fact, is at the present moment the supreme object of Chinese insult and outrage. The attempt, therefore, on the part of those who are offended by missions to seize the occasion and make a scapegoat of the missionary is clearly indefensible and unfair; although not in all instances with a deliberate animus.

THE CHARGE OF COERCION UNDULY EMPHASIZED.

Much is made, in many of these articles under review, of the alleged thrusting of missionaries into the empire under the shelter of coercive treaties, while at the same time the Chinese Government is browbeaten into protecting them from mob violence. The idea of coercion in this connection is usually emphasized by mission critics in a sinister sense, as if the tolerance of Christianity were forced upon the protesting Chinese authorities. There is reason to believe that the clause of toleration was one of the least objectionable features of modern treaties. It is stated, in the "Records of the Shanghai Missionary Conference" of 1877 (p. 407), but without sufficient official verification, that the Chinese Commissioners themselves favored the toleration clauses. None of these treaties, of course, was liked by the Chinese; and every clause, especially those referring to open ports and trade concessions, was the result of a measure of diplomatic pressure. To ignore this, and make it seem that the civilized governments have, in any exceptional sense, introduced Christianity and Christian missionaries into China by compulsion, is to give a misleading impression. They simply safeguarded interests which it was not wise to neglect. It is now, and has long been, an indisputable fact that Christianity is an officially recognized and tolerated religion in China—as much so as Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Taoism.

The allegation that China was coerced into receiving missionaries is not, therefore, sustained, since, as before stated, they were in China more than a thousand years before the modern treaties were made. Protestant missions, to be sure, date from early in the present century; but even they had established themselves as a fixture at prominent centers before the treaties to which reference is made were executed. It is because missionaries were already there, and were American, British, French, German, and other European citizens, having legal rights which any honorable and considerate civilized government would be anxious to protect, that the clauses guaranteeing religious liberty and immunity from persecution were inserted in all the treaties with China. Such clauses have, in fact, been introduced into other treaties with almost every prominent Asiatic government.

To the credit and humanity of the American Government, the clause in its treaty securing religious freedom extends its guarantee not only to American citizens, but to the Chinese converts as well. The toleration clause in the British treaty also includes, by undoubted implication, liberty of conscience to Chinese converts, although they are not specifically named, as in the Ameri-

can. Substantially the same clause exists in treaties with ten Christian nations, and its established interpretation has been understood to secure liberty to Chinese subjects to profess Christianity. This may all be true, and yet it must be noted that any government is entitled to exercise its discretion as to whether it is ever diplomatically wise or possible to exert more than a friendly influence on their behalf.

THE GENESIS AND IMPORT OF THE TOLERATION CLAUSES.

The clause under consideration, which is made to pose as such an unwarranted exaction from China, is found in Art. 29 of the Tientsin Treaty of 1858, and reads as follows:

The principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, are recognized as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Hereafter those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any person, whether a citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who, according to these tenets, peaceably teaches and practises the principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with or molested.

In another form, and under a somewhat different aspect, similar privileges are inserted in the subsequent Treaty of 1869, Art. 8 of which reads:

The United States freely agree that Chinese subjects shall, without hindrance on account of their nationality or religion, be admitted to all schools, colleges, and other public educational institutions, without being subject to any religious or political test; and, on the other hand, his Majesty the Emperor of China agrees that citizens of the United States may freely establish and maintain schools in that empire in those places where foreigners are permitted by treaty to reside.

What is there, in these simple guarantees of liberty of conscience and security against persecuting violence, to excite such excoriating comments as we find in some of the current arraignments of missionaries? Are the privileges accorded so offensive, and the protection from outrage promised so humiliating, that it is not seemly for our government to demand them? They are simply what every self-respecting government expects from every other civilized power; and why should they be sneered at as an indefensible exaction from China? What basis do they afford for the insinuation which is freely advanced, that the missionary—being also a citizen—goes into a kind of moral eclipse when he claims the immunity that is here guaranteed to him? Moreover, is it not beside the mark to hold up the missionary exclusively to contumely in this connection? Is not the government that has secured these guarantees

attacked by the condemnatory scorn of the critic as much, if not more, than the citizen who enjoys or claims their benefit? Do not the churches of Christendom sending and supporting their missionary representatives, and the Christian public sentiment that sustains the enterprise, assume also a measure of the responsibility? Who can doubt, however, that civilized governments, which have almost unanimously insisted upon these guarantees, have acted with wisdom and decision, and with statesmanlike insight into the necessity of such specific guarantees, if their citizens are to live at all in Asiatic countries?

THE MISSIONARY OCCUPATION OF CHINA MORALLY DEFENSIBLE.

It has been coolly asserted, in some of these arraignments, that "his (the missionary's) presence in the interior of China is, in itself, a violation of a solemn compact." Upon what is this bold charge founded, and is it true in view of existing edicts and treaties? There can be no question that the missionary is entitled to a residence in all "treaty ports"—a phrase which now includes cities far removed from the sea-coast. The question, then, concerns those interior places, not mentioned as the open ports. In the Treaty of 1860, between China and France, Art. 8 reads:

It shall be promulgated throughout the length and breadth of the land, in the terms of the Imperial edict of February 20, 1846, that it is permitted to all people in all parts of China to propagate and practise the "things of the Lord of Heaven," to meet together for preaching of the doctrine, to build churches, and to worship: further, all such as indiscriminately arrest (Christians) shall be duly punished; and such churches, schools, cemeteries, lands, and buildings as were owned on former occasions by persecuted Christians shall be paid for, and the money handed to the French representative at Peking, for transmission to the Christians in the localities concerned. It is, in addition, permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the Provinces, and erect buildings thereon at pleasure.

It is claimed that the last sentence of this article, beginning, "It is, in addition, permitted to French missionaries," etc., was surreptitiously inserted in the Chinese text of the treaty by a French interpreter. This may be true; but it is also true that the Chinese accepted it, and it has been in practical operation ever since. If so, then the favored-nation clause of the British, German, American, and other treaties secures to the citizens of those countries the same concession. It has been so understood and interpreted for a generation, having the sanction of usage, as well as the official assent and practical confirmation of the Chinese authorities, who have, upon different occasions, acknowledged and

acted upon it. Jesuits and Roman Catholic missionaries have resided in the interior for a generation. To hold up the British, American, or European missionary to contempt because, under these conditions, he takes up his residence in interior towns, with the consent of the Chinese authorities, and, in peaceable, law-abiding fashion, teaches his religion, conducts his school, establishes his hospital, and ministers in other kindly ways to the welfare of those who accept his teaching and love his person, is manifestly indefensible and gratuitous.

These clauses, let it be noted, have never been interpreted by foreign governments in any denationalizing sense. Chinese Christians are considered subjects of the Chinese Government. They (the clauses) have not been appealed to by missionaries except to parry what is regarded as injustice and oppression, and even then only with the sanction of the consul. They have never been invoked by Protestant missionaries simply to favor the interests of the Christian propaganda. They have been supplemented, moreover, by Imperial edicts and by numerous provincial or local proclamations, granting the same rights in explicit terms. Let there be no more sneering, then, at these clauses; they have served a useful and humane purpose. They have faced the tiger spirit of Chinese fanaticism for more than a generation. The suffering they have averted, and the awful horrors they have averted, it is impossible to estimate. The missionary, then, transgresses no formally acknowledged or openly promulgated Chinese law in teaching Christianity. No officially recognized statute of the empire, at present in force, forbids it; on the contrary, the Chinese Government has repeatedly permitted and sanctioned it. Is it not clear, then, that this question of missionary residence and propagation of Christianity in China is neither legally nor morally under a ban?

While this may be granted, it should also be frankly recognized that the situation is one of extreme delicacy and difficulty; and it behooves the missionary to exercise the greatest circumspection, tact, and wisdom in availing himself of his privileges. He can easily transgress in spirit, if not in practice, the limits of his legal rights, and misuse, if not abuse, the courtesy extended to him. Christian expediency requires rather that he should avoid, as far as possible, giving offense by claiming his rights in a way needlessly to occasion irritation.

ROMAN CATHOLIC METHODS.

No one can deal candidly with this aspect of the subject without referring to the openly ac-

knowledge and deliberately chosen methods of the Roman Catholic priesthood in China, in securing for themselves, through the agency of the French Government, an official standing in Chinese courts, and thereupon exercising a measure of civil authority on behalf of their Chinese adherents. They are able, no doubt, to advance a natural explanation of this comparatively recent arrangement, in view of the fiendish injustice and outrage to which their defenseless flocks are so often subject. It cannot be doubted, however, that this assumption of secular prerogatives is most unacceptable to the Chinese officials, and is a frequent cause of burning irritations. It is viewed by the entire body of Protestant missionaries as a grave mistake in missionary policy. None of them, from considerations both of expediency and principle, would desire to exercise this power of magistracy. This exceptional concession to the Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, however, has been obtained only within a brief period, and cannot be regarded as a sufficient explanation of the universal and perennial antipathy of the Chinese to the foreigner. It can, moreover, be overaccentuated and exploited as an anti-missionary argument, as is the case with the previous history of the Roman Catholic status in China in the elaborate condemnatory essays of such writers as Michie, Gundry, and others, from whom current newspaper critics usually draw their inspiration.

THE MISSIONARY AND THE CONSUL.

The fact that Protestant missionaries, when occasion requires, appeal to their consul is sometimes spoken of to their disparagement. But it should not be forgotten that the position of the foreigner in China under the provisions of the extraterritoriality laws is a peculiar one. The consul, by official appointment, exercises the function of mediator, lawyer, protector, judge, and, in a certain sense, lawgiver on his behalf. The foreign citizen is explicitly directed in the treaties to invariably appeal to the consul when it is necessary that he should have official relations with the authorities. He is not allowed to address officially the representatives of the government without first submitting his case and his communication to his consul. He can be tried, in case of misdemeanor, only by his consul; and all matters subject to regulation and jurisdiction, as between the foreign citizen and the Chinese authorities, must, in order to be legal, be under the supervision of the consul or higher foreign official. Unless this fact is taken into consideration, the appeal to consular intervention may be misunderstood and misinterpreted by an outside observer.

Here, too, is a call for wisdom, consideration, and tact. It is claimed that this matter of consular appeal is abused. A careful study of the subject has not yielded any convincing evidence of this—so far, at least, as Protestant missionaries are concerned. It is the custom of many missionaries to approach the Chinese officials, by permission, in a friendly and informal way, and ask directly as a personal favor any service they may need. This is often done with excellent results, and without the least offense.

There are other objections of lighter weight and more vituperative animus usually aimed at the personality of the missionary, or the quality and purpose of his work. He is sneered at as an ignoramus, or a boor—as not in the same class even with the *litterati*; he brutally offends Chinese susceptibilities, and is quite incapable of living in respectable, decent, and dignified form in a Chinese community. His very mission as a messenger of truth—one of the noblest gifts of Heaven to earth—is pronounced to be an insult to Chinese manhood. It is not worth while to occupy space in any serious attempt to refute or to characterize these statements. Not all missionaries are built upon the same lines: some may err in judgment; some, perhaps, may fail in usefulness; but of the great body of the mission staff in China, these cynical charges are ungraciously and unqualifiedly false.

THE SPIRIT AND PURPOSE OF MISSIONS IN CHINA.

The spirit in which Christian missionaries have entered China is beyond criticism. They obey the command of One whom they love and serve, and Who has the right to send them there. They seek the good of the Chinese; they enter upon a life of toil, sacrifice, and danger, with the unselfish purpose of giving priceless gifts to an alien race. They offend no law of courtesy, kindness, manliness, or honor in taking up their residence among the Chinese to teach them the truths of Christianity, to introduce facilities of education, to bring the blessing of healing, and minister to them in other helpful and humane ways. There is no need to apologize for this attitude towards humanity; would that it were more common in the world! When Christ sees fit to ask the pardon of the human race for His ministry in the Incarnation, then His missionaries may ask forgiveness for entering China. Until then, let them go bravely on with their high mission. Their attitude is not one of intrusion and offensive coercion; on the contrary, it is one of deference and respect for the personal freedom and dignity of the Chinese. They are willing to toil on unnoticed and unhonored; they bide their time, and wait for converts during years of apparently fruit-

less effort, as did many of China's first missionaries. They ask the simple boon of access to the intelligence and the higher moral natures of the people. They do not seek to browbeat, intimidate, deceive, or betray a single Chinese; but rather to reach him by gentle persuasion, and a manly and tender appeal to the untrammelled conscience and the unfettered will. The very atmosphere of their approach is liberty to both parties—to the teacher and the taught. No Chinese ever has been or ever will, by any legitimate missionary method, be compelled to embrace Christianity.

THE BOON OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN CHINA.

This liberty is an indisputable human right, and is, by common consent, one of the chief insignia of civilization. There is no source of authority, human or divine, which assigns to any government the right to suppress or withhold liberty of conscience in religious worship, so long as the laws of universal morality and justice are not violated in the use of that liberty. These rights of conscience must be forever undisturbed so long as they are not abused. The formal recognition by Western governments of any claim on the part of the Chinese authorities to the legal right to prohibit Christianity in the empire, either in the case of foreign residents or Chinese subjects, would be an historical and moral reversion of dismal and portentous import. The present-day sponsors of the higher liberties of mankind will never, let us be assured, play so cowardly and effeminate a rôle upon the stage of modern history.

There is nothing in this statement which intimates that it is in any sense the proper function of Christian statesmanship to propagate Christianity by force. This would be, at once, a regrettable and dangerous error. It suits the present temper of the Chinese Government, under the spell of a fiendish reactionary delirium, to assert unparalleled prerogatives; but this is only a spasm of barbarism; it is not the real China. There are millions of the best people in the empire who view the present chaos of horrors with sorrow, despair, and lamentation. A demented China means tragedy, as we now well know; but a sane China is capable of international amenities. China, restored to her senses, would be regarded as a triumph of diplomacy and civilization, if it proves to be the issue of present events. There is a noble reform element in the empire, which two years ago had the leadership of the Emperor himself. It will no doubt be utilized by Western powers in the coming adjustment of the new political China to an era of enlightenment and progress. The partition of China, as sober statesmen, no doubt, fully realize,

would involve the greatest peril of modern history, and is outside the pale of practical politics, without endless vexations and an eventual outlay so stupendous that it would threaten to impoverish Christendom. The empire, whether as a whole or in part, must be reorganized as China. The government should be left in Chinese hands, chastened and restrained by a wholesome respect for international obligations, pledged to a *modus vivendi* with civilization, and reconciled to an "open door" of political, social, commercial, and religious access on the part of Western nations. This is, in the end, best for China.

THE RECORD OF MISSION ACHIEVEMENTS.

The Christian missionary can then do a beneficent and increasingly effective service to the Chinese people by imparting to their social evolution the invaluable tonic of modern education, combined with higher ethical guidance and Christian faith, so far as they are inclined to cherish it. Notable results are already apparent in spite of exceptionable difficulties.

The evangelical church membership of China is now about 100,000, indicating that the Christian community of all ages, without restriction to communicants, is not far from 400,000. Roman Catholics number, probably, 1,000,000; so that, in round numbers, there is a population of nearly 1,500,000 Christians in the empire. There are slightly over 2,500 Protestant foreign missionaries, including married and unmarried women, and the native evangelical associates of the missionary in religious work number 5,000. The total of all foreigners in China, including missionaries, merchants, and all classes of non-Chinese residents, is probably about 20,000.

The total of higher educational institutions under Protestant auspices is 281—distributed as follows: Universities and colleges, 12; theological and training schools, 66; boarding-schools, seminaries, and high-schools, 166; industrial training institutions, 7; schools or classes for teaching medicine and nursing, 30. Besides these, there are numerous village common schools and kindergartens. There are gathered, in these higher institutions, 9,964 pupils—making, with the addition of an estimated attendance of 30,000 in the common schools, a total of about 40,000 pupils under instruction. We are not able, at the present writing, to include any of the statistics of Roman Catholic effort.

There are 23 mission publishing-houses and printing-presses, issuing annually, according to latest reports, 2,640,000 volumes. The fine Shanghai Press of the American Presbyterian Mission is, easily, the most prominent of these literary agencies. The call, in recent years, for

Western literature in Chinese dress has taxed to the utmost the resources of these presses. The issues of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge, and the five other tract societies, have been unprecedented. The Religious Tract Society of London makes an extensive contribution of valuable literature to the Chinese vernaculars. The Bible is translated into 24 distinct languages or dialects of the empire, and is widely distributed.

In 124 Protestant mission hospitals and 240 dispensaries from which recent reports have been received are treated annually 1,700,500 patients. There are still 20 hospitals and 31 dispensaries concerning which no record has come to hand. Orphanages and foundling asylums under Protestant care number 9; leper asylums, 11; schools for the blind, 10; opium refuges, 61; Young Men's Christian Associations, 47; and similar organizations for young women, 7. There are efforts also in the interest of temperance, purity, and the abolishing of foot-binding; the latter movement not being exclusively missionary, but favored and supported by an influential group of ladies belonging to the families of merchants, diplomats, and other foreign residents. The total value of mission property is not at hand as I write, but it must be many millions of dollars.

These are some of the illuminating and beneficent results of the missionary occupation of

China. They are forces to conjure with in the social, intellectual, and moral transformation of the empire. To them, as much as to any other agency, let us frankly acknowledge it, was due the reform movement that so lately startled the conservative reactionists. Christianity, if true to itself, cannot enter China without reforming it in many radical ways. These throbbings of a higher life, these half-conscious thrills of destiny, are pulsing in some of the best blood of China; and, as is already true in Japan, they will contribute a measure of capacity and solid worth to the public service of the state which in time will act a decisive part in molding the national destiny of one-fourth of the human race. Let us not be dismayed by the present phenomenal international experience in the far East! It means, clearly: Hands off China merely for purposes of conquest, partition, or political aggrandizement; hands on China to secure at least the decencies and necessities of orderly government, the observance of treaty obligations, the "open door" to trade, civilization, human intercourse, and religious liberty. This will insure, at the same time, the highest welfare of the Chinese, and unveil to them the hidden import of their long-neglected and scorned opportunity to fulfill their mission in the sisterhood of nations, to which they rightfully belong.

JAPAN'S PRESENT ATTITUDE TOWARDS CHINA.*

BY JOSEPH KING GOODRICH.

THERE is but little in the deportment of the people to indicate that Japan is again engaged in something very like a war with China, and conditions are very different from what they were in 1894. Then, the excitement reached to the remotest corner of the land; to-day, there is nothing to be noticed outside of the ordinary routine of life in such a place as this; and even in Tokyo and at the ports, one would have to look closely to detect the fact that something unusual was occurring. It seems as if the people realize that they are now coöperating with other civilized powers in a deed of common humanity, and it lends a dignity to their demeanor which was conspicuously absent in the whirl of excitement that marked every step six years ago. At

that time there was a disagreeable anti-foreign spirit apparent, which led to sundry unpleasant encounters; it has not entirely disappeared, but to-day the people are reasonably considerate of all—even the Chinese are not molested. There is little reason for the Japanese feeling unkindly toward the Chinese who remain here, for most of them are far from being in sympathy with the Boxers, and most of them are perfectly outspoken in their adverse comments upon the unfriendly acts of their government. I can but think that when peace is restored in China, and the other powers acknowledge Japan's part in the war,—as, surely, they must do,—the result will be of pleasing benefit to foreigners in Japan.

Too much importance can hardly be attached to the telegraphic communications which have recently passed between the Emperor of China and the Emperor of Japan. On July 11 his Excellency Li Sheng-toh, the Chinese Minister to

*This article, from the pen of an experienced observer of Japanese politics, was written at Kyoto, Japan, on July 24 last, and received at the office of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS on August 13.

Japan, called at the foreign office in Tokyo and submitted the following telegraphic message addressed to the Emperor of Japan :

HIS IMPERIAL CHINESE MAJESTY'S TELEGRAM.

We, the Emperor of China, to His Majesty the Emperor of Japan, Greeting !

Our country being on terms of intimate friendship and mutual reliance with Your Majesty's country, it was a great shock to Us that the chancellor of Your Majesty's Legation was about a month ago attacked and put to death. Profoundly touched by this sad event, We caused steps to be taken for the arrest and punishment of the perpetrators of the crime. But the Powers, suspecting that in the prevailing conflict between Our Christian and non-Christian subjects Our Government was supporting the non-Christians against the Christians, attacked and occupied the forts at Taku. Thus hostilities were commenced, and the situation has become more and more complicated.

From the general trend of events in the world, We are persuaded that the East and the West confront each other ; and that Your Majesty's country and Ours are the only Powers that maintain their ground in the East. It is not China alone which is made the object of the ambitious longings of the Powers that assert their strength in the West. Should China fail to hold her own, We are afraid that Your Majesty's country might also find the situation untenable. The interests of the two countries are therefore linked together, and We venture to hope that Your Majesty may find it possible to set aside for the present questions of minor importance and make common cause with Us in the maintenance of Our general interests. China is at the present moment so completely occupied in conducting military operations for the suppression of the insurgents, that it is impossible for her to take proper measures for averting the dangers from outside and for bringing the complication to a successful termination. We are therefore constrained to rely on the support of that country which like Our own dominions forms part of Asia.

Under these circumstances, We present this message to Your Majesty in the spirit of absolute frankness and truthfulness, and beg that Your Majesty will take such action as may be deemed adequate in Your judgment to restore order and peace under Your powerful guidance. We also most earnestly beg Your Majesty to favor Us with a reply.

The 7th day of the sixth month of the 26th year of Kuang Hsi (July 3, 1900).

In answer to the above the following reply from the Emperor was handed to the Chinese Minister, who doubtless at once transmitted it by wire :

HIS IMPERIAL JAPANESE MAJESTY'S REPLY.

We, the Emperor of Japan, to His Majesty the Emperor of China, Greeting !

The report that We received some time ago announcing the murder of Sugiyama, Chancellor of Our Legation at Peking, has so far lacked all positive confirmation, and it has therefore been a cause of profound grief and regret to Us to be assured of the correctness of that report by the telegram just received from Your Majesty.

Since that sad event took place, the insurgents in the northern parts of Your Majesty's dominion have become more and more violent and their lawlessness has been unbounded. They have, We are informed, not only surrounded and attacked the foreign diplomatic Representatives, the members of their suites, and other foreigners, but have even massacred the Minister of a certain Power. We are further informed that Your Majesty's troops fail not only to afford any relief to the foreign Ministers, but to suppress the insurgents. We need not remind Your Majesty of the fact that under International Law diplomatic agents are entitled to the highest respect and that their person is inviolable. Any offense against their person is therefore a direct contravention of International Law, and it is not necessary to point out the extreme gravity of the responsibility that would be incurred when the offense consists in their murder.

If Your Majesty's Government earnestly suppresses the insurgents and rescues the foreign Representatives, their suites, and other foreigners, We trust the difficulties of the situation might not prove insurmountable. We wish Your Majesty to understand that the suppression of the insurgents and the rescue of the foreign Representatives are duties which Your Majesty owes no less to Your Own country than to the other nations of the world, a duty the fulfillment of which does not admit of the least delay or hesitation. Since last month the Powers have dispatched large forces to Tientsin, and Japan has likewise found it necessary to send her troops. In taking this step the object kept in view has been to suppress the insurgents and to rescue the diplomatic Representatives and other foreigners. Beyond that the Powers have no ulterior motive. If Your Majesty's Government should lose no time in rescuing the Ministers of foreign nations from their dangerous position, such action on Your Majesty's part would, We trust, be recognized as an indication of Your Majesty's sincere wish to avoid rupture with foreign nations, and it would lead to the mitigation of the dangers impending over Your Majesty's country.

Our Government, as is known to Your Majesty, entertains feelings of cordial friendship for Your Majesty's country, so that should circumstances make it necessary Japan will not decline to use her good offices on behalf of China. If Your Majesty's Government, therefore, at once suppress the insurrection and actually rescue the foreign Representatives, Japan will be prepared to use her influence, in eventual negotiations between Your country and foreign nations, with a view to conserve the interests of Your Empire.

It is Our earnest wish that this telegraphic reply to Your Majesty's message will receive the serious consideration of Your Majesty.

The 13th day of the 7th month of the 33d year of Meiji (July 13, 1900).

The contrast between the spirit shown by the two monarchs is most marked : that of the Chinese Emperor, in spite of the fact of his being supposed to be imbued with a spirit of progress, evincing a desire to establish a common cause between China and Japan against "the ambitious longings of the powers that assert their strength in the West." The reply of the Japanese Emperor gives us much encouragement to

believe that he and his advisers appreciate fully the responsibility which they took upon themselves just one year ago, and the comments of the native press upon this telegraphic correspondence augur well for the spirit of the people of Japan. The *Japan Times*, printed in English, but under Japanese editorship, says :

Whether or not such help will be forthcoming from this country, entirely depends upon whether or not China will yet disown the barbarous and suicidal actions of the group of statesmen now dominant in Peking. It should be distinctly understood that her fundamental national policy of enlightened progress absolutely precludes Japan from associating her interests with those of any country, however closely allied to her by ties of history or race, that blindly and willfully refuses to identify itself with the higher interests of humanity and civilization. That the statesmen at Peking painfully fail to grasp this evident truth, is unfortunately made too plain by the silly proposal made by them that Japan should "make common cause with China" against the ambitious designs of the Western nations! The proposal is, indeed, so absurd that it has deservedly been ignored altogether in his Majesty's reply. There will be no hope for China unless and until her leaders awake to the truth that the real danger to China or any other Asiatic nation lies in its obstinate refusal or its innate incapacity to take its place in that march of general progress which is irresistibly sweeping away all that is opposed to its course. Had China recognized this truth and acted upon it in the same whole-hearted manner as we have done, she could not possibly have been overtaken by a disaster like that which now hangs over her.

There is only one diplomatic journal in Japan, the *Gaiko Jiho*, and its opinion as to Japan's attitude in the present crisis is that it is important for the country to choose one of the three following-named courses :

(1) To take a similar stand with the powers in their concert, and to execute their resolution passively.

(2) To propose to undertake, voluntarily, a greater share of work than the other powers, provided that they do not object to it.

(3) To consent to undertake a greater share after the other powers, in consequence of their inability, begin to depend upon Japan.

The first is entirely opposed to the spirit of this people, and may be set aside without comment. Of the second, it may be said that it seems to be the course which the powers would thrust upon Japan ; and, in this connection, reference may be made to the dispatch from the foreign community at Shanghai, saying that it is the universal opinion there that should Japan fail to rescue the foreigners in Peking, she would be guilty of an unpardonable crime against humanity. The Japanese press strongly, and it must be admitted, naturally, protests against this charge. Japan has already shown

her willingness to do more than her share ; but the question of rescuing the foreigners in Peking cannot be solved by sentiment alone—the physical obstacles are serious ; and it is not yet made patent that Japan is bound to incur the enormous pecuniary expense and to make the necessary sacrifice of human life in accomplishing that which is as much the duty of others to do as it is that of Japan. Indeed, we of the United States are the last to take this position against Japan ; and there is a growing disposition in Japan, and in China, too, to hold us partly responsible for the present distressing state of affairs. Posing as the champion of freedom, liberty, and advancing civilization, it was our duty to have aided the efforts made by the young Chinese Emperor, almost three years ago, to start his great nation along the path of progress. We did nothing then, perhaps because we could not. But he must have been blind indeed who did not see, three months ago, the grave menace that threatened the foreigners in China ; and then was the time for us to have sent a few regiments to Taku and some men-of-war, to be ready for an emergency. We could have done it without arousing the jealousy of other powers ; Japan could not have done so.

The consensus of opinion seems to be in favor of the third line of action, and encouragement in this direction is found in the assurances that Russia has ceased to view Japan's activity with jealousy. In the early days of the present trouble, Russia was inclined to view with considerable suspicion Japan's attitude ; but, seeing the Japanese forces coöperating with those of other nations and showing themselves especially valiant in the Taku engagement, Russia seems to have come to understand the Japanese better, and the firm policy of the Japanese Government, which has made it possible for its contingent to occupy an important position among the allies, is being welcomed by Russia. It is further reported that Russia is very anxious that Japan keep on increasing her strength in the field, and declares that Japan will be the only power able to maneuver a large army in China under the existing circumstances. Some idea of the expense which Japan is assuming in this campaign may be gathered from the fact that it is estimated that, for maintaining one army division in Northern China for the period of one month, a sum of about 4,000,000 *yen* (say, two million gold dollars) will be required ; and if, as is more than probable, another division has to be sent, the expense by the end of November—and hostilities can hardly be brought to a close before that time—will be in the neighborhood of twenty million gold dollars. Surely, but little complaint can

fairly be made of Japan's promptness! With the landing of the last sections of the Hiroshima army division,—which, by the way, is organized as a complete army corps in every branch of the service,—the Japanese force in China will be about 22,000 strong, which will be sufficient to hold the situation at Tientsin, but hardly enough to effect the much-desired relief of the foreigners in Peking; and it is pleasing to note that the Japanese Government has shown unmistakable evidence of its willingness to respond to the mandate of civilization, with the approval of the world, in such a manner as shall enable her to do the work promptly, thoroughly, and efficiently.

Military affairs in Japan are not more active than was to be expected. The prompt mobilization of the army division at Hiroshima, and its dispatch to China with something of the same expedition that marked the action of the authorities six years ago, is not more than was looked for; and it was all done without any of the former cry of "making the glory of Japan's arms shine beyond the sea." In view of the probability of there being further calls for troops for China, it has been decided to omit the usual autumn army maneuvers. General staff duty is now active in barrack and armory inspection, and it is likely that at least one more division will soon find itself receiving that practice in its profession which comes from an actual campaign.

For home defense nothing in the least unusual is taking place, and it is impossible for one here to ascertain the source of, or to verify, those absurd rumors that appear in the home papers as to Japan's placing live torpedoes in any (not to say all) of her harbors. The agents of mail steamers have not been notified of this, and we have yet to learn of a "torpedo pilot" having been placed upon any vessel entering Nagasaki, Kobe, or Yokohama harbors. There is considerable activity at the navy-yards, but it is of the open kind that is to be expected when Japan is working harmoniously with other powers in a common cause. There must always be a certain amount of uncertainty as to what Russia will do next; yet while Japan has not diminished aught of her watchfulness, it does appear as if there were less danger of friction between Russia and Japan now than there has been for many months, although the imminence of an outbreak of hostilities between those two nations which has been such a constant theme with the American and European papers has never been evident to a careful observer who is right on the spot.

The authorities are urging upon the people the importance of showing hospitality and affording all possible assistance to the refugees who are arriving from China in increasing num-

bers. Many of the unfortunates have been laboring hard in the cause of their religion, while others deserve no less sympathy for the cruel loss inflicted upon them by the present disturbances. Some—indeed, a goodly number—were barely able to make their escape with what they wore on their backs and carried in their hands, and have landed here in a state of absolute distress. The Japanese press voices the hope that the government and people will see that these unfortunate persons have no cause to regret their fleeing to these shores from the scenes of bloodshed and pillage which are to be met with in some parts of the neighboring empire. Unfortunately, this humanitarian spirit is more than offset by the heartless spirit of pecuniary greed that possesses the hotel-keepers; and prices at places to which the refugees from China would naturally go are being advanced to rates which must deplete the slender purses of those who would pay if they could; the impecunious are being cared for by the charitable as well as is possible.

The gist of local politics is given by the *Japan Times*, in the following:

While the public attention is absorbed by the Chinese problem, an important political development is silently and slowly taking place among us, which, when consummated, will signalize the opening of a new epoch in the constitutional history of Japan. We mean the organization of a new political party by Marquis Ito. The idea of forming a party such as will command the confidence of the people and be able to undertake the organization of a strong and efficient cabinet has been in the mind of the veteran statesman ever since he left office just two years ago. That he has been steadily directing his efforts to the realization of his object must have been patent to anybody who has followed his remarkable lecturing tours throughout the country during the past twelve months—one of the themes which he dwelt upon with most emphasis in his speeches being the necessity of a well-disciplined and responsible party.

The offer of the leadership of the Liberal party last May was somewhat embarrassing to the marquis; but he put it aside, and now he is about ready to launch his new party. The platform has not been published, but it must not be supposed that even Marquis Ito can lead the Japanese people by the nose, and strong opposition to his scheme is heard in certain quarters. It would seem as if the present were an inopportune moment for making such a radical change as this new party contemplates; but many of the leading statesmen contend that the necessity for party reformation is so urgent as to brook of no delay, even if the country be engaged in war, for the attitude of the new cabinet will be in entire harmony with the present plan of campaign, and its capacity for handling matters of wide importance will be greater than that of the present one.

PRESSING NEEDS OF THE PHILIPPINES.

BY MAJOR JOHN H. PARKER, 39TH INFANTRY, U.S.V.

[Major Parker, who won great fame with the machine-guns in Cuba, and who wrote a graphic little book entitled "The Gatlings at Santiago," has now been for some time in the Philippine Islands. He has written for this magazine on previous occasions, and we have learned to value very highly his keen powers of observation and his downright frankness and sincerity. Just as we were going to press with our August number, we received from him the following manuscript, mailed on June 7 from his post in the Philippines. It is not too late to give it to our readers now. It may be relied upon as representing things exactly as the writer sees them, without a suspicion of party bias. In a letter accompanying his article, Major Parker remarks: "In an official report of conditions in my jurisdiction for May, 1900, I stated that not a hostile shot had been fired therein since February 12, 1900, and only one breach of the peace had been committed—that by a native, drunk on bino. I advance the doubt whether a territory of equal population could be found in the State of Kentucky, for the same period, with as good a record." Major Parker is now at Tanauan, Batangas Province, Luzon.—THE EDITOR.]

THE war has become for all practical purposes a thing of the past. Travel is as safe as it was in the West from 1870 until the suppression of train-robbing; fields are being cultivated, and trains of pack-ponies are carrying the produce of the country to market. People are poor, and nearly every family wears mourning; but the cheerfulness of Oriental fatalism tempers their grief, and the habits of obedience formed during three hundred years of slavery to friar, Church, State, and tax-farmer have well prepared them for new masters. It is here the American must pause to realize his own need of information on the habits and ideas of these new fellow-citizens, before forming a judgment of their characteristics and necessities. The preconceived ideas of Americans about them are nearly all wrong.

1. Although they are fighting in a manner generally contrary to the laws of civilized warfare, yet they are not an uncivilized people.

They are uniformly polite, both to each other and to foreigners; they are intelligent, and generally able to read and write; they are a very religious people; they have always been accustomed to a system of law and legal settlements of disputes; they have produced generals, poets, lawyers, painters, and business men of recognized ability—some of world-wide reputation; and they are eager to learn the ways of advanced civilization.

2. Like ourselves, they are a mongrel race, formed by the survival of the hardest-lived traits in a varied and cosmopolitan (Oriental) ancestry. Far from being a degenerating race, they are a virile, young, and healthy new stock, probably destined, from their geographical position and racial peculiarities, to play an important part in the great drama of the proximate future in the neighboring Orient. Their race type is to their world what that of the Americans is to the Western civilization. Combining many of the best

traits of their varied ancestry, they have, however, contracted the vices that usually flow from contact of feebleness with unscrupulous strength. Long used to haughty dominance, they are sometimes servile; never having been able to resist by force, they have learned to use falsehood and deception as a shield; accustomed to play an inferior part, their learning is too often superficial. But they are hospitable, charitable, musical, and ambitious. Surely, these are good traits on which to build.

3. Numerically, they are a very strong race, and they have the richest garden-spot of the world for their heritage. They are capable of prolonged and sustained effort, are constant under reverses, and as industrious as the necessities of their habitat require. With these premises, the following needs stand out saliently, and are easily within the gift of the American Government.

I. *The first and great need is peace.*

This means, not merely a successful termination of the existing strife, now practically suppressed, but the assured tranquillity that would come from some definite, settled, and published policy. In other words, the intentions of the United States with reference to the future government of the islands should be clearly and decisively expressed by the supreme law-making power. It is not enough for the President to say this or that; these people know too well the vicissitudes of politics, and that in matters of this kind no President is bound by the personal statements of his predecessor, even if that predecessor should have been himself. But a joint resolution of Congress, or an act of Congress, they would understand as a definite and final statement of the intentions of our people toward them. They would then, either in joyful anticipation or in quiet resignation to the inevitable, settle down to adjust themselves to new conditions.

It is not possible for them to do this under

present conditions. Those who are inclined to be friendly to the American rule fear that, in case of American withdrawal, they would become victims of the extremists; while those who are fanatically opposed to American rule argue that, as Congress gives no decisive word, the American occupation is likely to soon end. They argue, and rightly, that if we mean to stay, there can be no harm in Congress saying so, and thus ending their suspense; but that so long as the Americans themselves are undecided, the Filipinos are justified in pushing their contentions. They state that, since the service of the present military force of the United States will expire by limitation on June 30, 1901, it is therefore clearly the intent of Congress to give independence at that date. This uncertainty of conditions retards business and social interests; it operates to the detriment of everybody in the islands, and, unless made necessary by exigent political reasons at home, should be at once ended by decisive and authoritative action on the part of Congress.

II. *A system of public schools, with government aid and superintendence.*

Under the Spanish rule, the friars, nuns, and priests did a great deal in this line, but at present there is no organized system in operation. The rifle may secure temporary cessation of strife; but the rifle is an expensive and barbarous method of keeping the peace. It appeals to the worst side of human nature. The schoolhouse, on the other hand, brings domestic tranquillity through the cultivation of the higher attributes. Through education alone can we hope for any permanent tranquillity. When we get these people educated to see there is more entertainment in contesting an election—or other principle—in court than by bullets, we shall have made a long step forward.

The country is divided into *municipios*, and these are divided into *barrios*. Tanauan, for example, is a *municipio* of about 60 square miles, divided into one *pueblo* and 26 *barrios*, with a total population of 20,000. There are 27 schools in operation in this *municipio* at the present date (June, 1900), with a total attendance of 1,782. But there are no schoolhouses, few books, and no funds. The teachers are paid by subscription, and less than one-third of those of school age are in attendance. This *municipio* is far in advance. Many have no schools at all in operation, and many others none outside of the central *pueblo*.

Government aid should be given in the following directions:

1. Every *barrio* with 50 pupils of school age should have a school, and the teacher should be

partially paid by the government of the islands from public revenues. A *per-diem* allowance (Mex.) of two cents per pupil would be ample assistance in this direction, an equal amount being paid by the *barrio* or *municipio*.

2. Every such *barrio* should have a substantial schoolhouse. The material should be furnished by the government, the labor of construction by the *barrio*.

3. A graded system of uniform text-books should be supplied by the government—primary, intermediate, and advanced—at the bare cost of printing, together with all other necessary facilities in the way of maps, globes, charts, blackboards, etc. This supply should be lavish, and should include a good course in the English language and literature.

4. A trained American teacher should be installed as superintendent of public instruction in each *municipio*. He should establish the necessary schools, supervise their operation, conduct classes in English and teachers' institutes, and be paid entirely by the general government of the islands.

This system would necessitate a bureau of public education, and would cost some money; but it is very much cheaper than military suppression of Spanish-Malay insurrections. The schoolhouse means stability, law, order, and intelligent appeal to judicial arbitrament instead of arms.

III. *Improved appliances for agriculture.*

It is positively pitiable to see the tools the farmers work with. Plows, harrows, hoes—everything dates about 300 B.C. They get less than half of the products of the ground, owing to their crude methods, and the ground could be made, by proper cultivation, to yield three times what it does. There is a great market here for American agricultural tools. At the same time there is a field for the agricultural bureau of the government to work in. The cocoa industry is much troubled in some parts of the islands by a blight which has its origin in some kind of an insect. A scientific study should be made of this, with a view to its prevention, just as the fruit industry of northern New York is constantly protected by scientific study of conditions. Similarly, there is raging in southern Luzon, and has been for three years, a pestilence among the cattle. The writer very well remembers the "Texas Fever" plague in the Mississippi Valley from 1878 to 1885. This has been effectually rooted out by scientific prevention. The same kind of work should be done here.

IV. *Facilities for transportation and communication.*

These are now of the most primitive description. There is only one short railroad, and this

does not tap the richest part of the island. The most paying thing I know of in the way of an investment at the present time would be a railroad from Manila to Batangas, all easy country, with few grades and few bridges, and tapping the garden-spot of the island of Luzon. Military telegraphs are going up, but commercial lines will have to keep pace with the development of the country. There are along this line great forests, rich mines, flourishing towns, and vast fertile fields, in a high though crude state of cultivation. The products are sugar, syrup, copra, oranges, bananas, tobacco, lumber, and various manufactured articles. Coal and copper can be found in abundance. The northern provinces are said to present similar conditions. Such things as electric and gas light plants,

street railroads, etc., must follow in their turn. Water-power is frequent, but not utilized.

V. *Readjustment of the tariff relations with the United States, so as to draw these people into more intimate business relations with our country.*

This was illustrated so recently in the case of Porto Rico that no discussion is necessary.

There are many other much-needed things; but the above are the most pressing needs of these islands. Only one of these can be even begun by the military government—the school problem. This has been begun; locally, as in the case of the *municipio* cited, and in a more general manner by the appointment of a suitable officer to take charge of this department and elaborate a system. What can be done by the military is being done promptly and intelligently.

AMERICA AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF CHINA.

BY THE REV. WILLIAM N. BREWSTER.

(Of the Hinghua Mission, Methodist Episcopal Church.)

IT is plain to every man in the street that the form of the future government of China must be settled largely by the powers that are now sending armies and fleets to save, if possible, the lives of their ministers and citizens in North China. It is equally axiomatic that the monstrous abortion misnamed a government that caused or permitted the present situation to become possible will not be continued. The Empress Dowager and all her crowd of reactionary, learned, and venerable fools have numbered and finished their own days. They opened the cave of Æolus, and the storm that burst forth will sweep them off the earth.

But what next? There are three possible methods of procedure:

1. Restore the rightful Emperor, Kuang Hsü, to the throne.
2. Establish a new dynasty under a protectorate.
3. Partition the empire among the powers.

Of these three plans, the first is by far the best. But at present it is not known whether his Majesty is still living or not. He is in the hands of his bitter enemies. We know that these villains are desperate and without conscience. There is but faint hope that he has been spared. A large number of influential Chinese and Manchus have recently sent a joint petition to the governments at Washington, London, and Tokyo asking them to unite in an effort to restore Kuang Hsü to his

throne. If he is alive and able to assume the responsibility, it seems in every degree probable that upon the entrance of the allied armies into Peking this rightful ruler will be at once restored to power. Under such circumstances, it is practically certain that his government would be, for a time at least, largely dominated by foreigners. His ministers of state would be, in part, carefully selected Western statesmen. His army and navy would be under foreign officers. The finances of the empire especially would be in charge of Western men. The friendly attitude of America toward China will tend to give her citizens a large proportion of these foreign officials. The other nations will be less jealous of Americans than of Europeans in these places of responsibility and trust. So it is probable that America will, if the Emperor is reinstated, have a large share in the reconstruction of China.

When the shackles of this medieval system of civil-service examinations are broken, and rational methods of modern education are substituted, the Chinese will very rapidly learn to adapt themselves to the new régime. Within a generation they may be able to manage their own internal affairs with little or no foreign aid.

The restoration of the Emperor would be hailed with delight by the great mass of the Chinese nation. There would be no delicate international difficulties to adjust. A lawful government would at once assume control. The country

would be saved from a season of uncertainty as to who is in authority, which is so much to be dreaded in a semi-civilized country like China.

But what if the murder of Kuang Hsü has been added to the long list of the crimes of this wicked Empress? Then the question of a government established by the powers for 300,000,000 Chinese becomes much more complicated. There is no living heir-apparent except the nine-year-old boy who was forced upon the empire last February. But as his father is supposed to be the real head of the Boxer Society, and is certainly in active sympathy with them, it is entirely impossible that the allies should recognize this little pretender as having any claims to the throne. It is always a difficult thing to found a new dynasty; but in China there are more than ordinary obstacles to be overcome. According to Chinese belief, the Emperor is the Son of Heaven. He is the father of his people; his person is sacred. A new man foisted upon the empire by foreigners would not be able to inspire the reverence that the disciple of Confucius must have in order to give loyal support to his sovereign.

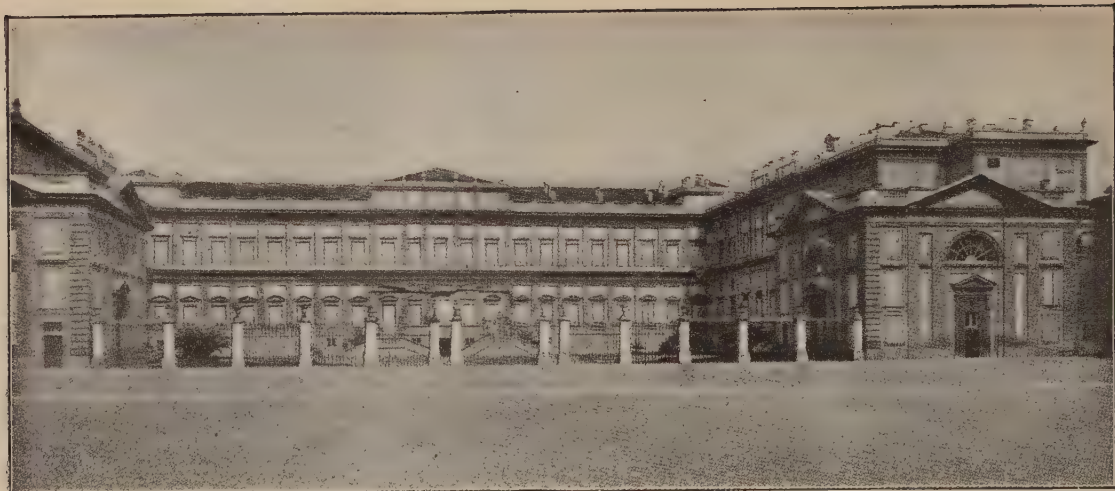
For the powers to manufacture a purely foreign government and harmoniously carry it on from Peking, would be a feat that seems scarcely within the range of possibility while human nature is in its present unregenerate state. Nevertheless, a new dynasty might be established under a strong foreign protectorate. Where there is a will there is generally a way. If the powers can agree among themselves, and will consult with and conciliate the leading reformers and best men of the empire, it may be possible to reconstruct the government and hold the country together until it grows strong enough to stand alone. It would require statesmanship of the highest order, and a degree of unselfishness that is rare in this world. It would be natural for China and Europe to turn to America for much of the help needed in carrying out a plan like this. The American policy of the "open door" would give confidence that such power would not be abused by the government at Washington. It would be a new thing under the sun to see so vast a population governed even temporarily by an ecumenical protectorate. It looks utopian. It would be a magnificent experiment.

But if the Emperor has been made away with, and a new dynasty cannot be successfully launched by the allied powers, it seems there would remain but one other alternative—partition. This is not what America wants. It is not for the highest interests of China nor of the world. It would ultimately necessitate great standing armies, and expensive fortifications along unnatural

frontiers. It would make free circulation of commerce difficult, if not impossible. It would involve a long period of reconstruction, when life and property would be unsafe all through the vast interior. It would be certain to engender bitter race hatred and strife in many sections of the country. It is by no means a pleasant prospect to contemplate, even from the most optimistic standpoint. But it is well for America to face the possible necessity of being forced to this solution of the vexed problem of the far East.

In case China must be partitioned, what right has America to stand by and say to the more distant powers, "You govern these people while I exploit them!" The case was different when it seemed as though the European nations were about to carve up China in cold blood, to satisfy their own greed. Then it was eminently proper for Secretary Hay to take the stand that he did last year, when he insisted that, as America was not a party to the proposed partition, neither would she consent to being discriminated against by the despoilers. But here we have an altogether unlooked for situation. The whole world finds itself thrown upon the defensive by the hostile act of the government of China, so called. Side by side with the other nations, an American army is marching to Peking to rescue her minister and citizens from a terrible fate—or, if need be, avenge their death by wiping out the most corrupt and barbarous government of modern times. A responsibility comes upon every one of these parties that has engaged in the overthrow of the existing *régime* in China, to aid in establishing a new and capable government in the place of the one destroyed. If the outcome should make it necessary for the powers to govern China in sections, instead of from a central authority, America cannot honorably stand aloof. It will be a stupendous "white man's burden," thrown upon the nations of the West. We believe the Anglo-Saxon peoples are best qualified for the task, both by nature and by training; and it will, of necessity, largely fall upon them. It is to be most earnestly hoped that the first or the second of the plans outlined above will be found practicable when Peking is entered by the allied armies. But if not, the contingency of partition must be faced. The American people have yet to learn to shirk national responsibility, when forced upon them in the unselfish discharge of duty. The dawn of the twentieth century is too late to begin to learn a lesson so ignoble.

Whether the solution of the Chinese problem be restoration, protection, or partition, it seems certain that America, the newest world power, will have a leading part in shaping the future of this the most ancient of empires.



THE ROYAL PALACE AT MONZA.

KING HUMBERT, OF ITALY: A CHARACTER SKETCH.

THE news of the murder of the King of Italy came upon Europe with the shock of the proverbial bolt from the blue. For some time past there had been no manifestations of discontent. The recent general election had resulted in the return of over a hundred Socialists and anti-Monarchists, which afforded a free constitutional vent for the popular dissatisfaction with the high-handed actions of the late ministry, and the fall of General Pelloux while still possessing a majority of the Chamber, and the installation of his successor, had pledged the ministry that the unconstitutional measures which were resorted to by its predecessor should not be repeated, and had, it was thought, disarmed even the most malcontent.

The King was at Monza, distributing prizes in the midst of an enthusiastic populace. The ceremony was complete, and he was driving away amid the cheers of the multitude, when suddenly the assassin dashed forward, sprang upon the carriage-steps, and fired in rapid succession three shots, which took fatal effect. Italy had lost its monarch, and the European community had received one of those sudden and violent blows which are felt from the center to the circumference, making every crowned head and ruling personage feel how frail is the security against the attack of a determined assassin. It is well not to exaggerate things; and the late King himself was the author of a famous saying, often quoted in these latter days, that attempts at

assassination were among the inevitable risks of his profession. He uttered this *bon mot* after the failure of the second attempt, when he received the congratulations of his courtiers with characteristic nonchalance.

Monarchs and all those who tower head and shoulders above the dead-level of the multitude are become targets not merely for the marksmen of discontent, but for the anarchist and the madman. It is one of the penalties of being conspicuous. There is no khaki for monarchs and for presidents; and the marvel is, considering the notoriety which attaches to successful assassination, that attempts are not much more frequent. No doubt there are a great many more than the world ever hears of; for it is only when they get so far as to actually occur in public that the press, that sounding-board of civilization, spreads the echo of the shot throughout the land until there is not a village or hamlet in Europe which is not all agog with the news of the latest crime meditated against the ruler of a people. The last previous attempt of the kind, which was fortunately unsuccessful, was that in which crazy Sipido attempted to kill the Prince of Wales; but the last great tragedy in which the assassin was successful was that of the Empress of Austria—a lady against whom even her murderer could allege nothing except that she belonged to the royal caste, and challenged destruction as an emblem of the social order which he wished to destroy.

When the first attempt was made to kill King Humbert by Passanante at Naples, shortly after his accession to the throne, the would-be murderer sprang upon the steps of the carriage, dagger in hand, and struck what he hoped would be a fatal blow at the King's person. Signor Cairoli flung himself between the King and his assailant, and received in his shoulder the blow which was meant for Humbert's heart. From that day, whenever the King drove abroad in Rome, he always rode in a lofty phaëton, the steps of which were carefully folded up so as to provide no foothold for any assassin who attempted to repeat the crime of Passanante. A very striking feature of Rome was the King's anti-assassination phaëton; for whereas, in the ordinary victoria or landau, the seat is very little raised above the axle, the King in his phaëton was so high up in the air as to be quite inaccessible to any sudden attack. Possibly if the King had used his phaëton at Monza, he would have foiled the attack of Bressi. As it is, the throne has been vacated, one more monarch's scalp has been added to the gory bead-roll of the assassin; and a shudder of added unrest, disquietude, and uneasiness has been contributed to a situation already the reverse of attractive to persons of nervous temperament.

Di mortuis nil nisi bonum is not a maxim which needs to be invoked in order to secure silence as to the deeds of the dead monarch. He was neither a bad man nor a bad king. He was, in many respects, an unobjectionable monarch. It may be objected that the present time is one in which it is impossible to tolerate mediocrities on the throne. But King Humbert could never claim to rank among the great sovereigns of his time.

Personally he always displayed the courage of his house. Those who knew him maintain that he was a born fatalist, with a rooted disbelief in the possibility of individual action or personal will operating as material factors in the evolution of events. When he saw his duty clearly, he did it with all the unconcern of a soldier ordered into battle. When the cholera was raging at Naples, he visited the patients in the cholera hospitals, paying no regard to the warnings and protests of those who considered that he was unduly jeopardizing the life of the King of Italy. In all similar circumstances when the question was personal, and when the duty of the man, the soldier, and the sovereign was clear and unmistakable, he faced death with indifference; nor is there any proof that the repeated attempts of the assassin in the slightest degree affected his nerve.

In matters political he did not display the same intrepidity; he was, indeed, cautious almost to

the verge of timidity. There is a curious anecdote of the excessive precautions which he took before venturing to substitute his own arms for those of Pope Pius IX. on the Palace of the Quirinal. The royal residence in the capital, like most of the other public buildings occupied by the Italian Government, at one time belonged to the Vatican. The statues of the Apostles still adorn the walls of the Quirinal, and an inscription dating from Papal times still reminds the passerby of its original owners. But the King, while tolerating the Apostles and the inscription, resented the presence of the Pontifical arms of Pio Nono. One fine day a fire was reported in the palace, and flames were seen to be bursting from a small window immediately below the objectionable carving. They were extinguished without difficulty, but not before the smoke and flames had blackened and disfigured the Papal coat-of-arms. This being the case, King Humbert ordered their removal and substituted his own. But before the new coat-of-arms was in its place, all Rome was laughing over the story that the King had arranged the fire in order to afford him an excuse for his action. A small bonfire was made in the room immediately below the coat-of-arms, with the express purpose of affording an excuse for the alteration which the King did not feel himself strong enough to make of his own motion. It is added that this coat-of-arms is the one solitary outward and visible sign of his presence in Rome.

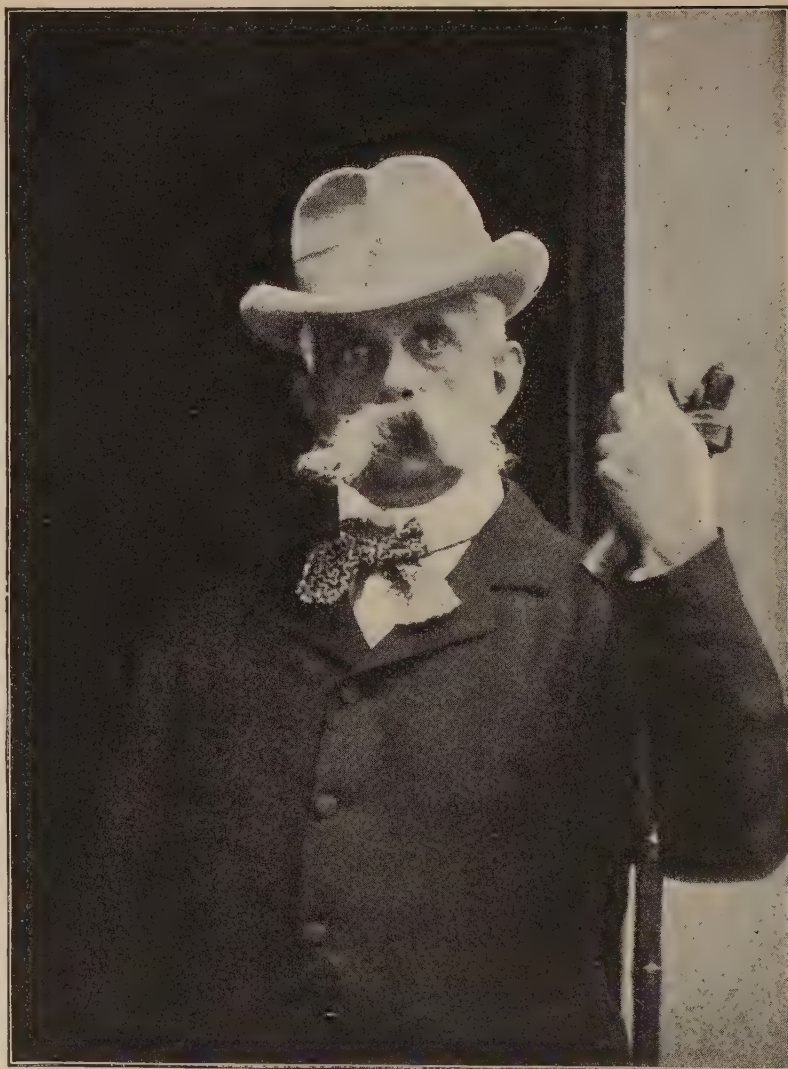
He has been sincerely free from the mania which possessed so many of the rulers of the Eternal City to perpetuate their memories by the erection of great buildings and splendid monuments, or the construction of public works. He built nothing, he repaired nothing, and he passed away, after his twenty years' reign, leaving nothing behind to commemorate his presence in the City of the Cæsars. This was characteristic of the man. He was singularly free from all love of ostentation or parade. He was a simple man—simple in his tastes, and never so pleased as when he could escape from his palace and his court and betake himself to his favorite pastime of the Piedmontese hunter. Although King of Italy, he was always Piedmontese, loving to talk in the Piedmontese dialect so much that the tenure of the Giolletti Ministry was regarded as perceptibly more secure because Giolletti was one of the few Italian premiers who could talk to the King in his own *patois*.

He had behind him no such record as that which endeared Victor Emmanuel to the hearts of his subjects. Neither in private nor in public did he display those traits which captivate the fancy of the multitude. The Roman populace,

reared in traditions of public munificence and imperial and Pontifical splendor, never took kindly to the retiring monarch, who was only too glad to be relieved from participation in the pomp and ceremonies of this evil world.

His real life was lived at a shooting-box in the hills, to which he repaired whenever exigencies of state afforded him sufficient leisure to forget that he was a king and only remember the pleasures of the chase and the joys of outdoor life. He carried this to such an extent as even to avoid those occasions of local popular celebrations at which it is the experience of monarchs to be displayed as part of the insignia of the nation. By this means, he indeed escaped a good deal of the boredom which afflicts the Prince of Wales, who goes through this royal parade with exemplary punctuality and patience. But it is doubtful whether, on the whole, it was good business for the monarchy.

The King was an excellent man of business. His civil list was large, and, in addition to the civil list, he was the possessor of immense estates in Piedmont, and not less extensive properties in other parts of Italy. These domains were administered with economy and ability when the Italian finances were in disorder and more or less confusion reigned in the other departments of state. It used to be a standing joke in Italy that the only ministry that was flourishing was the "Ministry of the Royal Domains." The savings of the King are said to have been great; and it was a popular opinion in Italy that his accumulated wealth was invested in the Bank of England. Hence, when applications were made, as they always are made, from time to time, by impecunious persons and institutions for subsidies from the royal coffers, the refusal was justified on the ground that the last penny had been



THE LATE KING HUMBERT, OF ITALY.

sent to the Bank of England, and that there was nothing left to give away. What truth there is in this popular legend, who can say?

The first business of the King on rising every morning, which he punctually did at 6 o'clock when he was in Rome, was to attend to the management of his own private business. The early hours of the morning were spent with his secretary attending to all the details of his private property. After attending to his own affairs, he spent an hour before breakfast in his grounds in the company of his dogs, or in visiting his stables; for he was ever more at home with horses and dogs than with ministers and courtiers. At 9 o'clock he took his first breakfast. After this he received his ministers of state, who submitted

to him documents and dispatches, and discussed with him such affairs as necessitated his personal intervention. He usually lunched with the Queen, but only if she was alone; for if, as was often the case, she had invited many of her musical and artistic friends, he preferred lunching with the gentlemen of his household. After lunch he would sleep for an hour, and in the afternoon would drive in his high-seated phaëton, of which I have already spoken. He was a man of exceeding regularity of habit, and this characteristic governed his afternoon drive. He seldom or never varied from his accustomed routes, of which there were two. One was over the summit of Mount Janiculum, and the other through the well-known Borghese Gardens.

In the evening he dined quite simply in the Quirinal, for he was very little given to royal feasting. The Queen, who is devoted to music, had organized a famous quartet and quintet, which discoursed sweet music in the palace. But King Humbert had no taste for music, either vocal or instrumental, and where the music was there the King was absent.

He was a man without any literary tastes, who seldom or never read any books, and took absolutely no part in the intellectual movement of modern Italy. Neither had he any taste for the drama. It was said of him that he never entered the theater in his life; but this is an exaggeration, for upon ceremonial occasions he has entered the royal box. One of these rare visits was made recently when the production of Signor Verdi's "Falstaff" was made the occasion of a national demonstration. The King was present in the royal box, and the performance from the beginning was an immense success. When the second act was over, the King said: "There is now no doubt as to the success of the piece; let us send for Signor Verdi" (an act of homage which was usually paid to the successful author only at the end of the play). Verdi was duly sent for, and when he appeared in the royal box the unprecedented honor of a summons before the close of the performance was enthusiastically applauded as testifying to the honor in which the King held the composer. The approval which signalized the summons to the royal box was considerably abated when the curtain rose for the third act and it was discovered that the King had left the theater. He had anticipated the call to the author simply in order to escape from a performance which bored him.

Late in the evening, between 10 and 11 o'clock, the King was nearly always to be met driving in the first pneumatic-tired vehicle seen in Rome to visit the lady to whom he remained devoted before and after his marriage with touching

fidelity. King Humbert was not like his father, King Victor Emmanuel, whose illegitimate offspring added so considerably to the population of Italy that a witty Italian once maliciously remarked, when the French were deploring the continuous diminution in their population, that the best service Italy could do to France would be to lend her Victor Emmanuel for a time. Contemporary history is always busy with the amours of monarchs; but King Humbert, if he has not altogether escaped an entry in the *chronique scandaleuse* of his time, is regarded as exceptional among monarchs for the fidelity of his relations to the woman of his affections. That that woman was not his lawful spouse was, perhaps, not altogether the unnatural consequence of his position. When at the age of twenty-four he married his cousin, the present Queen, there was no pretense of denying the fact that the marriage was, like most royal marriages, a *mariage de convenance*. It was necessary for the dynasty that a legitimate heir should be born to the throne, and for one year King Humbert and his wife continued in conjugal relations. The fruit of this union was the Prince of Naples, who has now succeeded his father as Victor Emmanuel III. After that year, the primary purpose of the marriage having been accomplished, it was understood that while the King and Queen remained good friends, lived in the same palace, and always kept up appearances, they lived their own lives, and went their own ways. The Queen, highly educated, esthetic, lived in a world of ideals, into which her husband, simple huntsman, soldier, and sovereign, never entered. The extraordinary and unshaken hold which a lady 12 years his senior was able to maintain over the King to the last is a subject of universal comment in Italy. But upon this it is not necessary to dwell.

As a king, Humbert has been praised by one party on the ground of his scrupulous attachment to the oath which he swore to the constitution, and by others he has been blamed not the less severely for his refusal to exercise those powers with which the constitution armed the sovereign of Italy. Leading Italian statesmen maintained that the King had reduced the functions of a constitutional sovereign to a mere figurehead, and they were interested in the method by which the Queen has contrived to use her influence to facilitate the working of the British Constitution. If only, they said, King Humbert had been as much a sovereign as Queen Victoria, many of the difficulties which afflict modern Italy might have been easily and expeditiously removed. The King, however, until the latter days of the Pelloux Ministry, remained a



THE LATE KING HUMBERT IN UNIFORM.

strictly constitutional sovereign. As minister succeeded minister, whether Piedmontese or Sicilian, he found in the King a purely negative support.

Only in the latter days of the Pelloux Ministry, when General Pelloux executed what was practically a Parliamentary *coup d'état*, and met obstruction by arbitrary decrees which the Supreme Court subsequently declared to be illegal, did the King extend his negative support to quasi-unconstitutional action. He believed, no doubt, that it was the only way out of an *impasse*, and he also hoped that when the general election took place it would prove that the electorate approved of the action of the ministry.

When the result was made known that the Socialists and anti-Monarchical party had increased their strength to a hundred members in the new Parliament, the King's confidence in General Pelloux disappeared; and it is said that it was the consciousness of this loss of the royal confidence which led to the resignation of General Pelloux before any proof had been afforded that he had lost the support of a majority of the new Parliament. One case in which the King would have acted more wisely if he had followed his own impulse was that of the amnesty of those who were convicted for participation in the bread riots some years ago. The King, it was believed, was in favor of giving a general amnesty at the end of six months. His

ministers objected, preferring that the amnesty should be postponed till the end of twelve months. In the meantime, there sprang up an agitation accompanied with considerable demonstrations of passion, which had this result, that when the twelve months expired ministers maintained that it was impossible to grant the amnesty, as it would seem to have the appearance of capitulation under dictation. Hence fresh bad blood, ill-feeling, and unrest, which might have been avoided had the King ventured to assert his influence in the direction of mercy.

This, however, is attributed by some critics to his constitutional fatalism. He was never convinced that any action would alter things much either way; and, as it was not clearly his duty as a soldier and a King to insist upon his own views, he fell back upon the advice of his ministers and left the responsibility with them. "The only initiative he ever displayed in affairs of state," said a shrewd observer, "was the initiative of negation. No one could say that he would do nothing with a more imperturbable and immovable decision." He was a negative King from first to last.



QUEEN MARGHERITA, OF ITALY.

(Who married Humbert April 21, 1863.)

But if this was true in home affairs, it did not characterize his foreign policy. The Triple Alliance entered into shortly after his accession to the throne was his policy as much as that of Crispi, and he has adhered to it with unswerving resolution through good and ill report. With equal tenacity he has maintained a policy of armaments which was a corollary of the policy of the Triplice. It was in his reign also that Italy embarked upon her ill-fated policy of colonial adventure in the Red Sea, the collapse of which, at the fatal battle of Adowa, will be remembered as one of the catastrophes of his reign. That it did not convince him that a policy of expansion was a mistake for Italy, may be assumed from the fact that when the scramble for China was initiated by his ally, the Kaiser, the Italian Government showed a strong disposition to press for the cession of Chinese territory; and even in the last days of his reign, his government showed a disposition to take part in the international crusade against China.

In Italian politics the question of Rome dominates everything. It was the Roman question and the need for safeguarding Italy against an attack from France for the purpose of reëstablishing the temporal power which forced Italy into the Triple Alliance. Nothing has been done to effect an arrangement between the Vatican and the Quirinal; but the healing influence of time has told in favor of Italy, and Victor Emmanuel III. succeeds to relations with the Pope much less strained than those which prevailed at the death of his grandfather. On the whole, King Humbert has not conferred any great and signal advantage to the kingdom over which he had been called to reign. Neither, on the other hand, with the exception of the misfortune in Abyssinia and the continual drain upon her economic resources entailed by the armaments necessary to a member of the Triple Alliance, will his name be associated with any national misfortune. As a soldier he did his duty bravely and well. As a sovereign he carried out his idea of duty without enthusiasm, but with the same steady adhesion to his obligations and responsibilities which characterized him in all the other departments of life.

He is succeeded by his only son, the Prince of Naples, now reigning under the title of Victor Emmanuel III., who at the time when he was called to the throne was yachting in the Levant. The Prince of Naples is a man small of stature, who has never given any indication of exceptional ability or statecraft. At the time when the King was pressed to exercise his royal prerogative and assert himself more in the government of his kingdom, it was reported in Rome

that the King had said: "If you want anything like that to be done, let me abdicate and my successor will have less scruples than myself."

The Prince was reported, not unnaturally, perhaps, to have expressed very strong opinions against Crispi at the time of the disaster in Abyssinia. But for the most part he has kept himself out of politics, and the world waits with interest not unmixed with curiosity to see the note of the first words which he will address to his subjects. He has one specialty which does not shed much light upon the line of his future policy. He is a devoted student of numismatics, and his collection of coins is said to be one of the finest in Europe.

He married, four years ago, the Princess of



VICTOR EMMANUEL III., ITALY'S NEW KING.

Montenegro, a beautiful woman, simple and unostentatious, who was little qualified by her training in the mountain hamlet of Cettinge to play the rôle of a great European queen. The marriage, unfortunately, has not been blessed by offspring, so that in case of the demise of Victor Emmanuel III. the crown would pass to his cousin, the Duke d'Aosta, the son of King Amadeus of Spain, who married a sister of the Duke of Orleans. The Duke d'Aosta is an artillery officer of commanding presence and of considerable oratorical ability. He has a family,—both sons and daughters,—so that, even in the case of another catastrophe, the succession is secured. The younger brother of the Duke d'Aosta, the Duke of Abruzzi, is in the arctic regions, on his way to the north pole.

King Humbert's assassin was an Italian, as was also the assassin of the Empress of Austria. His crime, whether prompted by the frenzy of an individual or by a criminal conspiracy, will be inevitably attributed to political motives, and will tend naturally, although illogically, to strengthen the reaction against the Republican and Socialist parties in Italy. The Conservatives, who lost ground badly at the last election, will exploit the crime of Monza to the uttermost, declaring that it is the natural outcome of the teachings of their political opponents. This may be true or it may be false, but it will be used unsparingly by the Conservatives of Italy. The crime of the assassin will probably tend to defeat its own ends by strengthening the hold of the dynasty upon the population, which, whether it be republican or monarchist, has little sympathy with political murder.

Although the sad event cast a gloom over Eu-



Princess Hélène, of Montenegro, Victor Emmanuel's Queen.

Victor Emmanuel III., King Humbert's son and successor.

ITALY'S NEW RULERS.

rope, and led to the canceling of the *fêtes* and popular entertainments which were arranged in Paris in honor of the Shah and the Inter-Parliamentary Conference, it was not expected to have any immediate political results. It may increase the clamor for repressive legislation; and some French journalists are already using it in order to upbraid the Italian Government for refusing to support the demand for exceptional measures of international repression against the modern Thugs. What is too probable is that the crime is only the latest illustration of the lawless spirit of violence which is abroad in the earth at the present time. The attack upon the Dutch republics is one illustration of this spirit; the assassination of the King is another. We are far from seeing the end of the unchaining of the spirit which makes the will of the individual or of the nation the sole law of right or wrong, and justifies an attack upon the government of a state or the life of a sovereign on the ground that either one or the other stands in the way of the immediate realization of ambitions or of aspirations which cannot be gratified within the limits of law.



COLLIS P. HUNTINGTON.

COLLIS P. HUNTINGTON, who died at Raquette Lake on August 13, probably did greater things and more of them in the strenuous work of exploiting the material resources of America than any other man. When the end suddenly came, he was still in harness and about to undertake enterprises of even greater magnitude; but he was already the absolute master of the greatest transportation system in the



Courtesy of Leslie's Weekly.

MR. C. P. HUNTINGTON.

world—the Southern Pacific, with 9,604 miles of track and about 5,000 miles of steamship lines, earning \$60,000,000 annually. He and his associates had reduced the time from New York to San Francisco from six months to six days, and opened to civilization a region producing most of the wheat and corn in America, and more gold and silver than any other fields, save possibly in South Africa, in the world; he had brought a hamlet of five houses at Newport News, Va., to a city of 25,000 inhabitants, with the largest shipyards in the country, and with an export trade threatening the commercial interests of New York City.

In 1835, at fourteen years of age, Huntington made a bargain with his father, a small farmer

in Connecticut, allowing the boy to work for his own living, and freeing him from the legal farm apprenticeship, which lasted to manhood. There were nine children in the Huntington household, Collis being the fifth; and though the family was a good one, descended from a signer of the Declaration of Independence of that name, the utmost prudence on the part of the elder Huntington could not more than make ends meet. In the first year of his freedom, the enterprising youngster made a gross sum of \$84 in addition to his board and his clothing; and he saved every cent of the \$84, and embarked in trade with this capital. First, he bought a stock of cheap clocks, and peddled them off in the Connecticut towns. Then he extended his itinerant trading to New York, and purchased stock there which he disposed of in journeys through the Southern States. The Yankee boy had a fine taste for a bargain, and with it the imagination which enabled him to create the situation for many bargains.

He was successful enough in his peddling to provide means for stocking a general store, in partnership with his brother, and this concern was established in Oneonta, N. Y., in 1844. In September of the same year Collis Huntington paid a visit to his old Connecticut home and married a former schoolmate, Miss Elizabeth T. Stoddard. This lady had the thoroughbred traits of good ancestry, and seems to have been a proper mate for such an eager, vigorous spirit; Mr. Huntington, in paying a tribute to her devotion and helpfulness in the days of the early struggles, tells how she got ready to make the overland journey to California—a six months' affair then—on two hours' notice.

Soon there began to come to the "general store" at Oneonta rumors of the great things doing on the Pacific Coast, and Huntington quickly decided to become an Argonaut. In 1848 he sent a quantity of trading supplies to California by way of the Horn, and the following year himself went westward by way of the Isthmus of Panama. So many prospectors suddenly accumulated at the isthmus that the shipping facilities of the Pacific were inadequate to keep the relay station clear, and Huntington's party was forced to wait three months. The Oneonta man had brought along his cash capital of \$1,200, however, and he immediately began a business of transporting men and supplies across the isthmus, with the result of increasing this fund to

\$5,000 by the time he found a California-bound ship with room on it. Working his way before the mast, he voyaged to San Francisco. Not liking the looks of things here, he proceeded to Sacramento, and after a brief fit of the mining fever, set up his tent, literally, as a tradesman. The presence of much gold and of imperative needs for supplies were ideal conditions for a man of Huntington's genius. He prospered exceedingly; his tent establishment changed into an important hardware business, in which he was soon joined by Mark Hopkins, an Argonaut from Massachusetts, and a successful merchant of Sacramento. Huntington and Hopkins built up a business which, by 1860, was estimated to be worth \$200,000.

At this time the universal theme of conversation in the dimly lit cabins of California prospectors was the possibility of connecting the Pacific Slope with civilized America—that is, America east of the Missouri River—by rail. The vast region of the great plains lay west of the Missouri River; but the magnificent distances of the region did not form the obstacle that led most people to regard the idea of a transcontinental railroad route as entirely chimerical. It was the problem of traversing the Sierra Nevada Mountains that made people regard Civil Engineer Judah, a man who said it could be done, as insane. Collis P. Huntington was one of those who believed the thing could be done, and must be done; and he finally made the definite proposition to the solid men of Sacramento that he would be one of seven or eight to put up the actual cash for a definite survey. Six men came forward, including Mr. Huntington's partner, and Judah, the engineer. The last named died in the midst of the negotiations; another member of the syndicate was disheartened by the obstacles; and when, in 1861, the Central Pacific Company was organized, there were five members. Leland Stanford was president, Huntington vice-president, Mark Hopkins treasurer, and Charles and E. B. Crocker made up the directorate. This was the turning-point of Mr. Huntington's career—when he was transformed from a successful tradesman to a man of gigantic affairs. The Central Pacific Company of 1861 had a capital stock of \$8,000,000. Huntington saw that it would be impossible to complete an undertaking of such magnitude without aid from the National Government, and he was deputed by his associates to visit Washington to convince the authorities of the feasibility and vast advantages of the project.

In a way, no time could be less propitious for the success of the adventurous merchant's errand; for in 1862 the government was confronted with the overwhelming problems of the

Civil War, and there seemed to be a reasonable doubt whether there would continue to be any United States to be pledged for such a great undertaking as this. On the other hand, the argument was used that foreign troops might be landed on the Pacific, in the event of international complications which threatened, and a transcontinental road would, of course, be the only means by which the government could make any effective attempt to repel an invasion.

At any rate, Huntington, with his powerful arguments, his magnetic personality, and his mastery of the details of the plan, carried the day. The government furnished bonds to the amount of \$27,000,000 to finance the construction of the road, these bonds not to be sold until fifty miles were equipped. In addition, it gave to the Central Pacific Company a land-grant of every alternate section on each side of the line. So far so good; but there was still wanting the cash to build the first section of the road. Huntington's Sacramento firm had been a large purchaser of supplies in the wholesale market of New York, and had paid its bills with promptness and regularity. The entire assets of the firm were mortgaged to guarantee the safety of the funds Huntington raised for immediate use, and the road was begun in 1862, at a time when the Union Pacific was slowly creeping westward to eventually meet the new road on the shores of the Great Salt Lake in Utah.

When the first fifty miles were completed and the government bonds became available, Mr. Huntington and his associates organized the Credit and Finance Company, and as directors of the Central Pacific Company made a contract with themselves, in their capacity of Credit and Finance Company, to construct the road. Thus, as the Central Pacific Company, they paid to themselves as the Credit and Finance Company the following sums for the work: The \$27,000,000 of government bonds secured by the second mortgage on the road, \$27,000,000 of the company's first-mortgage bonds, and about \$8,000,000 of bonds issued on the land-grant from the government. The last spike in the Central Pacific was driven on May 10, 1869.

Huntington had been intensely active in his work on the enterprise throughout its entire construction. He acted as its purchasing agent, and conducted his operations on a scale unheard of in those days. For instance, it was said he purchased 65,000 tons of rails in one day, while on a visit to New York.

The thing was done, and for practical purposes the United States was twice as large as it was before these Sacramento storekeepers busied their brains with the scheme and sent their reso-

lute envoy to Washington. Owing to Mr. Huntington's canny method of paying for the road he and his associates came out of the transactions wealthy men—even wealthier in financial credit and general business prestige than in cold cash. All of these they began to use with the greatest daring and perspicacity to absorb the transportation properties of the Pacific Slope. It was said that within a very short time Huntington and his associates had control, literally, of all the railroad, street-car, and steamship facilities west of the Sierra Nevada.

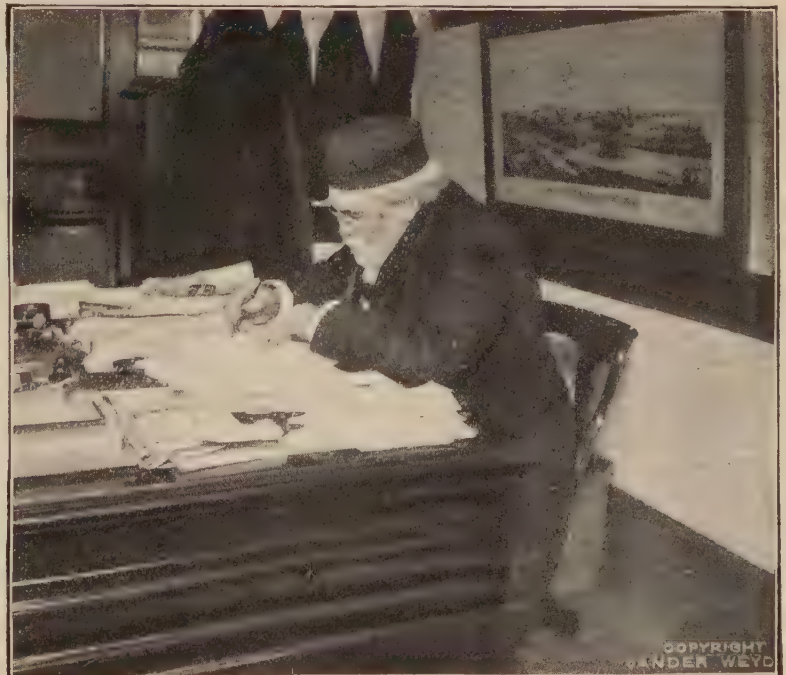
The Central Pacific was from the day of its completion enormously useful to the country, and very advantageous to C. P. Huntington. The stock went up to par, and was quoted on all the exchanges of Europe and America. Early in the eighties, Mr. Huntington and his associates began to dispose of their holdings—chiefly to foreign buyers; but Mr. Huntington retained the management.

About this time he was much occupied in his efforts to block the project of John C. Frémont and Thomas A. Scott for a transcontinental railroad through Texas. Out of this struggle came the magnificent project of the Southern Pacific, in absolute terms the largest achievement of Mr. Huntington's career. While retaining the management of the Central Pacific, he and his associates completed the Southern Pacific from New Orleans west and north to San Francisco. In its present condition the Southern Pacific covers 26 subsidiary companies, with over 9,000 miles of track and 5,000 miles of steamship lines. Its rails extend south into Mexico and north to Portland, Ore. It has steamship lines to Central America and South America, and coast-wise lines on the Atlantic and in the Gulf of Mexico.

Mr. Huntington's commercial and financial activities embraced many other projects only less vast than those which have been outlined. He was the first man to build a railroad in Mexico without a subsidy from the Mexican Government. He took hold of the Chesapeake and Ohio road when it had ruined several sets of owners, developed the feed-

ers in Kentucky and Tennessee, continued the line from Richmond to Newport News, and put the whole on a substantial basis. At Newport News, his investments created a city and gave employment to 10,000 men. The town is exporting goods to the amount of \$35,000,000 a year, and has a real estate valuation of \$11,000,000. Mr. Huntington built homes for his employees and a school to give free education to their children. At the present time a mammoth dry-dock is being built there, at a cost of \$1,000,000; and Mr. Huntington had in mind a great steel-mill and still further extensions for the shipyards.

In person Mr. Huntington was an imposing figure. More than six feet high and massively built, with an exceptionally powerful chin partly hidden by his beard, he was the personification of momentous force and resolution. His physical strength was a matter of great pride with him, and he delighted in the fact that at school he was unconquerable in exercises of the "manly art." Intellectually he was no less robust. He gloried in the very struggle of the stormy course of his business career. His only happiness was its strenuous endeavor. Opposition, calumny, setbacks only whetted his appetite for the game of business. He never lost his temper when attacked, but persisted with coolness and certainty. The fierce competition of trade was the breath of



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MR. COLLIS P. HUNTINGTON AT HIS DESK IN HIS BROAD STREET OFFICE, NEW YORK.

life to him. To show how he sometimes fairly spoiled for a fight, people tell how in the sixties he purchased a newspaper in California which had been run on abolition principles, but had languished, largely owing to the fact that sympathizers on the other side announced that no editor of the sheet would be allowed to live. Mr. Huntington found an Irishman willing to do the work, with the public understanding that it was Collis P. Huntington who was responsible. The proprietor was not disturbed.

So entirely was his heart bound up in his work, that Mr. Huntington really knew nothing of a vacation. If he ran off to the Adirondacks for a few days, his secretary was with him and was kept at work. No sooner did he take a fancy to his camp at Raquette Lake, where his death came, than his alert brain seized on the project of improving the facilities of communication in the mountains, and he built a railroad and spent great sums on the improvements of his camp. That a man should have lived so long under such pressure, should be working as hard at seventy-nine as at twenty-nine, is little short of marvelous. It is to be accounted for by the great railroad man's habits, as well as by his magnificent constitution. He lived in strikingly simple style, rising early and retiring early; eating lightly and with great regularity, and abstaining almost entirely from any stimulants stronger than tea. He never used tobacco, and said he scarcely knew the taste of wine until after he was fifty.

The Huntington residence at Knob Hill, San Francisco, is a magnificent structure, though it is entirely eclipsed by the New York house on the corner of Fifty-seventh Street and Fifth Avenue. It is said Mr. Huntington expended \$2,500,000 on this building; the magnificence of its interior finishings are certainly not surpassed in America. The railroad builder took a deal of interest in its construction, studying architecture and superintending every detail. There is some pathetic quality in the fact that, having erected this palace, Mr. Huntington never cared to live in it, and finally offered it for sale. It is easy to imagine how his eager constructive genius exhausted its satisfaction in the process of building, and that such a nature had saved no resources for leisurely enjoyment of the splendors. Yet, with all his imperfect education, Mr. Huntington developed a great taste for art. His gallery in the San Francisco house contains many magnificent paintings which he was able to enjoy

thoroughly; another hobby he indulged with a lavish hand was his fondness for rich bindings and rare books. His busy mind was able, too, to respond to the rhythm of verse; it was said that he kept a volume of Crabbe's poems on his office-desk. One can easily fancy seeing a suggestion of the great railroad builder's theory of his own significance in the recent episode of the New York *Sun's* prize offer for the best poems challenging Mr. Markham's "The Man With the Hoe." The *Sun* announced editorially that a reader of Mr. Markham's verses, who preferred to remain unknown to the public, offered a large sum for the best treatment in verse of "The Man Without a Hoe"—the man who had no drudgery and could not get any. It was revealed, after Mr. Huntington's death, that he was the anonymous "Responsibility" who made the offer and defined the terms of the poetical competition. The incident strikes the keynote in Mr. Huntington's idea of helping others—to give them work. That his imagination, daring, and pertinacity did give work to hundreds of thousands who would not have had it if some one had not created those great channels of trade, is undeniable. Mr. Huntington was not ready nor lavish with charities, though now and then his hand would be quietly outstretched to give help where it was needed. His most notable gift of money was \$50,000 for the trade-school features of the Hampton Institute. His acquaintances have often remarked a manly impulse in him to take the part of the "under dog." This trait led to his strong abolitionist sympathies and to his championing the cause of the Chinese on the Pacific Coast.

Mr. Huntington was twice married—the second time to Mrs. A. D. Worshan, a few months after his first wife's death in 1884. He died childless, however. He adopted his niece Clara, and made much of his stepson, Archer M. Huntington; he is a student, with no companionship in his father's strenuous life.

Though an approachable man, Mr. Huntington was by no means popular. His manner in business was often brusque, and the fierce struggle of his life brought him many bitter enemies. He was a good friend and a good hater; stronger than other men about him, he was determined to use his strength, and fought his way on to surmounting any obstacles, mountains or legislatures, that might be in the path of a sturdy Yankee with many difficult railroads to build.

THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION PARTY AND ITS CANDIDATES.

BY EDWARD J. WHEELER.

“STUBBORN minorities,” said De Tocqueville, “are the hope of republics.” Of the eight minor parties that are taking part in the campaign this year,* the Prohibitionists are entitled to special mention as the most “stubborn” minority American politics has yet produced. This is the eighth Presidential campaign in which they have presented a ticket of their own, despite the fact that the party has never elected a Presidential elector, a governor, or a Congressman, and probably not more than half a dozen State legislators. In the Presidential election four years ago, the Prohibition party vote was not quite 1 per cent. of the aggregate vote, and this after twenty-five years of activity. The Abolitionists had a pretty severe test of their staying powers, but they never had to face such discouragement as this. Yet the national Prohibition convention, held in Chicago a few weeks ago, had delegates to the number of 750 from 37 States, who showed unlimited enthusiasm, and contended as earnestly over the nomination for President as though they considered their nomination equivalent to an election. The leaders are boldly predicting 500,000 votes for their ticket this year, and their national chairman has even talked of 1,000,000 in hopeful strain. If the estimate which the (Democratic) controller of New York City is said to have hazarded, of 100,000 Prohibition votes in New York State alone, is anywhere within bounds, then 500,000 votes in the nation is a very moderate figure. That “if,” however, is an if of considerable magnitude. A vote of 100,000 in New York State would mean nearly six votes this year for every one cast four years ago, and there are no indications that any such tide has set in.

The high-water mark of the cold-water party (for a Presidential election) was reached in 1892, when 270,367 votes were cast for Bidwell. Four years later the party lost more than one-half of that vote, polling for Levering 131,757. That year was marked by a bolt in the national convention, and the organization of another Prohibition party; for your “stubborn minority” is very apt to indulge in bolts and splits in evidence of the stubbornness of the units of which

it is composed. Every one will recall the division in the Abolition ranks between the Boston and the New York wings; the Populists are today marching under two distinct banners, and may possibly, by Towne’s withdrawal, be split into three camps; and the Socialists, though their vote four years ago was but 36,000, have two Presidential tickets in the field, and did have three until a few days ago.

The split in the Prohibition ranks was caused by two radically different conceptions of the movement and its aims, the factions dividing under the designations of “broad-gauge” and “narrow-gauge.” While both wings were agreed on a radical stand for Prohibition, there was an irreconcilable difference as to the attitude on other issues. The line of cleavage was not free silver, as is generally supposed, though most of the broad-gauge wing were for, and most of the narrow-gauge wing were apparently against, the 16-to-1 remedy for our financial ills. The real question, however, was whether the party should take any attitude whatever on any question other than Prohibition. Up to 1896 every national platform had expressed positive views on various other questions, with the single exception of that adopted in 1880, and in that year a small setback in the vote occurred, though the candidate was Neal Dow, the most famous of Prohibitionists. The intensity of the feeling developed in 1896 on the free-silver question, as well as the continued opposition on the part of Southern delegates to woman suffrage, frightened the majority into a return to the single-issue policy, and the “broad-gaugers,” disappointed and angered, left the party, led by ex-Governor St. John, and organized a new party, which they called the Liberty party. The split was a deep one. Of the three ex-candidates for President then living, Dow, St. John, and Bidwell, each expressed himself during the campaign in favor of the new Liberty party; and of the six living ex-candidates for Vice-President, but two, Russell and Cranfill, supported the old party, though two others, Stewart and Daniel, finally voted with it.

This year a similar contest was seen, though in a much milder form. The two most prominent candidates for the Presidential nomination were John G. Woolley, of Illinois, and Rev. Dr. Silas C. Swallow, of Pennsylvania, who, as gubernatorial candidate in that State in 1898,

*Two Socialist parties, two Populist, the Silver Republicans, the United Christian Party, the anti-Imperialists, and the Prohibitionists.

had polled 125,746 votes, largely won by his fight for "honest government" and against Quay. Mr. Woolley stood for the most rigid adherence to the single-issue policy. Dr. Swallow stood for a platform that would include, besides Prohibition, planks against "imperialism" as distinguished from "expansion," against



MR. JOHN G. WOOLLEY, OF ILLINOIS.

(Prohibitionist nominee for President.)

monopolies, in favor of civil-service reform, ballot reform, arbitration between capital and labor, international arbitration, and a Congressional enactment submitting the question of woman suffrage to the State legislatures in the form of a Constitutional amendment. The vote was close, and the result could not be told until nearly the last State delegation had been polled.

John Granville Woolley, the eighth Presidential candidate of the Prohibition party, is better known in church gatherings than in political circles. He is an "Ohio man," having been born half a century ago in the little town of Collinsville, near Cincinnati; of pioneer parents, and having received his college education in the Ohio Wesleyan University. He has never held public office, except that of city attorney in Paris, Ill. (1876-77), and that of state-attorney in Minneapolis (1884-86). Like John B. Gough and Francis Murphy, he has passed through the fiery furnace which drink kindles for its slaves. Of those experiences he has had little to say, and the little he has said relates to his struggle for reformation. Here is part of his story as he relates it :

I walked the streets of New York City, one August day—starving, but I was sober. It is sometimes an awful thing to be sober. The play of my life was over; the light was burned out. I was a ruined man, Godless and hopeless; and that is hell, whether it happens to a man in this world or another. I saw the three witches, Starvation, Beggary, and Crime, stirring a black broth for me on the bleakest moor of life that ever the fanged hounds of appetite and remorse hunted a man over. But I was sober !

"And as a man with difficult, short breath,
Forespent with toiling, 'scaped from sea to shore,
Turns to the desolate, wide waste and stands at gaze,"

so I looked back upon the wreck of my life that day. All was lost. Father had died, calling upon me to stay out of the saloon to see him die. Mother had died, calling upon me to stay out of the saloon and see her die. Wife was worse than widowed; children worse than orphans—shelterless, but for the grace of creditors and God's canopy that shelters all; and the future was an infinity of pitch. But I was sober ! If I had said I had left off drink forever, no man who knew me would have believed me. I had not been to bed, for I had no bed. I remember nothing of the night before or the morning, but I was sober. I thought I was going mad. I washed my face at the fountain in Union Square, and



MRS. JOHN G. WOOLLEY.

crossed over to Eighth Avenue. At the corner of Twenty-first Street I saw the sign of Stephen Merritt—you know him, some of you; all the angels know him well. I had never seen him, but had heard of him. It was not food I thought of, but an overwhelming desire filled me to touch the hand of a good man. I entered. A man with the joy of the Lord in his face came to meet me, with his hand extended, and as he grasped

mine, I said: "I don't know why I came——" The sentence was never finished, for I burst into tears, and then I told him who and what I was.

That was in 1888. The climb back to manhood and self-respect took a year or more, and there were several lapses. His friends, for he makes friends rapidly, stood by him. He took the first work that came to his hand, and it chanced to be the addressing of wrappers at \$1.00 per thousand, for the paper of which he is now editor and part proprietor! There is a little stone house on Staten Island which was twelve years ago the only building in what soon became Prohibition Park, and has since expanded into Westerleigh. In that little house, a relic of Revolutionary times, the late Rev. Dr. W. H. Boole, with his wife (now the president of the New York State Women's Christian Temperance Union), was then residing, superintending the beginning of the park. The house is now pointed out as the one in which John G. Woolley was converted. Residing here with Dr. Boole's family, he kept the pay-roll of the day-laborers, and at the end of the week figured up the earnings of each. He was soon found, however, upon the temperance platform, and from that day to this his life has been devoted to the fight against John Barleycorn. He has never returned to the practice of law. In twelve years of speech-making, he has allowed hardly a word to escape his lips on any but the one topic; and he refused outright to be a candidate on the Prohibition ticket this year if any other issue were mentioned in the platform. What is more striking, there is but one phase—the moral phase—of the drink question to which he will give much heed. The economic, political, and sociological phases are not for him. His one constant appeal is to the churches, and he presses it with all the intensity and much of the political imagery of the old Hebrew prophets. And yet, neither by temperament nor by education is the man narrow or intolerant. He has a winning personality that is above all "cranky" affectations. He does not "talk shop" when off duty. He is a liberal in his theology. His reading is on many lines, and his sense of humor is well developed.

A few years ago he was the favorite orator in the great Christian Endeavor conventions; but the attempt of the officers to keep him clear of party politics on such occasions caused a rupture that has never been healed. He must, as he says, follow his "vision," and he has followed it. These are strange words coming from a Presidential candidate seeking votes: "For nearly thirteen years my single theme has been that the Prohibition party wanted nothing but PROHIBITION votes, and wanted them only upon the

stiffest, hardest, highest, RELIGIOUS basis." (The capitals are Mr. Woolley's.)

His domestic life, so much of it as he finds time for, is a happy one. His home is in Hyde Park, Chicago, and whenever he has occasion to speak of his wife and her devotion to him during the dark days, or of his three boys and their successes in college, his face glows and his voice grows unconsciously tender.

Mr. Woolley's colleague on the Prohibition



HON. HENRY B. METCALF, OF RHODE ISLAND.

(Prohibitionist nominee for Vice-President.)

ticket, Henry B. Metcalf, of Pawtucket, R. I., is a man of widely different traits. He is deliberate and conservative, with the instincts of a responsible business man rather than the intensity and passion of the orator.

Mr. Metcalf has passed the Psalmist's limit of threescore years and ten, and his care and toil have not been without a tangible harvest. He is a manufacturer of some means, the president of a savings-bank in Pawtucket, a trustee of Tufts College, and for years has been (and perhaps is yet) the president of the national organization of the Universalists. He has been a (Republican) State Senator in Rhode Island, and not many years ago was an active member of the American Protective League—the Tariff, not the anti-Catholic, organization. His principal prominence in politics hitherto has come from his attempt to organize the anti-saloon Republicans, and, later, a new State party, which was called the Union party, and which participated in one or two State elections.



MR. WILLIAM T. WARDWELL.

(Secretary of the National Prohibition Committee and candidate for Governor of New York.)

Other men who figure conspicuously in the Prohibition campaign this year are the Rev. Oliver W. Stewart, the national chairman, and William T. Wardwell, the national secretary and candidate for governor of the Empire State. Mr. Stewart is a minister of the Christian Church, a vigorous speaker, and one of the finest presiding officers in America. He is now developing a plan for the lease of a special railroad train to carry the national candidates and a corps of cold-water spellbinders from city to city and State to State on a campaigning tour—the design being to make ten or twelve stops each day, and hold a rally at each stopping-place.

William T. Wardwell was, until about one year ago, treasurer of the Standard Oil Company, and his connection with the "octopus" had no little to do in engendering the discontent that led to the split in the party in 1896. He, as well as Mr. Woolley and Mr. Metcalf, has joined the party since the St. John campaign in 1884. He has been since then, more than any other one man, the financial mainstay of the party.

The question that is, or used to be, often asked as to whence come the sinews of war for the Prohibition party's campaigns, needs no answer to any one who has attended one of the party conventions. Next to making the nominations, the important work of each and every convention is the raising of funds in a regular Methodist camp-meeting style. In fact, a Prohibition convention has a very religious cast to

it throughout. It is a custom to hold a prayer and praise meeting for several hours preceding the convention proper; and it is not unusual, in New York State, at least, for the delegates, on the various railroad trains that take them back to their homes, to hold enthusiastic prayer-meetings in the coaches, much to the surprise of other passengers. Every mass-meeting and nearly every committee-meeting must open with prayer, and the usual methods of manifesting approval of a speaker or the points of his speech are the Chautauqua salute of waving handkerchiefs and shouts of "Amen!" Mr. Woolley probably owes much of his popularity as a speaker to the fact that he generally takes a text from the Bible, and his speeches are less political addresses than sermons faintly flavored with politics.

This year, as has been already said, the Prohibitionists are counting on a large increase in their vote. Their hopes are based chiefly on the obvious discontent of a number of voters in each of the major parties, and on the "canteen issue." This issue has for them this peculiar advantage: that it is, obviously, what there is of it, a national, not a State, issue. For one of the weaknesses of the Prohibition party in the past, in all national elections, has been that the issue on which alone it now rests is primarily a State issue, and only secondarily a national issue. The connection between the White House and the closing of the saloons in, say, Schenectady, N. Y., or Lorain County, Ohio, is too obscure not to require considerable explanation and argument. Congress has no Constitutional power to legislate the saloons out of existence in a single county or borough of any State of the Union; much less has the President any such power. That calls for the exercise of the "police powers," and these are distinctly reserved to the several States. Congress can deal as it wishes with the saloons in the Territories, and it can forbid importations and exportations of liquor; but it can touch the traffic in the States only indirectly, through its power to regulate interstate commerce and its taxing power. But Congress and the President have complete power in the army posts and naval stations; and out of these posts has come the canteen issue, which Prohibitionists are pressing with all their power upon the churches.

The "canteen" is a name used for that feature of the army post exchange that provides for the sale of wine, beer, and tobacco to the members of the post. The post exchange is maintained under special regulations prepared by the War Department under the general powers conferred by act of Congress March 1, 1875, to "make and publish regulations for the govern-

ment of the army." The power and the responsibility, therefore, rest upon the War Department and the President. Availing himself of this authority, President Hayes issued an order February 22, 1881, directing the Secretary of War to take suitable steps "to prevent the sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage at the camps, forts, and other posts of the army." This order was revoked under President Cleveland's administration, and when Mr. McKinley assumed the reins of government the canteen was already flourishing. The reasons assigned for its establishment were the abuses of the old post-trader system. It was thought that the sale of beer and wine in the army post, under army regulations, would be more conducive to "temperance and discipline" than the sale of all kinds of drinks carried on outside of the post by civilians. The soldier will drink, so the defenders of the canteen argue, and, if he cannot get anything to drink inside the post, he will resort to saloons outside, where he will be more apt to indulge without restraint, and be more subject to abuse. That is the theory of the canteen; and that, its upholders contend, is also the practical result. On the other hand, it is argued that the sale of beer and wine by the direct authority of the War Department gives the moral support of the government to the drinking habit, and increases the temptations of the soldier by placing the means of indulgence constantly before him. The actual results flowing from the canteen are a subject on which officers of the army radically differ. Among those who have openly condemned it as prejudicial to morals and discipline are Generals Corbin, Shafter, O. O. Howard (now retired), Wheeler, and Guy V. Henry. General Miles, on July 2, 1898, issued a general order, saying among other things: "The history of other armies has demonstrated that, in a hot climate, abstinence from the use of intoxicating drink is essential to continued health and efficiency."

Secretary Root, however, has recently published a document of over 250 pages, containing the views of a large number of army officers, and an "overwhelming majority" express opinions in favor of the canteen as tending to greater sobriety and better discipline.

The present agitation against the canteen was begun eight or ten years ago; but the Spanish-American War brought the canteen into greater prominence, especially in the camps of the volunteers at Chickamauga, Tampa, and elsewhere. Petitions for its abolition were sent in large numbers to the President and to members of Congress; and, as a result, Congress, in enacting a general army bill (approved March 2,

1899), included a section (No. 17) drafted by the opponents of the canteen, and designed, without question, for the purpose of ending entirely all sales of intoxicating drinks at army posts. Section 17 reads as follows:

That no officer or private soldier shall be detailed to sell intoxicating drinks, as a bartender or otherwise, in any post exchange or canteen; nor shall any other person be required or allowed to sell such liquors in any encampment or fort or on any premises used for military purposes by the United States; and the Secretary of War is hereby directed to issue such general order as may be necessary to carry the provisions of this section into full force and effect.

Before acting on this order, the Secretary of War, then General Alger, submitted the section to Attorney-General Griggs, requesting an opinion on its scope and meaning. The Attorney-General's interpretation came upon the temperance people like a bolt from a clear sky, and caused feelings of astonishment in the minds of a good many others. The Attorney-General declared that the law must be interpreted—(1) to forbid the detail of any officer or soldier to sell intoxicating drinks; (2) to forbid the custom, sometimes observed, of allowing civilians to come into the post for the purpose of selling such drinks on their own account; but (3) did not forbid post commanders from employing civilians to sell drinks for the canteen, since "employment is a matter of contract, and not of requirement or permission."

After the temperance folk had recovered their breath, a delegation representing nearly all the temperance organizations of the country called upon the President to expostulate and to request that the case be reopened and reconsidered. Mr. Alger had, in the meantime, resigned, and Mr. Root had been appointed his successor. The President gave a hearing to the delegation, and stated that Secretary Alger's application to the Attorney-General had been made without his (the President's) knowledge; nor did he know of the Attorney-General's interpretation until several days after it had been delivered. He promised to have the subject reconsidered by the Attorney-General, and the delegation withdrew. The reconsideration resulted in a reaffirmation of the previous interpretation, and the status of the canteen to-day is this: Any commander of a post "may" establish a canteen, but he can no longer detail a soldier to act as bartender. He must employ a civilian.

Such are the main facts in regard to the canteen issue. In holding the administration to account for failure to abolish the sale of drinks in the army posts, it is but fair to note that the sales in the navy have been discontinued under

the present administration. On February 3, 1899, the Secretary of the Navy issued General Order No. 508, as follows :

"After mature deliberation, the department has decided that it is for the best interest of the service that the sale or issue to enlisted men of malt or other alcoholic liquors on board ships of the navy, or within the limits of naval stations, be prohibited.

Therefore, after the receipt of this order, commanding officers and commandants are forbidden to allow any malt or other alcoholic liquor to be sold to, or issued to, enlisted men, either on board ship, or within the limits of navy-yards, navy-stations, or marine barracks, except in the medical department.

JOHN D. LONG, Secretary.

In close connection with the canteen issue is the "expansion" of the liquor traffic into our new possessions, and especially into the Philippines. As the islands have hitherto, since our advent, been under military rule, the War Department is also held responsible for this expansion. The national organ of the Prohibition party, Mr. Woolley's paper, sent a special commissioner, Mr. William E. Johnson, to the archipelago several months ago, and is now publishing his reports week by week. Among other facts, he gives figures showing that there were 11,902 cases of summary court-martial (nearly all for drunkenness and disorder) among the soldiers in Manila, averaging 21,078 in number, in a period of ten and one-half months, ending June 30, 1899.

On this subject, it will be remembered, President Schurman, of Cornell University, the chairman of the first Philippine Commission, wrote as follows :

I regret that the Americans allowed the saloon to get a foothold on the islands. That has hurt the Americans more than anything else, and the spectacle of Americans drunk awakens disgust among the Filipinos. We suppressed the cock-fight there and permitted the taverns to flourish. One emphasized the Filipino frailty, and the other the American vice. I have never seen a Filipino drunkard.

A clear distinction is not, but always should be, made between the Prohibition party and the prohibitory movements, usually called "amendment campaigns," which have made "dry" States of Maine, Vermont, Kansas, Iowa (until recently), and the two Dakotas; and which, prior to the Civil War, swept a dozen or more States, including New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, into the dry column. None of these States (no State, in fact) has ever been carried by the Prohibition party. In none of them is the party vote proportionally any larger than in non-pro-

hibitory States; it is usually even smaller. The amendment campaign is carried out on non-partisan lines, and does not require that the Republican or Democratic voter who sustains it shall leave his party to do so. To support the Prohibition party, the voter is expected to sever all other party ties, State and national. The non-partisan plan is obviously the quickest way to obtain a prohibitory law; but the champions of the party plan insist that the quicker plan is ineffective to secure the enforcement of the law.

The political effect of an active campaign by the Prohibition party may, in the event of a close fight between the Republicans and Democrats, be very considerable. St. John was often referred to, after the campaign of 1884, as "the man who beat Blaine;" and it is unquestionable that his vote in New York State deprived the Republican party of votes enough to have changed the result in the electoral college. Two years later, a postal-card investigation was made by *The Voice* into the political antecedents of those at that time in the Prohibition party. The results indicated that four Prohibitionists had been drawn from the Republican party for every one drawn from the Democratic party. Yet Prohibition sentiment in the Southern States is far more prevalent than in the North. In the South, however, the agitation is for the most part carried on within the ranks of the dominant party; and the remedy is sought from State, not federal, legislation. Thus South Carolina, where the sentiment for State Prohibition has several times come very near carrying the day, cast no vote, either in 1896 or 1892, for the Prohibition Presidential candidate. Mississippi, where three-fourths or more of the State is under prohibitory law, cast but 485 votes for Levering, and 910 for Bidwell. More than one-half of Bidwell's support came from five States: Illinois, Minnesota, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. The "close States" in 1896 (with less than 5 per cent. plurality either way) were California, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Nebraska, North Carolina, Oregon, South Dakota, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wyoming. In but two of these, Kentucky and South Dakota, was the Prohibition party vote equal to the difference between the votes of the two leading candidates. Four years before, however, the party had the "balance of power" in nine States: California, Delaware, Indiana, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, and Wisconsin. If four converts are still made from the Republican ranks for each one from the Democrats, any considerable increase in the Prohibition vote this year may cost President McKinley his reelection.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

AMERICA'S DUTY IN CHINA.

IN a succinct article contributed to the *North American Review* for August, the Hon. John Barrett summarizes the position and policy of the United States in the present Chinese crisis, under the following heads :

"(1) America is the logical arbiter of China's future ; the fate of the empire depends upon the favor of the republic ;

"(2) If there is a 'yellow peril' threatening the white world, America, more than any other power, can lead the way to rendering it colorless and innocuous ; because,

"(3) America is the only nation present in China to-day, with force and with prominent interests, rights, and commerce, which has the unqualified confidence and trust of the European nations, Japan, and China alike, or is not the object of long-standing jealousy and distrust ; and,

"(4) An international congress or conference, in which America for the three reasons just given should occupy a prominent and possibly the leading part, will, in the nature of events, be assembled in the near future, to consider what shall be the attitude and policy of the nations of the world, not only in coping with the great problems of the reëstablishment of order, the rehabilitation of the government, the award of punishment and indemnities, but in determining the future status of China's government and territory and their relation to the outer world."

A DEFINITE POLICY OUTLINED.

As planks in a possible Chinese platform for the government at Washington, Mr. Barrett formulates these guiding principles :

"(1) The United States desires and should take no port, province, or part of China, either as a sphere of temporary influence or as an area of actual sovereignty.

"(2) The United States should oppose, with all its moral, political, and diplomatic influence, any partition of China among the foreign powers, or any delimitation of acknowledged spheres of influence.

"(3) The United States should insist upon the permanent maintenance of the trade principle of the 'open door,' as outlined in the present Chinese treaties, throughout all China, by all the powers endeavoring to exercise influence within her limits.

"(4) The United States, provided the dissolution of the empire is inevitable, despite our best efforts of diplomacy and moral suasion, should

insist upon the guarantee, by formal convention, of the 'open-door' principle in all the various areas of foreign sovereignty in China, and will carefully guard against excuses for discriminating duties, national rebates or subsidies, and special freight charges—for the consuming powers of an increasing population of 400,000,000 people and the material development of 4,000,000 square miles are involved.

"(5) The United States, acting with charity and equity, and in no spirit of vengeance, should employ all its moral and material influence in prescribing just punishment and indemnity for loss of life and property sustained at the hands of fanatical and insurrectionary mobs ; in adjusting the true moral responsibility of the overwhelmed government ; in establishing permanent order and honest progressive administration of government throughout the empire ; in safeguarding, both for the present and the future, the lives, rights, and holdings of missionaries, merchants, and other foreign residents ; and, finally, in so preparing the way for peace, order, and prosperity, to be followed by liberty, justice, and freedom under the guiding direction of Christian civilization, that we shall win the lasting gratitude of the countless blameless Chinese, and make them forever our disciples in moral and material progress."

Mr. Barrett holds that no other nation is trusted in the same degree, alike by the European powers, by Japan, and by China herself ; hence, the United States is the one nation that can exercise, from sheer strength of position, the moral influence and leadership needed to assure a just and lasting settlement of the present difficulties. Furthermore, in Mr. Barrett's view, America has everything to gain and nothing to lose by an undivided China.

RUSSIA'S STAKE IN CHINA.

IN the *Atlantic Monthly* for September, Mr. Brooks Adams, under the title "Russia's Interest in China," describes the crisis which is facing the country of the Czar. To appreciate this crisis, it is necessary to understand both Russia's geographical position and the hereditary temper of her people. To the south she is shut in by an inland sea ; to the north her harbors are few, distant from the richest portions of the country, and ice-bound. Siberia is but a narrow strip between two deserts, a strip so narrow that transportation in bulk, such as is the basis of the American system, seems impossible. Then Rus-

sia is peopled by an archaic race ; that is, a race which moves more slowly and more wastefully than its Western rivals, and a race, moreover, essentially Asiatic. Mr. Adams goes on to show that Russians have not been and are not capable of conducting their country profitably on a financial basis, owing to the archaic characteristics of her people and the inevitable handicap. He infers that Russia as now organized is not on a paying basis, and that the Russians are not adapted, or easily adapted, to the exigencies of modern competition. He points to the well-known fact that the commercial interests of the empire in the chief cities of European Russia are passing under the control of Germans and Jews. At the same time the condition of the peasantry is deplorable. As the price of grain has fallen taxes have risen, until the margin of profit on the average crop has dwindled to a bare subsistence, and a bad season means famine.

RUSSIA'S ALTERNATIVES.

All of these phenomena mean, in Mr. Adams' opinion, that Russia must do either one of two things : undergo a social reorganization which will put her upon a cheaper administrative basis, or she must obtain fresh property which she can mortgage ; in other words, she must expand. He believes the social conservatism of the race will prevent the first alternative, and that the best goal of the second is to be found in the Shansi minerals.

"Should the military and agrarian party gain the upper hand, and some think it has the upper hand already, an attempt would probably be made to absorb the northern provinces of China. The question is how this would affect the United States. Evidently the United States has nothing to gain by the opening up of Asia. The United States is now mistress of the situation ; the United States is fast attaining a commercial supremacy heretofore unrivaled. An industrial movement in the valleys of the Ho-hang-ho and Yang-tse could only tend to her embarrassment. The best thing that could happen for her would be for China to remain as she is. But the very success and energy of America make it unlikely that China can stay stationary ; an effort at development is inevitable, and it behooves Americans to consider whether they can safely allow that development to be wholly controlled by others. If Russia should absorb Shansi, she cannot organize it alone. She has neither the genius nor the capital. She must mortgage her property, in the future as in the past ; and there is a likelihood that the mortgagee will ultimately come into possession. Even supposing a conflict between Japan and Russia, in which Japan

should prevail, the situation would remain substantially unchanged, for the Japanese are both from a financial and an administrative standpoint as unequal as Russia to handle such a task. They would have to resort to the same expedients as their adversary."

A DEFENSE OF THE CHINESE.

IN the September *Cosmopolitan*, Mr. John Brisben Walker, its editor, takes a very decided, and a rather unusual, view of the Eastern crisis, in his article on "China and the Powers." Mr. Walker has a right to opinions of his own ; for, when he left West Point in 1868, he entered the Chinese military service, became a personal friend of Sir Robert Hart's, and gained a first-hand knowledge of the Chinese character. Mr. Walker thinks the Chinese have been used very hardly in the events which have come about since June 15. He says :

"If, after the massacre of the Italians in the city of New Orleans, Italy had suddenly thrown its fleet into Boston harbor, and without warning attacked our forts and landed an army, we should have a case not unlike that which exists in China to-day.

MR. WALKER'S VIEW OF THE LEGATION TROUBLES.

"A secret society suddenly appears in the streets of Peking, intimidates the government, menaces the lives of the foreigners, and threatens even the overturning of the dynasty itself. While the government is surrounded by the complications which ensue, the foreign office makes a request to the legations to keep within the walls of their compounds as far as may be possible. The German minister sends word that he wishes to call at the Tsung-li-Yamen. A reply is sent begging him not to come, and saying that his life will be in danger. Arrogantly persisting in his purpose, he is attacked by a band of rebels and killed. His guard of German cavalry, in blind rage, not distinguishing friend from foe, attacks the Emperor's foreign offices, and burns the buildings.

"Instantly the riot and commotion within the city are increased tenfold. Even the conservative Chinese are roused from their indifference by this indignity heaped upon them by a handful of foreigners. Additional bands of the secret society gain entrance to the city, and under the leadership of an ambitious prince practically take possession. Every effort is made by the government to protect the legations.

"HOT-HEADED NAVAL COMMANDERS."

"Hot-headed naval commanders, without attempting to understand the difficulties under

which the government is laboring, demand the surrender of China's chief coast fortifications at Taku, and without giving the officers in command time to communicate with their superiors, begin a bombardment which results in the loss of some thousands of lives; the most authentic information warranting the belief that, even after the surrender, the Russian troops shot down the Chinese officers tendering their swords, in absolute cold blood. We have to be thankful that a high-minded American naval officer refused to take part in these outrages.

"Then, during weeks, came reports of the most horrible barbarities on the part of the Chinese in Peking. The ambassadors had been seized, cut in twain, skinned alive, boiled in oil—no indignity was missing from the circumstantial accounts, except the outrages upon women, which were described as nameless.

"Later came the information that the embassies, after being attacked by the rioters, had been protected by the Imperial Government, food supplied to them, and every effort made for their protection. While the offer was being made to send the legations under a strong guard to Tientsin, and while there seemed every prospect of their reaching the coast alive, the same hot-headed judgment which had advised the attack on the Taku forts started a movement of the allied forces to Peking."

Mr. Walker agrees with the opinion recently given him by a Russian, that Russia wants no dismemberment of China, but wants the whole country. Mr. Walker thinks it is eminently our interest to preserve the integrity of the Chinese empire, and that we as well as Europe should strengthen the hands of the existing Chinese administration.

THE INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM IN CHINA.

THE English reviews for August are full of the revolt of the yellow man and the new questions it raises. The shrill cry for vengeance is less audible than the deep note of constructive responsibility.

Demetrius C. Boulger is in truculent mood. He writes in the *Fortnightly* on "Peking—And After." He reiterates what he said in 1880, that the power which obtains the control of her fighting millions will secure the mastery of the world. But, he urges, no single power must be allowed to secure that control. He then declares for "an indelible act of vengeance and retribution." This is the policy he commends to Christian powers:

"Let us hope that no false sentimentality will hold back the arm of righteous wrath, and that of

Peking as a city there will be made an end. In its palaces may there be desolation, and let the plowshare pass over its polluted streets. The complete destruction of Peking alone will strike terror to the heart of the Chinese race, and at the same time it will simplify the solution of the Chinese problem. . . . If we have lost the capacity of being vindictive, and the manner in which we have carried on the war against the Boers makes it look as if we had, let us hand the task over to the Japanese, who will do it in a thoroughly Oriental fashion, and wipe out the murderous brood of Tuan and Tung, with the she-devil of an Empress at their head."

COMPETITION IN PARTITION.

"With the downfall of the Manchus a central government in China will also disappear, and it is impossible to see any means of reviving it. There is no one to put in their place. . . . There remains, then, no practical alternative to a subdivision of the task, or, in plain words, to a partition of China. The destruction of Peking will, therefore, be followed at a brief interval by an international conference, the seat of which we must be careful to insist shall be in London. . . . How it will be done must be left to the discretion and opportunities of each participant; but human nature is not so bad as to justify any doubt that all will try to do it well for the honor of civilization and the benefit of the Chinese people. It will be an international competition of the most interesting and critical nature, by which the relative positions of the races of the earth will be tested and assigned."

Mr. Boulger concludes with the sanguine hope that there will be imparted to this question "a chivalry, a mutual forbearance, and consideration that have not been witnessed among the nations since the Crusades."

A Testimony of Horror.

Blackwood, which attributes the present upset to England's acquiescence in the violent and unjustifiable *coup d'état* of the Empress when she deposed the rightful Emperor, insists on exemplary vengeance:

"It is but common justice that the instigators of the enormity should be held personally responsible for it; and among these stand prominently forward the Dowager Empress, Prince Tuan, and General Tung Fuhsiang. But the nation should bear its share, and, in addition to an ample money penalty, some lasting testimony should be given of the horror which the crime has evoked. If the walls of Peking, in which the people trusted, were leveled to the ground, and their foundations sown with salt, it would

teach future generations that such dastardly deeds cannot be committed without bringing down on their authors just and crowning retribution."

A More Temperate View.

In the *Nineteenth Century*, Mr. Frederick Greenwood discusses the Chinese revolt, which he predicted nine years ago. He says we have now discovered that "what the European governments have to deal with is a truly national movement, not sudden and unconsidered, but of steady growth, calculated, determined, and supplied with every moral and material element of persistency." The issue lies largely within the choice of China. Mr. Greenwood thinks:

"The likelier thing, then, seems to be that Li Hung Chang's intention, at the same time his commission, includes the expedient of putting the revolt away out of sight; thereby leaving the European governments to determine whether to be content with an ostensible suppression . . . or to call back the revolt and force on a conflict which may alter the destinies of Europe and Asia for centuries to come."

Russia's dream, "China is Our India," and Japan's dream of a "Mongolian confederation that should sweep the world," must now be modified. As for England's course:

"Punishment for murderous lawlessness of course there must be; and, to be fitting and politic, it should be severe. But afterwards it will be wise to consider the dictum of the learned Von Brandt, that the system of dealing with the Chinese will have to be altered materially; and most wise will it be to think once, twice, and thrice before committing England to any scheme of conquest and partition."

Is a Punitive War Possible?

"Vengeance and Afterwards" is the title of Mr. Edward Dicey's contribution to the *Nineteenth Century*. He asks, Is punishment possible? England and most of the other powers could not consent to sack, loot, burn Peking, and put its inhabitants to the sword. "The conscience of Christendom would be shocked." To rescue the British Legation from death Mr. Dicey would employ all British forces available; "but to avenge their death at the cost of engaging in a war with China is a different affair." It seems that "any punitive expedition against Peking can only be undertaken as a part of a general campaign against the Celestial Empire":

"I do not hesitate, therefore, to say that the probable results of a European intervention in China must be the ultimate conquest of the empire by one of the intervening powers, or its partition between two or more of these powers.

These are not results which England can afford to contemplate with indifference, still less with satisfaction. Our interest, therefore, for the time being, is to maintain the *status quo* in China."

Mr. Dicey also points out that, if England interferes at all, she can only do so as a military inferior to Russia and Japan.

"China for the Chinese."

Mr. Emerson Bainbridge, M.P., suggests in the *Contemporary* that the powers should first agree on the general principle of "China for the Chinese;" the establishment, therefore, of law and order and sound administration. Then "the wisest course to be taken by the European powers at the present moment would be to give to any single nation who would undertake it the opportunity of establishing a new administration for the whole of China, and the construction of a comprehensive railway system, on the understanding that the trade of the country was open and free to the whole world. Jealousy and distrust will prevent this."

As the next best thing, the writer recommends the assignment of separate areas to the powers, or such administration and development subject to schemes prepared by an international board.

The American Factor.

Mr. Josiah Quincy writes in the *Contemporary* on "The United States in China." He recognizes that Secretary Hay's circular marks a new departure in American policy. The United States enter the Eastern arena in a spirit of good-will to Great Britain. But should the trouble expand into a struggle for Korea between Russia and Japan, or for Asia between Britain and Russia, the United States would remain strictly neutral. The writer sees only two courses open for the present crisis: the maintenance of a central Chinese government, subject to the control of the powers; or the division of China into administrative areas or spheres of influence, within each of which one power, acting through native rulers, should be responsible for order. In the latter case, the United States would only ask for the open door. In the former, Mr. Hay's action would seem to involve his country in a share of the international control.

A French View of the Crisis.

In her interesting letters on foreign politics in the *Nouvelle Revue*, Mme. Adam attributes the situation in China partly to the brutal mailed fist of Germany, but mainly to the perfidious intrigues of England. England, she says, gave to Sir Claude Macdonald instructions designed to unchain the fanaticism and Chauvinism of the

Chinese. Mme. Adam evidently has a great sympathy with the deep anger of the Chinese at the disturbing influences of Western civilization. The old serenity of Chinese life is gone wherever the foreigners have come; and to insist at this time on the "open door" is simply to provoke the fanaticism of a people capable of shutting themselves up within a great wall. The Chinese consented to open their gates to European commerce little by little; they submitted to the introduction of Christian missions in so far as those missions were purely religious and humanitarian; and they trusted, says Mme. Adam, a little too much to the Russians, with whom they have certain racial ties. The assistance afforded to the reformer Kang Yu Wei by Great Britain served to draw out the great qualities of the Dowager Empress, who will assuredly live in history as one of the great rulers of the world. Mme. Adam reminds us that the Chinese people have never really accepted the foreign Manchu dynasty, and asserts that the patriotic Chinese hate the English devils more than all the rest of the foreign devils. Mme. Adam's programme is to demand reparation for crimes which have been committed, to consent to the peace proposals of Li Hung Chang,—while at the same time keeping a sharp lookout on that personage,—and to give to Russia the mission of defending the interests of Europe.

From a Norwegian Point of View.

Kringsjaa (June 30) contains an article on the China trouble by a frequent contributor, who veils his identity under the initials "R. E." Not only is this writer an ardent pro-Boer, but he has the temerity also to declare that the Chinese may claim a little of the same sympathy to which the Boers are so strongly entitled. That the Chinese are bigoted and narrow-minded in their arrogant contempt for all things foreign, and that the Boxers are brutal and coarse, no one, he says, can deny. But is there not also, he asks, something bigoted and shortsighted and overbearing in Europe's treatment of the ancient religion and culture of China? Is there nothing brutal in the constant land-grabbings of the powers? Take it all in all, the endeavor of the missions to obtrude the Christian religion upon China is to the full as narrow-minded and bigoted as the Chinese anti-foreign exclusiveness. What China needs is not the religion of the West, but its knowledge. Were China as enlightened as Europe, the superstitious outgrowths of her own religion would gradually fall away, and what was left—a purified Buddhism—would, as easily as Christianity—if not more so—reconcile itself with a high culture.

The powers have behaved in China, says

"R. E.," too much like conquerors, too little like educationalists. It was their mission to convince the Chinese of the value and necessity of commercial, economic, and political reforms, and make them personally and pecuniarily interested in the carrying out of such reforms. This would have been "Good Samaritan" work, and China would possibly have grown well and sound, and we should have had in the East a new and greater Japan. But the politics of the powers? Have these been in harmony with the claims of Christianity and civilization? They have found a sick and apparently dying man by the roadside; and how have they treated him? Have they poured oil and wine in his wounds and sought to revive him? By no means. They have surrounded him like hungry vultures waiting for the last breath of life to leave their prey, that they might divide it among them. Already they have agreed how such a division should be made, not to cause an angry hacking-out of eyes among themselves. And now all at once the dying man has got on his legs again and begun to strike out right and left to save himself—at which the vultures are naturally irritated. They find themselves face to face with a new problem. Before, the problem was how to agree in the division of the spoil. Now the problem is how to make the man go on peacefully with his dying.

According to "R. E.," the powers will find China a nut all too hard to crack. They will find their "mailed fist" powerless. The Chinese are masters in the organization of secret societies, and they will make life impossible for Europeans and for all who serve or sympathize with Europeans. No European will dare to accept food from a Chinaman. He will be starved out of China, if not poisoned or otherwise killed. And wheresoever a European shall dare to make his home, there at once on the walls will be posted a mystic placard that will mean death to him.

Leading Chinamen.

Mr. D. C. Boulger obligingly instructs the readers of the *Contemporary* as to "Who's Who in China." Jung Lu he takes to be "a man in favor of moderation, if not of absolute progress." Kang Yi is "as anti-foreign and violent as Prince Tuan." Yuan Shih Kai is "a man of much craft and address." Prince Ching's "influence is not great." Of Li Hung Chang, he says:

"I remember well General Gordon saying to me that if we put Li Hung Chang in the place of the Manchus, as was talked of in 1880, we should find him more obstructive and difficult than the present dynasty. I think we should be

prepared at any moment to see Li Hung Chang range himself on the side of the reactionaries and anti-foreigners as soon as he finds that matters cannot be patched up by one of his favorite make-believes. To whatever side he attaches himself, he will bring little strength. His reputation and following are both gone, and his political, like his physical, vigor is now but a wreck."

Of Chang Chih Tung, the writer speaks in terms of great respect. Old and cautious, he espoused the cause of reform; but he has not much force behind him, and is strongly opposed to the opium policy of the foreigner. Liu Kun Yi is stronger, younger, more energetic, and is said to be well disposed to England. Sheng is "thoroughly unscrupulous," and is succeeding to the guile and humbug of Li Hung Chang.

THE BOXERS.

THE first July number of the *Nouvelle Revue* contains an interesting paper by M. de Pouvoirville on the Boxers. The author hopes that the explanation of the causes of the anti-foreign outbreak in China may furnish also an indication of how the revolution may be quelled, and also how similar revolutions may be prevented in future. He traces the indignation of the Chinese Tories at the invasion of the foreign devils with their railway schemes, and shows how the secret societies of the Boxers, under the protection of Prince Tuan, and secretly countenanced by the Dowager Empress, first rose against the engineers of the Franco-Belgian Railway, and so started a general movement against foreigners. M. de Pouvoirville assures us that the connection of the word "Boxer" with boxing in the sense of the noble art of self-defense is a delusion. The sect, which is an offshoot of one of the two great secret societies in China, is called Kiaôtze, which signifies Society of Universal Harmony; the disorderly youths who fight in the streets are called Kiào, and from the confusion of these different but similar words has arisen the very false derivation. The outbreak is merely an incident in the eternal struggle between the yellow and the white man, and the railway

concessions are merely a pretext for a revival of the contest which will only end, says M. de Pouvoirville, either in the retreat of the white man or in the extermination of the yellow man.

A SECRET SOCIETY 2,500 YEARS OLD.

There are, as has always been said, only two secret societies in China of any importance—one for the North and one for the South; and the apparent multiplication of secret societies is due to the fact that any group of members belonging to one or other of the two secret societies are in the habit of taking a special name when they seek to accomplish some political design, in order that the parent society may not be compromised. So these so-called Boxers arose out of the determination to resist railway extensions. These Kiaôtze, as they should be called, emanate from the great Northern secret society, which is called "Thiendianhien," known generally in Europe as the Society of the True Ancestor; this ancestor being Heaven, "from which we all come, and in the bosom of which we shall all one day be restored." This society has existed for 2,500 years, during which it has considerably changed its objects. It was at first a mystical organization, and then it developed into a kind of Chinese Freemasonry designed to preserve the solidarity of the yellow race; and the Chinaman, even if he is not already a member of it, joins it the moment he decides to expatriate himself to the United States, or Singapore, or Ceylon, or Australia, or any other country of the foreign devil. His reason for doing so is that the society secures, in the event of his death, the



CHINESE READING BOXER PLACARDS IN THE STREETS.

return of his corpse to his native country—an essential object with them; for otherwise it would not be saved and restored to Heaven, the True Ancestor, unless he were buried in Chinese soil. So that thus the very process of emigration, which might seem the weakness, makes for the strength of this remarkable society, which has developed from being a simple friendly society of Chinese into a definite alliance against white men. The “Thiendianhien” counts adherents all over China, but particularly in the North.

ANOTHER IN THE SOUTH.

The other secret society, which is better organized and infinitely more dangerous, is practically all-powerful in the South; and M. de Pourville sees in it the great danger to French domination in Indo-China. It may be called the white “Nénufar,” and, like the Northern society, it began in mysticism and developed into political tendencies. Now it has become absolutely revolutionary, having for its object the restoration of China to the Chinese, and to belong to it it is not necessary to be a Chinaman.

Enough has already been said to indicate that the objects of these two societies are irreconcilable. To the Northern society belong the high mandarins, the ministers, and the members of the Imperial family, all of whom, like the great Li Hung Chang, are desirous of maintaining their own power, which is bound up in the existing order of things. The Southern society, on the other hand, the bulk of whose adherents are Chinese of poor race, considers the present dynasty as usurpers, as indeed they are. It dreams of the fall of the present dynasty, and the substitution for it of a national royal family. Railroads are a great terror to the Northern society; but the Southern society would utilize them for its own purposes.

NORTH AND SOUTH UNITING.

The white “Nénufar” is composed of ardent souls, wide-minded and intelligent people, who desire to have well-equipped armies, furnished with the most modern weapons, in order to preserve the national soil from the presence of the foreigner; and by foreigner the society means not only the white man, but the Manchu, the Tartar, and the Mongol from the North. At first the “Nénufar” did not think much of the Boxer outbreak. It supposed that it was an arranged rebellion started in order to consolidate the power of the Dowager Empress; but when it realized that the movement in the North was essentially anti-foreign, it prepared to make attacks upon foreigners, and revived its old dream

of a Taiping Emperor at Nanking. It is terrible, in view of what has happened, to read M. de Pourville's confident prophecies. “It is impossible,” he says, “to take seriously the 120,000 men who played the bully before our legations, and did not dare assail them, because there are in each of them an average of 80 European soldiers.” The danger, he thought, lay more hidden in the national movement.

SECRET SOCIETIES AND THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT.

PROFESSOR LODOVICO NOCENTINI, of the University of Rome, who was for many years in the Italian diplomatic service in China, writing of “Secret Societies and the Chinese Dynasty,” in *Nuova Antologia* for July 1, attributes to Chinese secret societies a high antiquity and great influence. Professor Nocentini finds in the retention of tribal names in China, after the tribes had disintegrated into families, evidence of the strength of the associative tendency among the Chinese. The societies he regards as an outgrowth of the tribal spirit surviving into later ages. The earliest associations were presumably formed first for mutual aid, and next probably for the maintenance of certain moral observances. Societies for the cultivation of morals, according to Professor Nocentini, existed at least as early as the time of Confucius, who lived in the second half of the sixth and first half of the fifth century before the Christian Era. The turning of such societies to political purposes seems to have been the result of circumstances; but since the accession of the present dynasty the activities of the societies have been directed almost exclusively to political objects. In the relations of the societies to the government and the people is the clew to Chinese politics. The reigning dynasty is foreign. The societies represent the national feeling. Assuming that the professor's opinions are in the main correct, much in the policy of the Chinese Government that seemed to be mere capricious vacillation becomes intelligible and defensible.

Professor Nocentini remarks that, while preceding dynasties were principally occupied with protecting the throne against foreign enemies, the present dynasty has found itself continually threatened by rebellions set on foot by the secret societies, which have directed their resources to the patriotic purpose of restoring the empire, perhaps to some branch of the last reigning family; certainly to a dynasty that is national. The great Taiping Rebellion, so called, with the enormous sacrifices and losses which it caused the empire, was the most powerful of the efforts

put forth by a secret society for the expulsion of the foreign rulers. As indicative of its insurrectionary purpose, the society had chosen for its chief tenet and duty the worship of the Supreme Sovereign or Being—a religious act which, in China, is reserved by law exclusively for the Emperor. How long the rebellion lasted, how nearly successful it was in separating extensive regions from the Chinese empire, are matters of history. But two of the many results that have flowed from it have not been fully realized, if realized at all, by the people and governments of Europe and the United States. As foreigners were prominently instrumental in the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion, a very natural error sprang up in the minds of many foreigners, especially Englishmen and Americans, that foreign influence would be more acceptable in China than it had been previously. Exactly the reverse was the case. The vast numbers of Chinese who sympathized with the rebellion regarded the intrusion of foreigners in the conflict as a meddling coöperation with their foreign rulers; and, second, the Chinese Government, knowing the increased popular hatred of foreigners, was obliged to show a greater aversion for them than before.

DOES THE GOVERNMENT SYMPATHIZE WITH THE BOXERS?

Looked at in this light, China's shuffling, time-serving policy in international affairs seems natural and unavoidable. The reigning dynasty and certain influential classes affiliated with it have much to fear and something to learn and gain from the Western nations, so the government sends and receives embassies, and grants religious and trade privileges. From time to time, however, signs of rebellion are seen. The very things that please foreigners irritate and, in some regions, exasperate the natives. The government must face about and show the natives that it loves not the foreign devils, and that its dealings with them are mere temporizing. Is it not reasonable to suppose that its relations with the Boxers are of this character? So far as is known, there is really no good reason for believing that the Dowager Empress, so called, and her advisers have any special personal dislike of reforms or hatred of foreigners. But their business is to govern and live luxuriously. If Western intruders and native reformers make their business more difficult, naturally they will do what they can and dare to remove the disturbers; but that their doing so shows they are in sympathy with a rebellious secret society cannot reasonably be admitted.

It has been said that, in the recent conflicts in

China, government soldiers have coöperated with the rebels. In that there is nothing improbable. The chief difficulty that besets the central government is that it cannot trust its own army. Members and adherents of the secret societies working for the overthrow of the present dynasty are believed to be enrolled in large numbers among the imperial troops. An effort to suppress rebellion may at any moment enlarge rebellion. That whole brigades of Chinese soldiers may have joined the Boxers compromises the government only in appearance. The coöperation of the government troops may have been mutiny.

The conclusion which Professor Nocentini reaches seems to be in accord with the prevailing opinion in Italy, England, and the United States. He says:

"Admitting that the rebellion . . . may in a short time be suppressed, the difficulties of the central government will not, on that account, be diminished, and there will remain the menace of new disorders against which it will be necessary [for the Western powers] to send again troops with a sacrifice of blood and treasure. . . . If is added, finally, the impossibility of the court's establishing reforms that guarantee European interests, . . . the conclusion seems unavoidable that, to resolve the Chinese question definitively and securely, a temporary European protectorate is absolutely necessary."

JAPAN'S MODERN NAVY.

IN *Cassier's* for August, Rear-Admiral C. C. P. Fitz Gerald, R.N., gives important facts and figures on the subject of the Japanese navy of to-day. He declares that the rise and development of Japan's navy is almost without precedent in the world's history.

"The first real start made by Japan in the production of a modern navy seems to have been the purchase of the ironclad *Stonewall Jackson* from the United States Government in 1866. She was a small ship of only 1,300 tons burden; but she carried a 10-ton gun, besides some smaller ones, and was a powerful ship of her day. She was renamed the *Adzuma*. The first ship built in Great Britain for the Japanese Government was the *Foo-So*. She was built at Poplar by Samuda, from designs by Sir Edward Reed, and was launched in April, 1877. She was a broadside central battery ship, barque rigged, 220 feet long, 48 feet beam, 3,718 tons, double-screw, speed 13 knots, engines by Penn. This ship was followed by the *Kon-go*, *Hi-yei*, and *Rin-jo*, all small ironclads not exceeding 2,300 tons, but carrying powerful armaments for their size. There were also about half a dozen

unarmored ships of little fighting value. This was the state of the Japanese navy in 1880.

"Five years later, in 1885, Japan had added only one small ironclad to this list; but there were built and building for her several fast and powerful cruisers, armed with Krupp and Armstrong guns. The ironclads, with the exception of the *Foo-So*, were built of wood. In 1890 she had again added only one ironclad to her list in the shape of an armored gunboat; but she had by this time provided herself with a considerable squadron of fast and well-armed cruisers, built in various foreign countries. By 1895, although she had not actually added to her list of armored ships, there were building for her in Great Britain two battleships of the most powerful type, exceeding 12,000 tons displacement, and with a proposed speed of 18 knots. She had also added considerably to her list of fast cruisers. One of these, the *Yoshino*, built at Elswick, had a measured-mile speed of 22.5 knots.

"There can be no doubt that the Sino-Japanese war gave an immense impetus to the development of the Japanese navy. Not only were ships captured from the Chinese, some of which were repaired and are now in commission, but large orders were placed abroad for warships of all classes, including torpedo craft, and the Japanese also set to work to build ships in their own dockyards."

BATTLESHIPS AND CRUISERS.

Japan now possesses six battleships, all built in England; namely, the *Fuji*, the *Yashima*,

the *Shikishima*, the *Asahi*, the *Hatsusi*, and the *Mikasa*.

"These are first-class battleships in the fullest sense of the term, ranging in tonnage from the 12,300 of the *Yashima* to the 15,000 of the



THE CRUISER "ASAMA." BUILT AT NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE (9,750 TONS; 21.5 KNOTS).
(Type of the new Japanese warships.)

Asahi, *Hatsusi*, and *Mikasa*. Their speeds are all at least 18 knots; they are armed with the most powerful modern guns, and considerable areas of their sides are protected by the latest and most up-to-date face-hardened armor. Four of the six carry more armor and more guns than British first-class battleships, but less coal. There is also the *Chinyen* (late *Chin Yuen*), captured from the Chinese, German built. She has been thoroughly repaired, and is now in commission; and, although she cannot be classed as a first-class battleship, being of only 7,220 tons, and 14 knots speed, she is a powerful ship of her class."

Next to the battleships comes a squadron of

six very powerful vessels which Admiral Fitz Gerald seems to rank as second-class battleships, having the speed of cruisers. Four of these, the *Tokiwa*, the *Asama*, the *Idzuma*, and the *Iwate*, have all been built in England on the designs of Mr. Philip Watts. Each of these ships is of 9,750 tons, and has a speed of 21.5 knots.

The *Adzuma*, of 9,436 tons, but the same armament, and 20-knot speed, is building at St. Nazaire, in France, by the Société de la Loire, and is to be ready this year. The *Yakuma*, of 9,850 tons, and the same speed and armament as the *Adzuma*, is building at the Vulcan works, Stettin, Germany.

Japan owns one other armored cruiser, the *Chiyoda*, and ten second-class unarmored cruisers, most of which took part in the battle of the Yalu, besides several third-class cruisers and gunboats, while a full complement of torpedo-boats and torpedo-boat destroyers is in course of construction.

FRANCE'S FLEET AND HER COLONIAL ARMY.

IN the second July number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, M. Brunetière prints a very interesting letter which he has received from Vice-Admiral de Penfentenyo, designed to show a bellicose policy is inadvisable for France. He begins by drawing several lessons from past history. The French, he says, have always had a false idea of the employment of naval force; they are a nation of soldiers, and the sea is to them an obstacle which must be surmounted; they would burn their ships willingly, like Æneas. But to the English, an island people, the sea is the great road of communication which brings all peoples together in the time of peace, and the possession of which in the time of war means victory, because the command of the sea is the only base for any military operation outside. This conception of the sea has been and will always remain one of the most important factors in what the admiral calls "the terrible expansion of the Anglo-Saxon race." France, he goes on to say, has never been able to rise to the height of the admirably simple English naval strategy—namely, to destroy the enemy on the sea. Neglect of this essential object by successive French naval commanders led to the loss of the vast colonial empire which France possessed at the end of the eighteenth century. There is no need to follow the admiral through the detailed historical proofs which he adduces for this thesis. The loss of Canada, Louisiana, of Egypt, and the deplorable end of Leclerc's army in St. Domingo, were merely the inevitable conse-

quences of the errors of French strategy—namely, the neglect to secure any solid base of operations on the sea-coast.

FRENCH COLONIAL SYSTEM BUILT ON A FALLACY.

At the time of the Crimean War, the French fleet was a match for that of England; but since 1870 England's superiority has been allowed to grow. France has been absorbed in internecine strife, and has used up thirty-two ministries of marine in thirty years. England, on the other hand, has secured something like a continuity of administration in naval matters. Thanks to her command of the sea, Great Britain could transport, in complete security, 250,000 men to South Africa, in spite of the protestations of all the European press, and in spite of the sympathy of all the powers with the Boers. The admiral puts his finger on the real defect in French administration when he alludes to the anxiety in France to create numerous well-paid government posts to increase the patronage of the politicians. Her essentially Continental temperament, he says, does not permit France to understand that a minister of the colonies is for her an absurdity; that prosperous colonies and a powerful colonial army will be only chimeras, or, rather, grave strategic and financial mistakes, so long as she does not possess a fleet necessary to make her famed and respected on the sea. What figure will France cut, he asks, in the serious events now developing in China—events of which the principal factor will be the command of the sea? The squadron system, expensive as it is, is an absolute necessity to the power which wishes to keep and defend her vast foreign dominions. Germany understands it to perfection, and the Emperor William recently said: "What a magnificent piece of the Chinese cake we should have been able to cut off for ourselves if we had not delayed so long in providing ourselves with a war fleet, which we lack!" The admiral roundly declares that if France does not wish to lose her vast colonial empire a second time she must radically change her methods. The submarine boats,—about which so much fuss has been made,—though serviceable, perhaps, for the defense of the coast, will never assist one jot in securing freedom of communication on the sea. The admiral deprecates discussion in Parliament by ignorant politicians, and bitterly declares that in France every one speaks on everything—even on that of which he knows the least.

The admiral then turns to the question of the colonial army, and he recalls the fact that after Fashoda there was a great outcry in France for a proper colonial army, which would have saved Fashoda from the ignominy of having to yield.

This is a radical mistake. Let us suppose, says the admiral, that at the moment of Fashoda a powerful army could have been transported there by a wave of some magician's wand. Let us suppose, also, one or two great naval victories assuring the freedom of the Mediterranean to the French fleet for the moment. What would then happen? France would have nothing to put against the three English squadrons composed of modern cruisers which England, thanks to her naval defense act, would have then been able to put in array. As a natural consequence, the supplies of the supposed colonial army at Fashoda would become impossible; and the story of Bonaparte in Egypt would have been repeated.

OUR NEW PLACE AMONG THE NATIONS.

IN concluding his second *Forum* article on "The United States as a World Power," in the August number, Mr. Charles A. Conant defines some of the responsibilities that have devolved on the United States since the Spanish War. He says:

"The position of the United States as a factor in international politics makes it more important now than in her earlier history that she should pursue a continuous and resolute diplomatic policy. A resolute policy does not by any means imply the sort of hysterical bullying which has sometimes marked our attitude towards weaker nations, but simply a firm insistence upon respect for American rights, and the readiness to sustain these rights, if necessary, by force. The struggle for the maintenance of free markets and equality of opportunity in the undeveloped countries will involve tactful diplomacy, firmness tempered by extreme discretion, and readiness to act promptly and efficiently in case of need. The United States can no longer afford to have an amateur consular and diplomatic service, or to have it suspected that her policy will change with the change of parties at home. That party will most commend itself to the business community for its sincerity as the advocate of extending our national influence and competing power which does the most to increase the efficiency of the consular and diplomatic service, by lifting it out of politics. In this direction, as in all others, the highest efficiency will turn the scale between nations; and this efficiency is usually won in diplomacy, as in the technical arts, by training and knowledge. At the most critical moments, the political party which represents a well-formulated and resolute policy will command the support of those who believe in the maintenance of the position of the United States as a world power. This will not preclude changes

of political control, and there will no doubt be moments when temporary discontent with the party of a constructive policy will place its opponents in office.

A NEW POLITICAL PARTY.

"These intervals of the success of the Parliamentary opposition should be limited, as far as possible, to periods of arrested progress rather than absolute retrogression. Great Britain encountered such periods under the timid policy of Mr. Gladstone; but even he was forced by events to assume a protectorate for Great Britain over Egypt, and to do other things, as a responsible minister, which would have invited his philippics if he had enjoyed the freedom of an opposition leader. But England is coming to understand how vital is the maintenance of her position before the world, and how completely settled are some of the old issues which once divided parties. In the United States, also, the old issues are shriveling up. They have either been settled and sent to the lumber-room of the political theater, or have been tinged with strange, new light by the flash of Dewey's guns in the bay of Manila. Events are opening the way for a new alignment of parties, in which the party of a continuous national policy, pledged to keep open the world markets upon conditions of equal opportunity, will command the support not alone of the business community, but of all far-seeing men who desire the perpetuation of the ideals of Anglo-Saxon civilization."

THE AMERICAN PSYCHIC ATMOSPHERE.

IN the *Arena* for August, Mr. Charles Johnston, formerly of the Bengal Civil Service, but for several years a resident of the United States, records his impressions of what he terms "the psychic life and breath of America."

Mr. Johnston's first "inward and direct impression" on arriving at the American metropolis was of abounding force, young vigor, and power.

"To begin with, it is strikingly true that the psychic atmosphere of their country overmasters the Americans; that they do not, in any sense, dominate it in their turn. As soon as one's eyes are withdrawn from actual observation of this stirring and energetic people, all sense of their mental and moral energies disappears completely. One is alone with a clear atmosphere of primeval power—a clear canvas, on which they have not yet painted a single strong thought, or passion, or emotion. Or, to use a better image, one is deep in a sea of shining waters, pouring upward from the heart of the earth; with nothing turbid

or obscured, nor any colored trace at all of longing desires or ambitions, or the brooding of minds soaring or unclean. And this is equally true in the heart of commercial activities, a bowshot from the Battery; on Washington Heights, looking downward over the whole island; or among the woods, away up the Hudson, beyond the last dwelling on the beautiful river."

THE NATIONAL EAGERNESS FOR WEALTH.

In a word, the psychic atmosphere of the land dominates the minds of men, stimulating a sense of personal vigor and a longing for power over material things. This explains the all but universal quest for wealth.

"It has often been charged to Americans, and with an intention wholly unfavorable, that they are, beyond all the sons of men, eager for wealth—burning and consuming with the lust of possession. They do long for wealth, and, in one sense, I think, most rightly; for this longing is really a thinly disguised and ardent desire for power, not by any means a mere hunger for sensual enjoyment. Men long for wealth as a testimony to themselves of the power of their wills, and, if they are true men, not at all to minister to the lust of the eyes and the lust of the flesh.

"And it is to be noted that here the great fortunes represent, in almost every case, a victory over material things—some audacious conquest of the desert leagues of space; something wrested from the tough earth, defying the secretiveness of the rocks; and not, as very often in old feudal times, a deft piece of political chicanery or some victory of force over the wills of weaker men. Hence, the respect for the men whose wealth represents triumph of will over matter—a very different thing from reverence for their wealth—is, in reality, a large and admirable thing; a just tribute to the powers of man, and containing the germ of something even more admirable to be revealed by the circling years."

The great engineering triumphs all up and down the land testify to this sense of mastery over matter; but at the same time there has been, in Mr. Johnston's opinion, a foolish waste of energy in other directions; as, for example, the heaping up of useless ornament and decoration. With all these victories over material things, Mr. Johnston declares that we have no true sense of beauty at all. "No imagination, but only fancifulness running riot, bringing forth lavish ornament for mere ornament's sake; making for mere ostentation, which can only bring a fretting sense of unrest, by no means to be cured by fresh extravagances outstripping the

first. And, for the same reason, we have abundant wit, but very little humor; wit, very brilliant and sparkling, it is true, and of such lavish quantity as the world has never seen; but bitter and caustic for the most part, and almost always relying for its effect on a triumph at some one's mortification. Let whoever doubts this make a census of the comic papers for a week, and see how many of the stories and pictures and epigrams are based on the humiliation of some victim, or some one's loss or misfortune. Take one of the best of them—that story of the lynched man's widow: 'But you have the laugh on us, for we've hung the wrong man!' Undeniably brilliant and admirable in its way; yet the crackling of thorns under the pot is, in its way, brilliant, too.

"Yet another practical application: How many of the dresses ordered in a week are destined to give a genuine expression to character and form; how many merely to outdress somebody else? How many of all these victories over material things, these conquests of the rocks and deserts, are achieved to benefit *all* Americans; and how many only to benefit one or a few, at the expense of all the rest?"

Are these faults rooted in the American character? Mr. Johnson thinks them foreign to it—"a mere passing fever, largely imitation of other lands." In the older countries, they are the signs of degeneration.

LIVING IN OKLAHOMA.

HELEN C. CANDEE contributes to the September *Atlantic* an article on "Oklahoma," which she calls "the land of prosperity, sunshine, and brotherly love." She takes pains to deny more specifically the tales of outlawry and border ruffianism which Easterners like to tell about Oklahoma. The author says that the desirable farms for agriculture are now all absorbed, but some are for sale at about \$1,600 a quarter-section of 160 acres. When these have permanent improvements on them in the way of fruit trees and buildings, the price is about \$2,500. In the western part of the Cherokee Strip north of the Texas Pan-Handle are 6,000,000 acres of land still open to homesteaders; but this is only good for grazing cattle and sheep. Miss Candee says there is no need to go to Europe for cheap living while Oklahoma exists. Watermelons can be bought at any time from July to cold weather for five cents each, and these are of a size and sweetness unsurpassed. Muskmelons, delicious as nectar, are five cents a dozen; spring chickens, twenty-five cents a pair; beef and lamb, fifteen cents a pound; grapes, one cent a

pound for the best. Comfortable houses can be had at from ten to twenty-five dollars a month, and servants are cheap. There is no hard coal in Oklahoma, and soft coal sells at about five dollars a ton, and wood for three or four dollars a cord.

THE GROWTH OF FIVE YEARS.

"Five years after the opening, the principal towns were firmly established, not on 'boom' principles, but illustrating a permanent and steady growth. Five years from the time that the land was unbroken prairie, there were two cities of 10,000 inhabitants each, and in these towns a man could live in as great comfort as anywhere in the West. Houses were comfortable, and were furnished with luxuries, lighted by electricity, and supplied with city water. Daily papers served the day's news, local, domestic, and foreign; large brick schoolhouses harbored industrious children, and all promised well. Now, ten years after the opening of the original Oklahoma, the promises are more than fulfilled, and men can find there a better chance for success in farming or commercial interests than they can in any other State of which I have knowledge."

In the ten years that Oklahoma people have been working on their claims, the taxable property has increased from nothing to \$43,000,000, according to the showing to the assessor, which, of course, means that there is twice or three times as much in existence. The country has developed ahead of the railroads. The Santa Fé system threw a tentacle across the country while Indians were still in possession, and brought thousands of settlers and boomers at the opening. Now this road has united with the Rock Island to ramify Oklahoma with branches and make it accessible from East to West. Handling the wheat and cotton crops is an important matter for the railroads. Corn is mainly shipped "on the hoof," to use the Western stockman's term.

MARKETING CORN IN HOG FORM.

"The farmer finds that corn yields him a far higher price per bushel if it is converted into 'haws,' as he calls the black swine of the fields, so he breeds the best of Poland chinas, fattens them inordinately on his corn crop, and sells his produce in animate form, to the aggregate number of 220,000 a year for the Territory. Thus, although the real yield of corn for this year reached the astonishing figure of 75,000,000 bushels, a large amount of the crop was for home consumption. The increase of railroad facilities is acting in two ways: it is moving the vast crops with such facility that growers can

easily dispose of their products, thus raising local prices for home-grown necessities and luxuries. It also tends to lower the price of manufactured goods which are shipped in. Naturally, there are but few manufactories as yet in the Territory, and these only for the purpose of converting crops into more convenient shape for shipment, as cotton gins, presses, and oil-mills."

"There are not enough laborers to keep things prudently tidy. Wheat is not grown in Oklahoma as in other districts. The soil is fresh and unexhausted, and is used year after year with no preparation except rather crude tillage. Fertilizers? They laugh down there at the idea that farmers try to live in countries where such an expense is necessary."

AUSTRALASIA'S PLACE AMONG THE NATIONS.

THE creation of the Australian Commonwealth is the occasion of several enthusiastic articles in the English reviews.

In the *Nineteenth Century*, Mr. A. G. Berry, late secretary to the Australian delegates, says:

"Among nations that pride themselves on possessing free institutions may be quoted the United States, Germany, Switzerland, and Canada. Where in any one of these is there such a wide suffrage as will be exercised under the new Australian Commonwealth?"

The youngest bairn does not fear to measure itself with the most gigantic member of the English-speaking brood. Mr. Berry continues:

"Lord Hopetoun, who carries with him to Australia her Majesty's personal appreciation in the shape of the distinguished order of the Knight of the Thistle, is charged with the inauguration of the responsible government of the Commonwealth. The magnitude of this task may be measured by the fact that our island continent in the South Seas is equal to that of the United States without Alaska. While our great sister nation in America is holding its Presidential election, upon which fabulous sums of money will be expended through the wide territories that extend from Maine to San Francisco, it is interesting to think that a gentleman holding her Majesty's commission goes quietly to Australia with the Queen's authority to put into operation a freer government than that possessed by any republic in the world."

The Greatness of the Commonwealth.

What the advent of the new federation may mean for powers neither British nor American is very plainly suggested in the *Contemporary* by Sir Robert Stout. He writes on "Australasia: Her Resources and Foreign Trade," with an edge

to his pen which will not be altogether liked in Paris and Berlin. He says :

"The population of Australasia is small at present, being estimated at 4,500,000 ; but it is equal to what the white population of the United States was at the beginning of the century. The race is a pure race. It has less admixture of races than Canada or the United States. . . . Our foreign trade is per head treble that of the

It is enough that Britain is at war, and that she needs help. The fact that European nations display strong animosity against the empire draws the colonists closer to their mother-land. I believe that as a whole the people of Australasia are more loyal, more patriotic, and more devoted to the empire than the people of the United Kingdom."

WARNING TO FRANCE.

In view of these facts, Sir Robert asks if it is unreasonable to predict that "our United States of Australasia may, in the not very distant future, be deemed a factor both in European and Asiatic complications." He begins at once and peremptorily to show how :

"Does the French nation wish to remain on friendly terms with Australasia ? Does it desire to promote trade between France and these southern colonies ? If it does, then the attitude of the French public toward our empire must be changed. If they persist in their present course, they may soon discover that trade with France will decrease."

GERMANY, BEWARE !

Germany is similarly addressed. She has roused ill-feeling by her telegram to Krüger, by her annexation of Samoa, and by the time chosen for that annexation :

"Samoa has always been the pet group of the colonies, and its surrender has been deeply felt. It is the Australasian Alsace ; and, whether it is wise for Germany to have two Alsaces, remains to be seen. If there had been a confederated Australasia and an Australasian Navy, I doubt if the German nation would have been permitted to seize Savaii and Upolu.

"The incident can never be forgotten. If Germany is wise, and desirous of pushing her trade with us, she will take some pains to promote friendly relations with both England and Australasia. The subsidizing of magnificent steamers, and the advertising of their wares, will equally be fruitless in pushing trade, if France and Germany persist in their present hostile attitude to our empire."

PREFERENCE FOR THE UNITED STATES.

Happily the United States are under no cloud. With them "we feel we are one people."

"If, as is proposed, there is a preferential customs tariff arranged by the colonies, so as to allow all the goods of the empire to be received at a rate less than that imposed on goods from foreign countries, I believe the goods from the United States would be exceptionally and favorably dealt with."



LORD HOPETOUN.

(Governor-General of Federated Australia.)

United States, and our trade is yearly increasing. With about a twelfth of Germany's population, we have about a third of her revenue.

"We have an advantage that no Continental European nation possesses. We live under one flag. We have no Alsace-Lorraine ; nor have we on our borders hostile nations, with millions of armed men. We can provide, at small expense, for our defense from foreign foes. We have only a small army, but we are under the ægis of the greatest navy in the world. Perhaps the time is not far distant when we shall have a truly Australasian Navy. . . . If we are attacked we are ready, and in time all our youths will be drilled, for the necessity of doing this is now being everywhere recognized.

"To-day the feeling for the empire is so strong, that no inquiry concerning the propriety or consequences of the Transvaal War is deemed proper.

ITALIAN POLITICS.

“**P**ARLIAMENTARY Politics and National Politics,” a carefully considered article by Deputy Leopoldo Franchetti, in *Nuova Antologia* for July 1, brings into view the most notable features of the political situation in Italy just before the deplorable assassination of King Humbert.

The title of Deputy Franchetti's article is significant. It recognizes the truth that parliamentary politics and national politics are not necessarily the same, and throughout the paper the reader is reminded that the two kinds of politics in Italy are in fact widely different. And what is—or, perhaps, one should now say, what was—the difference? The nation wanted reforms; the parliamentary parties wanted patronage. The difference, one sees, is an old one; no nation holds the copyright of it. Systematically and skillfully, and with apparent fairness, Deputy Franchetti brings into contrast the two wants, parliamentary and national. He shows how the parliamentary want has ever been building up the load of expense under which Italy staggers, and yet the people have long been opposed to an increase of taxation. The process is simple. It comes with the “balance of power” in a legislative body where faction rules. “The effects,” Deputy Franchetti says, “of a vicious line of action that has lasted for many years cannot be destroyed in a moment. The parasitic organisms which it has created impose, at the moment of battle, their own terms of alliance on their adversaries themselves, and are able to select among these adversaries, because there are none of these that are not ready to submit to this alliance thankfully.”

So legislative and ministerial politics year by year separate farther and farther from the politics of the people. As to this there is plain speaking “in the elections and votes given always more numerous to the Socialist parties in such a country as ours, where, however, few know the theories of social reconstruction of these parties, and very few care about them. The country is by instinct monarchic. A great part of these votes come from men who, by temperament and interests, are conservatives; but they express, in the only manner allowed them, their desire to have an administration that administers, a magistracy that does justice, a finance that spends the public money for uses exclusively public.”

There is much probability in this statement. When voters are thoroughly discontented with a government, they are disposed to vote for the candidates who profess principles most at variance with the policy and methods of the party in power. Only one would like to know whether the Social-

ist candidates when elected are ready, like other deputies, to make alliances with the spoilsmen.

CAN THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY REFORM ITALY?

Deputy Franchetti's hope for the future lies in the belief that the causes of Italy's political demoralization have been definitely ascertained and plainly exhibited in a large and widely read political literature. Knowledge of these causes would be the first step toward reform. Unfortunately, however, it has seemed vain to expect that reform would be brought about by any parliamentary party. The Conservatives had, in his opinion, the best qualifications for a reform party except the necessary vigor. “The Conservative party, or that complex of interests, traditions, views, personal sympathies and antipathies which has the name of the Conservative party, has not in itself vigor enough to alone set in motion the reform movement. . . . On the other hand, however, it has some elements of success which fail the other parties: traditions and experience of government, a considerable acquaintance, theoretical and practical, with economics and finance, and, above all, that instinct of order which is a condition indispensable for the progress of reform.”

“Instinct of order” is a weighty phrase. It carries a world of meaning. And yet, though the quality is attributed to the Conservatives alone, the writer believes that the necessary reform party will have to be drawn from both Conservatives and Radicals, for the assumption is that there is common ground on which to stand. But the time seemed unfavorable. The animosities of recent contests had not sufficiently subsided.

“Certainly the present moment is little opportune for the calmness of accord as to reforms. The long and fierce battle fought till yesterday is yet in our minds, and has left the constitutional parties divided, the subversive parties not only united but masters, in the country and Parliament, of the alliance of numerous elements, intelligent, well-meaning, and influential, who have nothing of the subversive, and who would be precious auxiliaries for any constitutional party that seriously and sincerely put their hands to the radical reforms demanded by the country. The constitutional parties are without a clear objective. . . . The subversives, on the other hand, have, and impose on their allies, an objective that is single and clear. Moreover, to speak on the morning after a battle of an accord for the general good seems a little unsophisticated. After the battle is the division of the spoils. Everybody has to think about satisfying the companies, the soldiers, the party—not the coun-

try. Acute parliamentary strifes carry for all the parties, including the subversives, the breaking out afresh of the spirit of patronage—the very cause of our evils, the enemy against which all the parties ought to unite for love of country. Party policy signifies favors to friends. The policy imperiously demanded by the country signifies, on the other hand, justice for and against all—even for adversaries, even against friends.”

Burdens of the Peasantry.

Mr. H. Remsen Whitehouse, late secretary of the United States Legation at Rome, writing in the August *Forum* on present Italian problems, emphasizes the political degradation of the Italian peasant. He says:

“The application of the remedy for the economical, financial, and administrative reforms lies, as has been said, in the hands of the people, which, in the Italy of to-day, means the intelligent professional and middle classes. The great majority of the population, the peasant class, is now, as it was in the past, entirely outside the political life of the country; and this must needs be so with a nation of whose people 50 per cent. are illiterate. The tiller of the fields, who, in Switzerland, Germany, England, and other northern countries, plays so important a part in public affairs, although constituting in Italy the most numerous class, and the source of the principal riches of the land, lives in a world apart. The principal burden of taxation falls with crushing weight upon his shoulders. Accustomed through long ages of oppression to a patient, unreasoning obedience, amounting to servitude, he struggles on till his individual burden overpowers his strength, and then he emigrates. ‘The state of degradation and oppression in which we hold him,’ says Signor Villari, ‘demonstrates that our social life is founded on an injustice—a condition of affairs which diffuses an unfortunate moral atmosphere, and which poisons the whole of our social existence.’”

ITALIAN INTERESTS IN ARGENTINA.

In the *Yule Review* for August, Mr. Albert G. Keller reviews the unpromising record of modern Italian attempts at expansion and colonization. From his account it seems doubtful whether the Red Sea colonies can ever be made productive.

Turning from the rather dismal story of the colonial failures in Africa, the writer remarks:

“If Italy were intent upon the essence of colonization rather than the name, her field of action would not be far to seek. She has a series of natural colonies in America, surrounding the lower course of La Plata River, which evince a

vigor of growth and a prosperity that ought to have been the pride of the mother-country while she was squandering resources on the sand-dunes of the Red Sea coast. The essence of the mutual sympathy of two countries lies, not in political union, but in those racial affiliations of blood, language, religion, customs, and manners the mutual possession of which renders intercourse between groups of men easy and enjoyable. After the Revolution, the American Republic turned, not to France, but to England, with her favors of trade and intercourse. So the La Plata colonies, with no serious encouragement, and with memories not the most pleasant of the native land and its extortions, have nevertheless benefited Italy commercially to an infinitely higher degree than did Eritrea at its best.”

ITALIAN PROSPERITY ON LA PLATA.

“First and most important, the Italians have succeeded there, and that without aid, as nowhere else in the world. They were the first to own inns, cafés, boats, etc., and have kept industrially in advance of a people inferior to themselves in culture. Italians founded and operate the banks, and in Buenos Ayres they own 62 per cent. of the businesses. The Italian language is spreading, and Spanish is spoken only in public administration; probably one-fourth (1,000,000) of the population of Argentina have Italian blood in their veins. The current of emigration to these regions is growing ever stronger, and in its wake are following advantages to Italian trade and industry; in 1889 the importations from Italy to the Argentine Republic represented 5 per cent. of the total; in 1894, 9 per cent. In late years of crisis (1889–94) Italian trade suffered less than that of any other nation. And it is seen that the Italian emigrants do not lose their native good qualities in the new country, but transmit them, along with Italian ideas and tastes, to a people who need them and are able and often willing to profit by them.

IMPROVED COMMERCIAL RELATIONS.

“It is toward this La Plata region that some of Italy’s more responsible advisers have long been attempting to direct her attention, not with a view to the extension of imperial power,—for sufficient barriers exist, fortunately for the colonies, to restrain any such interference,—but in the hope of developing, without expense or bloodshed, close commercial and industrial relations and a national sympathy which may some day assist in assuring existence to that which is Italian. The Italians, like other Latin peoples, feel a sense of weakness before the tremendous energy and expansion of the Anglo-Saxon race. To the end

of establishing these desired relations, a more strict supervision of emigration and a more developed consular service are advocated; the ideal is that the South American colonies shall stand to Italy as the United States to England. At present, and neglecting the crying necessity of the internal reorganization of Italy, this idea seems by far the most practical and realizable of Italian colonial projects."

THE HERALD OF A NEW ITALIAN LITERATURE.

THE *Quarterly* contains a glowing panegyric of Gabriele d'Annunzio, whose novels and tragedies are under review. The writer is especially eloquent on his "involute style, which frames all his thoughts, lucid or terrible, in words of immortal comeliness." It has brought him, he concludes, "European fame; it may herald the dawn of a new Italian literature." He has "the grand style;" he will find room in the pedigree of Dante, Virgil, Sophocles, for his own descent.

QUALITIES OF D'ANNUNZIO'S STYLE.

"His Italian is impregnated with Dantesque idioms. Though it never flings abroad the careless graces of Boccaccio, any more than it can rival that prince of story-tellers in his tripping movement, it bears upon its firm sentences once and again the imperial seal of Leonardo da Vinci; it plays, to our astonishment, with the prettiness of Marini; it dyes itself in the purple of ecstatic saints, like Catherine of Siena and Frate da Scarperia. It is not humorous or familiar; when, as in 'Il Piacere,' it apes the ugly colors of M. Zola or the corrupting elegance of M. Bourget's unregenerate days, the form seems to reject the content, and d'Annunzio appears at his worst. But his genuine manner is the Dantesque, or that of Leonardo—'a thing of Nature beheld in some great glass;' it has the 'preservative aroma' which art bestows on reality; when it isolates, it makes the figure immortal with some balm that no Egyptian craftsman ever knew. There are pages in this last of the moderns worthy to live by the side of any prose, though dating from Italy's golden periods. The master has told us of his obstinate effort to create an Italian that should be fit for 'works of loveliness and poesy,' at once latter-day and archaic, no less real than magnificent, subtle and fugitive as the music heard in a dream, curious in its 'motives,' while graphic as the rendering of outward and visible forms by the most objective of painters. In much of this daring at-

tempt he has triumphed openly. The charm which his writing does in fact exercise over thousands is indisputable."

A MASTER OF ITALIAN PROSE.

"He has done great things; if to have attained the secret of style, and to give back the enchantments of landscape, were all, he would deserve to rank with the masters. Amid the chaos of journalism, with its piebald jargon, its



GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO.

vulgarities of thought and tone, he has fulfilled his own message, which declares that 'the word is life and perfection.' Submitting to what seems a law of human growth, he takes the prose which is on men's lips, since they will not endure rhyme or formal poetry, and refines, adorns, deepens it, until it astonishes yet charms as if it were the style of gods. . . . Instead of merely resuscitating the antique forms, the man throws himself boldly on the current of his inspiration; he snatches from painters their palette with its rainbow; from mystics their incomparable metaphors, imagery, fire of spiritual emotions; from musicians their minors and chromatics; from every art something, provided it be individual—not a fancy hung out on the void, but a fact burning as in the spectrum with its peculiar flame. In the 'gray flood of Democracy'—by which he means the marsh-level that covers old institutions yet sees no imperial Venice rising above it with palaces and towers—language remains, for those who will handle it like fine gold, an inheritance beyond the assaults of barbarism."

SICILY AS A SUMMER RESORT.

IN the *American Catholic Quarterly* for July, Mr. Alfred E. P. Raymund Dowling writes most enthusiastically of a summer in Sicily, which it has been his good fortune to enjoy. He says :

"To those who seek to make their travels a store of fruitful provender whereon the mind may feed in the afterglow of life, there are few places which provide so rich a feast for the memory. All true travel must be accompanied by a greater or less degree of bodily discomfort ; but, in the retrospect, only the mental impressions endure, and our thought then will transport our unjostled bodies over the scenes of the past without fatigue or worry. Sicily does not demand any unusual share of this fatigue such as is commonly supposed to be necessary for a visit there, since the railway now makes all places that are of supreme interest easily accessible. At Palermo there exists every luxury of life and inducement to make it a winter and spring residence, and at other places there are to be found hotels which are at least sufficient for the traveler's needs.

"In the combination of its varied history, its relics of ancient art, and beauty of nature and climate, Sicily affords a charm so great that Egypt occurs to the mind as its sole competitor ; and even that fails in respect to the physical aspects.

ITS ROMANTIC BEAUTY.

"The mountains that girdle the greater part of the island from below the western Eryx, circle round along the northern coast, and turn again down the eastern to Ætna give the land its picturesque aspect of configuration ; for they leave but a small extent of level ground unbroken by spurs from the main ridge in the center, and no spot is out of sight of these sheltering highlands. The honeycombed limestone and lava that prevail in their composition are the very materials to render a country not simply fruitful but luxuriant, and to furnish it with varied outline and romantic spots, while from almost every point of view Ætna itself is visible, and is a source of awe and wonder as well as of grandeur in the landscape.

"Above all, the gorgeous sun irradiates mountain and valley, making them to laugh and sing in the language of the Eastern psalmist, flooding the panorama with every tint of azure and golden light from morn till eve, and defying all attempts to find a nomenclature of color that will convey any idea of its varying splendor. The air is fragrant with the odors from citron and jessamine, fiery globes of pomegranate light

up the thickets, orchards of orange and lemon with leaves of glossy green, gray olive-yards, vineyards of graceful native vine and purpling grape, to which the town of Marsala has given its name ; the somber carot, the soaring aloe, hedges of yucca and prickly pear, flowers and shrubs creeping down to the very shores or hanging in festoons and masses from the broken cliffs ;—in short, everything that can charm the eye and temperadise the senses is to be found lavished by Mother Nature about this bright island.

ITS LOVELY COAST-LINE.

"The configuration of the steep and rugged coast-line is equally lovely. The bay of Palermo, with its guardian mountains like fortresses to protect its entrance, and the bay of Catania, shadowed by lordly Ætna seated on his snowy throne, these are familiar from repute ; but the whole coast is fretted by broad forelands of warmly glowing hills whose rocky barriers broken into outlying crags form deep recesses which echo to the whish of the sunny sea ; masses of black lava rock, set amid a creamy surf, diversify the line of shore, while a rich flora occupies every nook and cranny and responds with glowing color to the opaline iridescence of the waters. But it is not only the senses of sight and smell that are captivated ; for every spot teems with historic memories, appealing to our historic sense and intellectual capacity, deepening the enjoyment, so that one goes back again and again to the lavish bounty of the physical and mental delights of the island, as Cardinal Newman once said, like as one smells again and again at a sweet flower.

GREEK TEMPLES.

"With the exception of Athens, nowhere, even in Greece itself, are such fine remains of that country's art to be seen as are found at Girgenti, Segesta, Selinunte, and Syracuse. Some of the most magnificent temples that the Grecian architect ever produced still exist here ; and a dominant desire in the mind of every intelligent visitor to the island is to see those that stand erect. But although the larger number of the existing remains of Greek art lie overthrown, yet there are three temples standing erect, while others are embodied in churches. It would be a good thing if no one were allowed to take the higher classical forms in our schools or become teachers at our universities in classical subjects unless he had traveled in the countries where Greek and Roman works are to be seen. A few months' study of these, to a man already well read in their history, is a duplication of all he knows, and brings a life and reality into his

teachings that saves time and brightens the labor of the pupil.

"All the temples in Sicily are in the style called Doric, from being perfected in the Doric cities of Greece, those first art schools of Europe. Like the Norman style in England, it is marked by its simplicity, solidity, and impressiveness, and was governed by strict rule, simple proportion, and pure harmony.

THE GATE OF PARADISE.

"But the study of these temples would take up a greater portion of our space than we now propose to give it, and we return to a review of the eastern coast of Sicily, as that most sought by the traveler in search of natural beauty, and because physically and historically it is the most interesting. It is hard to compare lovely scenery, and probably unfair to do so; but most persons will register in their memories the journey from Messina to Syracuse as perhaps the most singularly attractive and beautiful of any in Europe. The towns along this coast—Messina, Taormina, Catania, and Syracuse—are each worthy of a visit. Messina is throned against a background of castled rocks and pine-crested hills that wander into the distance, gradually rising in height and grandeur. There is not the spaciousness and scope about it that Palermo, its rival in commerce, presents, and the mountains press upon one from all sides save that of the sea.

"But we must hasten on; for Messina is, as it were, but the gate of Paradise, and only the beginning of a coast drive southward that exceeds all others with which we already are acquainted. The scenery increases in romantic beauty as we advance; on one side we have rocky islets set amid opalesque waters, deepening into sapphire-blue and bounded in the distance across the straits by the Calabrian Mountains; on the other, picturesque crags and castle-topped heights succeed one another in riotous profusion, and one wishes to stop at a dozen spots to let their extreme loveliness sink into the memory.

EDEN.

"We had the good fortune to be at Taormina when all visitors were gone; no worrying guardians, beggars, or touts dogged our steps, and the quiet life of the town was undisturbed. The beauty of the spot was penetrating in its intensity, and one could not but think that the effect of living in such scenes must have influenced the thought of such a highly strung, simple people as were the ancient Greeks.

"Life here might be like that in Eden; for earth seemed full of heaven, and sin alone a discord in its harmony. Taormina is a place at

which to stay for a long time if the traveler be desirous of restful beauty and comfort; it is an ideal spot for any one having reading or writing to do, or for convalescence from illness and worry."

Cardinal Newman wrote to his sister about the place as long ago as 1833.

GERMANY'S DEPENDENCE ON ENGLAND.

MR. ERNEST E. WILLIAMS, the author of "Made in Germany," having duly alarmed his fellow-countrymen with the fact of German ascendancy, proceeds in the *National Review* to issue a sort of counterblast, and to warn Germany in her turn. He first shows the bright side of "the economic revolution in Germany"—the forest of factories which have sprung up, the beautified cities, the population increased by 30 per cent., the exports going up by leaps and bounds, the rate of increase steadily increasing, the notable advance in output of coal and iron, in shipbuilding and in shipping. Hamburg surpassed Liverpool in tonnage entered in 1893; "she is now the first port in Europe, and ranks immediately after London."

GERMAN SUGAR IN PERIL.

Then he passes to the reverse of the medal. Woolen goods are suffering from overproduction in Germany and heavy tariffs abroad. They and worsted are to have their output reduced by agreement 20 per cent. The competition of the United States is a serious factor. Mr. Williams offers one instance of Germany's failure to keep the upper hand:

"There is the great beet-sugar industry. Stimulated by the bounty system, this industry has grown to vast proportions, and both agriculture and industry generally in Germany would suffer severely from a backward movement. But a blow may be struck at any moment. The United States, by a special duty, have counter-vailed the bounty on German sugar; and this countervailing duty, added to the normal duty charged upon imported sugar entering the United States, has practically killed the export of German beet-sugar thither. Canada has taken measures to keep the German sugar out of her ports. India has followed suit. It is at least on the cards that England, either by imposing a countervailing duty, or by prohibiting the entry of bounty-fed sugar into this country, or by joining a convention of the powers for the abolition of sugar bounties, will deal another tremendous blow at the German trade. When the bounties are abolished or countervailed, West Indian production will again raise its head in effective com-

petition with the German. Queensland, it is clear, will make her presence felt very formidably; the United States will see to the development of the sugar plantations of Cuba and Port Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines, in addition to cultivating cane-sugar in Louisiana and beet-sugar in other of the States. Germany's sugar outlook is by no means promising, and the very extent of the present development of the industry gives the threatened check a more serious character."

GERMAN VULNERABILITY.

German private finance is none too sound. German banks (unlike English) finance speculative enterprises. In the extension of her ventures Germany has given many hostages to fortune.

"German banks dotted about South American cities; German capital—assiduously piled up in recent years—gayly embarked upon all sorts of speculative foreign enterprises: tramways in the Argentine; railways in Asia Minor; German colonies, remarkable for nothing but their defenselessness and need of defense; German merchants, with assets and liabilities scattered over the face of the civilized and uncivilized earth. It is when we come to the consideration of these things that the exceeding vulnerability, the positive weakness, in an international view, of the new Germany becomes so startlingly apparent. . . . Germany virtually admits that she cannot develop those African possessions of hers without England's help."

GERMANY AT THE MERCY OF ENGLAND.

Mr. Williams laments England's cringing attitude before a power so dependent on her. He says:

"Germany badly wants foreign markets for the sale of her increasing output of manufactures; other nations, with their own economic interests to look after, are shutting the door even tighter in Germany's face. She is therefore becoming abjectly dependent upon the markets of the British empire. Already, by the institution of the Canadian preference, German traders have begun to shiver with apprehension; and Canada's example is going to be followed more widely. It can be followed to any extent, and quite easily to such an extent as would bring Germany to her knees, pleading for our clemency. At the present time a new commercial treaty is pending between this country and Germany. If we chose to insert stiff provisions in that treaty,—in respect to our own economic interests it is sincerely to be hoped that we shall set our feet down pretty firmly,—Germany would be helpless to resist."

THE DEMAND FOR A PIG-IRON RESERVE.

IN the *Engineering Magazine* for August, Mr. George H. Hull writes on "Industrial Depressions and the Pig-Iron Reserve." The gist of his discussion of the subject is embodied in the following paragraphs:

"Iron is acknowledged to be the foundation on which the modern industrial system rests. If that system is disturbed, it is most natural to look to the foundation for the cause of the disturbance. If one would appreciate how thoroughly the entire industrial system depends upon iron, let him imagine what the world would be to-day without it—what it would be if we depended upon wood, stone, copper, and tin for our implements of agriculture, tools, machinery, vehicles of transportation on land and sea, the vast network of rails on the surface, and the pipes which carry water, gas, etc., under the surface. What proportion of these could have existed without it? It matters little what its price is, provided that price is stable. The industries of a nation depend upon the actions of an aggregation of individuals. When the individual considers an expenditure for a permanent improvement, and finds that improvement will cost 50 per cent. to 100 per cent. more than it would have done a year before, or is likely to do a year later, he acts; and that action is almost invariably a postponement of that improvement."

"This, in a nutshell, is the reason that industrial depressions follow an abnormal advance. Iron is a powerful instrument for good when under control, and just as powerful an instrument for harm when not under control. It is not under control when it advances in price 80 to 100 per cent. above its normal cost."

ACCUMULATE STOCK; KEEP PRICES DOWN.

"All industries may be divided into two classes—production of daily necessities and production of permanent wealth. It is the last which suffers from abnormally high prices. We can stop building, but we cannot stop eating. When the price of iron is under proper control, the industries connected with building will be as uniformly profitable as trade in food and clothing."

"The only possible way to bring iron under proper control is to accumulate, in each of the iron-producing countries of the world, a stock of pig iron equal to several months' production. It will not suffice to do this in one country only. The demand from the others would carry its price up with theirs. Each country must accumulate an adequate reserve stock of its own. If this be done during the next few years, there will be no more periods of boom and no more

periods of industrial depression, except such short temporary interruptions as may come from financial panics: in time, they, too, may be understood and prevented.

EFFECT ON BUILDING ENTERPRISES.

"If the manufacturers of building materials would, at this juncture, voluntarily and promptly, put down prices to within 10 per cent. of normal figures, which is as low, also, as they should ever have gone, even in periods of most marked depression, it would revive a large number of the building enterprises which are now postponed or abandoned, and a prolonged industrial depression might even at this late date be averted. If, on the other hand, prices are held up until sales are forced by the accumulation of excessive stocks made at high cost, then heavy losses and failures will occur, confidence will be lost, and no amount of reduction will revive the postponed enterprises, until the iron-producing nations have passed through just such another industrial depression as has heretofore followed each abnormal advance in the price of iron.

INCREASE IN ACTUAL DEMAND.

"There is a wonderful future for the iron business the day these violent fluctuations in its price are ended. The annual consumption of iron in the United States is growing with a cumulative force. Fifty years ago it was 100 pounds per capita, two years ago 300 pounds, and last year 400 pounds per capita. Within twenty-five years it should be 1,000 pounds. Not one-twentieth of the inhabitants of the earth are comfortably housed, fed, and clothed. The world is not finished. There are whole continents to be developed. There is plenty for all to do. Let every one work who will. It requires a certain number of workers to produce the daily necessities of the people. Every additional producer put to work adds to wealth. When the price of iron is under control, the manufacturing nations will make such regular and uninterrupted progress as will astonish the world."

THE VALUE OF BRAINS IN THE SOCIALIST STATE.

M. FOUILLÉE, in a paper in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* on "Mental Labor and Collectivism," deals with that familiar objection to the various collectivist systems, that they do not take into account sufficiently the value of mental and moral work; in other words, collectivism as a serious system of economics is based too much upon manual labor and the interests of the working classes. The liberal profes-

sions are frequently classified as unproductive, and the calling of literature itself is regarded as parasitical.

The nature and value of mental labor have always been a great difficulty with the collectivist. Marx attempted to reduce intellectual labor to a condensed form of manual labor; but this is rather like arguing that diamonds and coal are equally valuable because they are both made of carbon. The effort necessary to lift a hundredweight of goods affords no key to the brain labor of a Darwin, a Socrates, or a Descartes. The truth is, says M. Fouillée, that brain-work cannot be measured by material standards.

MIND IN INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS.

M. Fouillée goes on to lay down certain laws in the development of work. The first is the progressive predominance of mental labor; this is exhibited in the movement of science and scientific industries which is characteristic of modern times. Side by side we have the progress of invention and of imitation; the first of which is manifestly by far the most intellectual, for the second is really only mechanical reproduction. According to M. Tarde, capital—which must not be confused with wealth—represents the inventions, while labor represents the imitations. There is yet a third kind of work which Marx has ignored: that moral energy—perhaps even more elusive than intellectual work—which consists in the sustained attention, perseverance, patience, and courage, without which not only the industrial world, but also the intellectual, would collapse.

FREEDOM A NECESSITY.

M. Fouillée's second law is the progressive liberty of mental work, and indeed of all work. It is obviously a necessary condition of the greatest intellectual work to be free from rules. The inventor must have his individual initiative uncontrolled; the increase of civilization makes for the increase of this liberty. The savage who does little or no work is hardly to be distinguished from his brother savage; while the civilized citizens of any country present notable differences one from another. Thus, work itself tends to emphasize the individual element, and progresses more and more toward the personal form. Side by side, however, with this individualizing tendency is an opposite and socializing tendency, in the sense that every age inherits the great results of the work of previous ages. This, however, does not minimize the importance of the inspiration of the individual. Scientific and industrial progress are in no sense the

work of the crowd, which, indeed, has as a rule been bitterly hostile to every great labor-saving invention. How will the proposed collectivist society organize the workers who work with their brains? How can the eight-hour day be imposed upon a Victor Hugo, and how can the value of his work be estimated? Newton's law of gravitation could not be described as an immediate addition to the economic resources of mankind; Newton, therefore, in the economic state, must be ranked below the man who discovers a new material for candles. Again, time is often required. The contemporaries of Galileo could not foresee that his discovery of the satellites of Jupiter would have the effect of saving many ships with valuable lives and cargo from being wrecked.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF MUSCLE TO MIND.

We come to the next law—namely, that material labor is transformed gradually into mental labor. The age of machinery has obliged manufacturers of all kinds to become more intellectual, and the management of the machines themselves has had the same effect on the workers. Broadly speaking, it is the machine that undertakes the manual labor, and enables the worker to employ his brains far more than if the machine had never been invented. In France at this moment steam does as much work as would require the muscles of 105,000,000 men; and as there are only about 10,000,000 of adult workers, it follows that every French working man has, on the average, under his control the equivalent of ten workers, whose labor he is able to direct.

SOCIAL AMELIORATION.

This brings us to another law—the progressive amelioration, by means of mental labor, of the social condition of the manual laborers. M. Fouillée comes to the conclusion that, though there are some important elements of truth in socialism, considered as a method of social progress by the means of society itself and of social laws, yet there are in collectivism, and above all, in communism, vast hypotheses chiefly based upon a negative criticism of what exists. Human progress is menaced by a system which apparently leaves no room for intellectual and moral effort, or for the inspiration of genius. The Chinese mandarin who allows his nails to grow in long and beautiful spirals, in order to show that he has never done any manual work, is not really more ridiculous than a system which would treat as an idle fellow the man who only uses his hand to hold a pen, and only works with his brain.

"POPULAR UNIVERSITIES" IN FRANCE.

THE *Edinburgh*, discussing Paris in 1900, declares that the union Mr. Morley predicts for England between the Liberal Left and the Independent Socialists has actually taken place in France. The intellectuals and the industrials have formed a mutually helpful alliance. The writer says:

"So far, the clearest result of this alliance of Socialists and Liberals has been the recent foundation of the *Université Populaire*; scarcely three years old, it has already a college in almost every quarter of Paris and the environs, and aims at a social evolution which shall do away with the need for revolution.

"The *Universités Populaires* are to the Independent Socialists what the friendly societies and small *collegia* were to the Christians of the Roman empire—a place of meeting and friendship, a mart of knowledge; they are, in the phrase of their creator, M. Deherme, a coöperative association in ideas. Nothing can be simpler than their organization. A group of well-wishers is generally responsible for the rent; it rarely exceeds £100 a year. The subscriptions of the members (5d. a month for individuals, 7½d. for families) cover the expense of lighting and fuel. Some leading spirit organizes the staff of lecturers, never paid. There is, of course, in these conditions no penalty for non-attendance; but we believe there is no record of a speaker having failed in his engagement. The attendance is not very large, but regular. One thousand five hundred members are inscribed at the college of the Faubourg St. Antoine, from three to four hundred in the smaller centers, more again in some of the popular suburbs such as Montreuil or Choisy-le-Roi. The audience is chiefly composed of skilled artisans with their wives, the women often forming half the assembly. The standard of lectures is high, social and natural science being especially in request. The programmes are composed in accordance with no particular body of doctrine. . . . The object of these colleges, rather, is to develop thought in every direction, in all its variety, in all its infinite fecundity. *Sans doute c'est le chaos*, admits the audacious innovator. But what is the universe if not a cosmos perpetually created out of chaos?

"The lecturers are among the first men in France. M. Duclaux lectures on science, M. Séailles on philosophy, M. Fagnat on criticism, M. Seignobos on history. To the reading-rooms of these colleges, entirely recruited by voluntary contributions, the writer sends such learned periodicals as the *Annals of the Pasteur Institute* and the *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*."

A YEAR'S PLUNGE INTO PARIS SLUMS.

IT is a "mysterious disappearance," truly, which the June *Young Man* records, quite after the manner of "the romantic elopement" made prominent in the daily press, only in this case the mistress of the disappearing man was Philanthropy. Says the writer :

"Some years ago, a good many people were talking of the disappearance of an English author, who had suddenly left his home and friends, and gone nobody knew whither. There was not the slightest clew to his whereabouts, and the author had left nothing behind which would suggest an explanation of his disappearance. He was rich, had many friends, and moved in good society, and at least one of the books he had given to the world had created an enormous sensation. The strange disappearance was a nine days' wonder in the circle in which it became known. . . . Then it was cleared up by the appearance of the author among his friends. He came as suddenly as he had left a year before, and it transpired that he had spent the year in Paris, among the poorest of the poor in the French capital, living and working in the midst of the lowest stage of poverty in France. The man who thus startled his friends was Mr. Egmont Hake, the cousin and biographer of General Gordon.

"Mr. Hake has always had a deep sympathy with the poor, and he had resolved to know the poverty of Paris from the inner side. Closing his banking account, he cut himself off from his friends, deprived himself of his income, and abandoned his position in society for twelve months, arriving in Paris disguised as a workman, with barely a penny in his pocket. He was compelled to do a hundred odd jobs to earn his living, and by and by he fell among the rag-pickers of the boulevards, and, casting in his lot with them, he stayed among them for a year, studying their ways and manners, and living as they lived."

GREAT PAINTINGS SELECTED BY ENGLISH ARTISTS.

MR. FREDERICK DOLMAN, in the *Strand* (London), writes of "The World's Greatest Pictures," in the opinion, that is, of England's leading artists. Most of the artists, before answering the question as to which they considered the greatest picture in the world, said it was quite impossible to select any one picture as before all others. Others so modified their answers as to let it be shown that they only considered the picture they had named as prœminent in one particular coloring; for instance, grouping or

ideality, according to the special bent of the individual artist. The results of the inquiry were as follows :

Artist.	Picture selected.	By whom painted.	Where kept.
Sir L. Alma-Tadema, R.A.	The Disputation as to the Sacrament. <i>Also mentioned:</i> The Entombment of Christ.	Raphael.	Vatican.
W. P. Frith, R.A.	Sacred and Profane Love.	Titian.	Louvre.
Sir W. B. Richmond, R.A.	Portrait of the Jeweler Morett. <i>Also mentioned:</i> Christ Before Pilate.	Holbein.	Borghese Palace, Rome.
Frederick Goodall, R.A.	Miracle of St. Mark.	Tintoretto.	Dresden Gallery.
Phil Morris, A.R.A.	Surrender of Breda. <i>Also mentioned:</i> Bacchus and Ariadne.	Tintoretto.	Venice.
G. A. Storey, A.R.A.	Lady Mulgrave. <i>Also mentioned:</i> The Maids of Honor.	Velasquez.	Venice.
B. W. Leader, R.A.	Polyphemus and Ulysses. <i>Also mentioned:</i> Crossing the Brook.	Titian.	Madrid Gallery.
G. F. Watts, R.A.	Sistine Madonna.	Gainsborough.	National Gallery.
G. H. Boughton, R.A.	Bacchus and Ariadne.	Velasquez.	Privately owned (America).
Marcus Stone, R.A.	Vale of Rest.	Turner.	Madrid Gallery.
J. M. Swan, A.R.A.	Lesson in Anatomy.	Turner.	National Gallery.
		Raphael.	National Gallery.
		Titian.	National Gallery.
		Millais.	Tate Gallery.
		Rembrandt.	The Hague.

THE WORLD'S ART AS MIRRORED AT PARIS.

THE *Edinburgh* discusses "The Pictures at the Paris Exhibition: the New Movement in Art." The writer assumes that in Paris we have "something like the chronicle and brief abstract of the painting of the world." He casts about to find some unifying principle, and he finds it in the principle of revolt :

"Essentially and primarily, this revolt is against the domination of literature over painting. It must be remembered that in the beginning painting was what it never can be to-day, both literature and a plastic art; its object was both to give information and to impress the eye. It had to produce an effect; but it had also to tell a story. . . . But M. Marten's pictures are in no sense illustrations. . . . They translate for us an idea in the mind of the artist, not a piece of information which he has got from his author."

The tendency of this revolt against literary influence must, in the opinion of the writer, be in the direction of impressionism, and so make toward realism.

Then comes the school of "light effects," which delights in showing room or landscape flooded with light, with "their eternal blue and their light which looks as if made of flour" (Delacroix). Their palette is small—excessive ultramarine, white, pink, purple; yellow and blue being in most general use. This tendency



FOREIGN SCULPTURE IN THE PALACE OF FINE ARTS.

has, in Besnard, gone to a love for prismatic coloring. The writer adds:

"We may be sure that this prismatic painting will, in a short time,—if it has not already,—come to constitute a new school, and a recognizable *genre*. We see all kinds of painters showing a leaning that way, and swerving from the path which they seemed to have traced out for themselves. . . .

"The primal impulse in every case has been essentially the same; to realize the great stir to the senses, and through them to the imagination, caused by sudden effects of light."

The writer then deals with "another wide-spreading and deep-reaching current of art," which moves toward "the distribution of light and shade over the whole scene, which gives their relief to individual objects, and gives the effect of distance between one object and another:" technically known as the "perception of values." In this branch Whistler is master.

The writer hopes for a reaction against the re-

action; he waits for a regeneration of art, "a new and high art," which shall speak directly as music speaks through a Beethoven.

RELICS AND THEIR CULT.

IN the *Revue de Paris*, M. Luchaire gives a curious account of the part which the veneration of relics has played in the religious life of the Continent. He points out that not only the archæologist, but the passing visitor to the French Exhibition, cannot but be struck by the extraordinary collection of reliquaries gathered together in the smaller of the two art palaces.

There may be seen, exposed to the gaze of the curious and of the indifferent, relics which have been venerated for centuries—notably the extraordinary golden idol incrustated with precious stones, known to those interested in such matters as the image of "St. Faith, the Virgin of Conques." St. Faith is reputed to have worked miracles for over a thousand years; innumerable pilgrims have passed before her shrine, bringing her offerings and imploring her intercession. During the Middle Ages this image actually owned property, not only all over France, but in England, Spain, and Italy. Occasionally she was taken on a tour among her properties. These almost royal progresses were a source of great interest and enthusiasm to the towns and villages through which St. Faith passed, and whence she was credited with working numerous miracles. After such a past, there seems something grotesque and melancholy in the thought of poor St. Faith playing her part in the great raree show now being held on the banks of the Seine.

AS AMULETS.

Relics played an almost incredibly important part in old Christendom. Instead of swearing with the aid of a Bible, a witness in those days called God to witness his truth by placing his hand on a relic. When a plague broke out in a city the town relics—which generally consisted of the limb of some great saint, a piece of the true cross, or even a portion of the garment of a martyr—were brought out of the reliquaries and taken in procession through the streets. Before starting on a long journey or on a dangerous expedition, the traveler began by making the pilgrimage to some holy place sanctified as having once been the dwelling, or as having now possession of the relic, of a well-known saint; and also he would try, or his friends would attempt, to procure for him some little relic, which was placed as a kind of amulet either in the hilt of his sword or in a small bag round his neck. The value of a relic differed according to the

holiness of the saint or martyr with whom it was connected. Then, as now, Jerusalem was the most frequented place of Christian pilgrimage, but each country had its own "holy places."

EDUCATIONAL VALUE.

France was fortunate in the possession of the crown of thorns, and each of the apostles was represented by a relic, including a lock of hair of St. Peter. Less likely to have been authentic were objects supposed to have been touched by the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Great kings and princes knew that they could give no greater pleasure to their friends and vassals than by presenting them with a relic. The populace learned their Bible history through their relics; and one town famous for its objects of the kind proudly boasted of possessing a little piece of the manger from Bethlehem, a cupful of the incense brought by the Magis, a finger of St. John the Baptist, and a lock of the hair of St. Mary Magdalene. The higher religious authorities, successive popes, and various bishops made vigorous attempts to stem this cult, which often degenerated into mere idolatry; but even when it was decided that no relic should be shown of which the authenticity was not more or less proved by tradition, the populace became exceedingly angry, and clung to the reliquaries more determinedly than ever.

A MISSING HEAD.

One of the most authentic and interesting of medieval relics was the body of Saint Geneviève, the patroness of Paris. In 1162 the terrible news went forth that the saint's head had disappeared, stolen by some too ardent devotee. The then king, Louis VII., made it known that if the head was not replaced by a certain day he would have all the monks in the Priory of Saint Geneviève, where the relic had been kept, severely beaten. But as sometimes happens on less important occasions, the threat had its desired effect, and when in the presence of the king and the whole court the reliquary was opened, the saint's head was found intact. It not infrequently happened that several towns believed themselves to be in possession of the same relic, and this caused not a little scandal.

Even to-day in republican France there is no town, and very few villages, that has not its set of relics, and now, as then, additions are constantly made to them. But the clergy do not encourage the cult of miracle-working relics, and look with suspicion on any stories of the efficacy of touching a relic. Belief in their power seems, however, to be engrafted in human nature. Even now many miracles are said to take place yearly at Ars, which is of course full of relics of the famous

curé, who would doubtless have been the first to deprecate the uses to which his reputation for holiness has been turned by his zealous countrymen and countrywomen.

MANILA'S SCHOOL SYSTEM.

"THE Present and Future of the Philippines" is the rather ambitious title of an article in the August *Forum*, by Mr. Frank F. Hilder, the lecturer and writer on geographic subjects, who has recently returned from his second visit to the islands.

No part of Mr. Hilder's paper is more interesting than that which describes the present status of public education under American auspices in the city of Manila. Under Spanish rule, education was very generally confined to the upper classes of the population. It has been the purpose of the American administration to diffuse its benefits among the masses. According to Mr. Hilder's observation, this purpose has been as fully accomplished as could be expected in the comparatively brief period of the American occupation, considering the disturbed condition of the community.

"THE SCHOOLHOUSE FOLLOWS THE FLAG."

"To the credit of Americans, the schoolhouse follows the flag. As the army advances, and fresh territory becomes safe and peaceful, schools are at once started; and every effort is being made to extend to the towns and hamlets of the entire archipelago the same broad plans for American education which have been in vogue in Manila for more than a year. Recent as is our occupation of the island of Mindanao, official reports received within the last two months indicate that 180 schools will soon be in operation in that island alone. The public school system of Manila embraces 41 schools, with a regular attendance of about 5,000 pupils. Two of these schools are conducted by 28 Spanish Jesuit Fathers, and one for girls by a Spanish sisterhood, of whom 12 act as teachers. These three schools include a high school, with considerable academic work for boys, and some high-school work for girls; a commercial school for boys; a normal school for males; two primary schools for boys and one for girls—one of those for the boys being a training-school for teachers, in connection with the normal school. The instruction in these schools is conducted in Spanish, but great interest is shown in the study of English. The remaining 38 schools are conducted under the auspices of the American Government, and include nineteen for each sex, scattered throughout the various districts and subdistricts of the

city and suburbs. The schools for the boys are located close to those for the girls, and sometimes in the same building. English is taught in all these schools; nearly all the teachers of English being Americans, and mostly women. The 86 teachers who use Spanish are Tagalos, Mestizos, and a few Spaniards. The large majority of these teachers are graduates of the normal school of Manila, conducted by the Jesuits.

"The greater part of these 38 schools are in rented buildings, for the most part unfit for the purpose, and entirely inadequate to accommodate the number of pupils attending them. There is a most urgent need for larger school buildings, and for properly constructed ones, with playgrounds attached—a luxury entirely unknown in Manila. Accommodations should be provided for at least 30,000 or 40,000, who, having no occupation, are roaming the streets and acquiring bad habits. These children are worthy of immediate attention."

The American officials in charge of this school system have great faith in the Filipino children of Manila. They describe them as "bright, capable, polite, earnest, and persevering." The parents, too, wish their children to know English. The native teachers are capable and patient workers. Mr. Hilder was present at the exercises held in several of the schools when they closed for the summer vacation, and was surprised at the proficiency of the pupils, particularly in English, considering the short time they had been under instruction. The proceedings were closed by the singing of "America" in the English language.

A nautical school has been opened under the direction of an American naval officer.

MRS. GLADSTONE AS WIFE AND PHILANTHROPIST.

DEAN WICKHAM contributes to *Good Words* a sketch of "Mrs. Gladstone as Seen from Near at Hand." Of her devotion to her husband one pathetic anecdote is given:

"Her efforts were unresting, and rarely unsuccessful, to economize his strength and time by giving him all the comfort of home and none of its worries. It is a touching witness, in a small matter, to the master-purpose that in the wanderings of her failing life one of the very last fancies which expressed itself in intelligible words was that a carriage which should have been ready for him was after time. She scolded the nurse and sent urgent messages, and then turning, as she thought, to him, with her old tact changing her voice that he might not guess that there was any delay or difficulty, said: 'Shall you be ready soon to start, darling?'"



THE LATE MRS. GLADSTONE.

But the writer brings also to view her philanthropic initiative:

"The Newport Market Refuge was due to her initiation. She got together the committee which found the disused slaughter-houses in Soho, in which the refuge was first established; and partly by means of meetings, at which Mr. Gladstone spoke, partly by endless personal correspondence, and by appeals through *The Times*, she raised the funds both for the start and for the subsequent developments. It was a new departure in the effort to grapple with the problem of the shelterless.

"The Free Convalescent Home, so long located at Woodford Hall, like the industrial school attached to the Newport Market Refuge and her own orphanage for boys at Hawarden, grew out of the needs of which she had had personal experience in the London Hospital during the great cholera epidemic in 1867. There were two novelties in her scheme: the absence of nomination, payment, etc., and the attachment of the convalescent home to a great hospital. As Mrs. Gladstone had been its foundress, so she watched over it, visiting it constantly."

One incident may be cited:

"She was traveling down to Woodford. The footman had taken her ticket when she started, and she had no money, having left her purse at home, or (as she often did) emptied it. On the way she entered into conversation with a sad-looking young lady in the carriage, and learned

by degrees her trouble—a sick husband, whom she was just sending off for a voyage to Australia as a chance for his life, but whom she could not afford to accompany. In the interest of the story she overran her station. As she got out, remembering that she had no money, she borrowed a shilling of her traveling companion, and then gave her her address in St. James's Square and asked her to call, telling her that she would see what could be done for her. The same evening, at a smart dinner, she told the story with such effect that, with her own promised contribution, there was enough to pay the second passage to Australia. Next morning the young wife came and with her to the door her husband, who was afraid she might have been hoaxed; but she was warmly received, and the story being fully verified, she was made happy by being enabled to accompany her husband on his voyage.

"She never had a thought of personal risk or trouble or fatigue. It struck no one as anything but what was natural in her that in the first hours after Mr. Gladstone's death she should have driven up the village to comfort the new-made widow of a collier who had been killed that morning in a mining accident."

STUDIES IN DEVELOPMENT.

SOME very striking work has been done recently, in the field of experimental embryology, by Prof. Jacques Loeb, who announces his latest results in *Science* for August 3, under the title "Artificial Parthenogenesis in Annelids (*Chaetopterus*)."

Every animal develops from a single cell, called the egg-cell, or ovum; and it has been an accepted fact that every such cell must be fertilized before it can develop into an individual—that is, it must unite with another specially differentiated cell. This is true throughout the animal kingdom, whether there is an elephant or a butterfly under consideration. Some exceptions occur among less highly organized animals, such as worms, etc., which may also have an asexual method of reproduction, known in its most typical form as fission, in which a portion of the body changes directly into a new individual that separates and becomes free.

Dr. Loeb has experimented with ova that develop in sea-water. He found that when ova of the sea-urchin were placed in sea-water, the composition of which had been changed by the addition of certain chemicals, they would develop, although there had been no possibility of union with a fertilizing cell. It was not necessary to leave them in the changed water for any length of time; treatment for a few moments was sufficient. The

embryos developed up to the pluteus stage, as the larval form of the sea-urchin is called.

By placing different substances in the water, it was found that development follows the use of either electrolytes or non-conductors, and it is probable that the eggs lose a certain amount of water.

He has also experimented on the ova of starfish and of *Chaetopterus*, one of the marine worms, in both of which the embryos passed through the early stages of development after being placed in water containing chemicals.

Two kinds of fertilization are distinguished—first, that resulting from substances that increase the condensation of the liquid, and designated as osmotic fertilization; and, second, a chemical fertilization, which results from changing the constitution of the sea-water without increasing its density. This kind of fertilization was not effective in the case of the sea-urchins.

Great interest was aroused, a few years ago, by experiments from which it was shown that after artificial division of the egg in its earliest stages of development two individuals might develop, or half of a complete individual, or a complete one of one-half normal size, according to the kind of egg experimented upon. These later unexpected results show us that there is much to be learned yet of the dynamics of embryonic growth.

HOW A LION IS TAMED.

IN the September *McClure's*, there is an article by Samuel Hopkins Adams on "The Training of Lions, Tigers, and Other Great Cats," which explains rather more on that interesting topic than we have before seen. Mr. Adams writes from personal interviews with the leading trainers of the world. He tells us, in the first place, that all trainers prefer an animal from the wilds to one born in captivity, the reason being that the captive creature lands after a long voyage, during which it has almost incessantly suffered from seasickness, want of care, and insufficient food. It has become wretched and broken in body and spirit. In a few hours it has a comfortable and spacious cage, with clean straw, fresh air, good food, and, above all, quiet and peace. This renders the new arrival, whether lion, tiger, leopard, jaguar, or puma, more amenable to the advances of human beings than the feline born in captivity. The latter is a spoiled child, and has neither respect nor fear for man. It endures the presence of a trainer in its cage without protest; but let him attempt to force it into some course of action against its will, and at the first touch of punishment it springs at his throat.

TACKLING A WILD TWO-YEAR-OLD LION.

In his interesting description of the actual methods of taking a wild beast in hand, Mr. Adams considers the education of a two-year-old lion just arrived from Africa. "Presumably he is looking about him with some curiosity as to what is coming next. Already he has become accustomed to regard the approach of man as an indication of feeding-time. Consequently, he is inclined to honor the human being with his approval on general principles. To his cage comes the trainer, and speaks to him in soothing tones. Leo regards him without any evidence of perturbation. The trainer, after talking to him for a few minutes, throws him a savory strip of meat, and loiters about the cage for an hour or more before he goes.

THE FIRST ADVANTAGE.

The next day he is back again, and the same performance is repeated. By the third day Leo, being of average intelligence, recognizes his voice when he comes to the cage—it is always the voice that a lion recognizes first, for which reason a trainer invariably speaks to his animals upon approaching them—and, if he is in pretty good humor, purs. That is the signal for the next step in the acquaintanceship. The trainer pokes a broomstick between the bars.

"This invasion is more than Leo bargained for, however. He draws back, growls, and, thrusting out a huge paw, pins the intruding object to the floor; then drags it into the cage, the trainer offering no resistance. Perhaps the lion contents himself with knocking the stick about a bit and growling at it, having ascertained that it is harmless; or perhaps he crunches it between his terrible teeth. At any rate, no sooner has he disposed of it to his satisfaction and settled down again, than another stick appears, and the quiet voice that he has learned to recognize is heard outside. Very likely Leo pulverizes that intruder too; but the broom sections persist, until he wearies of trying to make toothpicks out of such a quantity of lumber, and permits one of them to be laid on his back without protest.

"Behold, now, a wonderful matter to the illuminated mind of Leo; for not only is there no harm in this piece of wood, but it is an agency for the increase of happiness. He feels it rubbed, gently rubbed, along his neck and back, and from a dubious and somewhat timid frame of mind passes to serene content, which he announces by loud purrings. There is nothing a lion so loves as grooming." In other ways, too, it shows the same traits as Tabby.

GOING INTO THE CAGE.

"The next step is the plunge. Having become thoroughly accustomed to the stick and its manipulator by repeated rubbings, Leo is judged to be in a condition of mind favorable to a more intimate association. One day his cage door is opened and his human friend steps in, carrying with him a stout chair, upon which he seats himself. Much disturbed, not by the man, but by the chair—which is beyond his comprehension—the lion retreats to the far corner of the cage, and crouches there growling. The trainer sits quietly reading a paper, and casting glances at the lion from the corner of his eye. Thus the situation remains for a couple of hours; then the man and his chair depart as they came, and Leo is left to think it over.

"Upon their reappearance, the next morning, he has very likely reached the conclusion that the matter will stand a little investigation, and he approaches cautiously. The trainer stretches out toward him the same stick from which he has experienced that pleasant grooming; but in its new surroundings it rouses his quick distrust, and he retreats to his corner. Alarm begets wrath. It is feline nature to dissemble that wrath until the moment of action. Leo does not growl or lash his tail. The growling lion is not to be feared, and the lashing tail is not, as commonly supposed, an indication of anger, but of good-humor. Watch the tail of a cat while you are scratching her head, and you will see. It is when the tail stands out straight and rigid that the trainer begins to think of retreat. Leo's tail becomes an iron bar. Perhaps the trainer is warned in time to slip out at the door; perhaps not until so late that he knows he will not have the opportunity. Leo glances aside carelessly, and the next instant, with open mouth and claws distended, he is sailing through the air, straight for the throat of the man, his 800 pounds of sinew and muscle inspired by all the ferocity of fear and hate."

WILD ANIMALS LIKE TO BE PETTED.

When this crisis comes, the chair is the shield, and the stick, forcibly applied to the lion's nose, in the tip of which the beast keeps all his most sensitive feelings, is the weapon of offense. Generally they are sufficient to allow the trainer to get out of the cage, leaving the lion to raise considerable fuss and then repent or not, according to his temperament. When he repents, as he generally does, the trainer goes into the cage the next day with his chair and stick again. The animal moves over to his corner. Little by little the man edges the chair over until he is

within reach, and then he begins to rub the lion with his stick; little by little he decreases the distance still more by shortening his grasp on the stick, until finally he has his hand on Leo's shoulder, and is petting him. This is the second great step; the lion has learned to endure the touch of the human hand. Not only does he endure it—he likes it—for few animals are indifferent to petting. Day by day the trainer familiarizes the lion with his presence and touch, rubbing his back, stroking his shoulder, raising his paws; and in the course of a fortnight after first entering the cage, if the animal be of fairly good temper at all, a long and open enmity has been eradicated.

From this on, Mr. Adams tells us that the education of an animal is simply getting him into certain habits of action, each one of which is intimately connected with something he sees or uses. The one great accident to be avoided under all circumstances is falling down. The moment a trainer is prostrate, the animal considers the man's power gone and attacks him.

HOW TO CARE FOR ONE'S EYES.

IN the September *Cosmopolitan*, there is a chapter on "The Human Eye and How to Care for It," by Dr. H. O. Reik, being one of the prize-winning essays, the programme for which was announced in the *Cosmopolitan* last year. Dr. Reik explains the physiology of the eye, and then proceeds to give some practical advice as to the care of the most delicate of our senses. He says special care of the eyes should begin at a very early period; in fact, from the very first week of life, as there are diseases which begin as early as that, and may result in blindness. During infancy the child should be guarded against glaring lights in the house or direct sunlight-out-of doors. Especially is it necessary to give intelligent care to the eyesight of school-children. This writer thinks many children who have been punished at home and at school because of a persistent dislike of study are in reality only suffering from the handicap of defective vision. He thinks, with Dr. Risley, of Philadelphia, that every child on entering school should be subjected to a systematic examination as to the state of its vision. Errors of refraction should be corrected by glasses, and then the following precautions as to their work:

PRECAUTIONS IN THE SCHOOLROOM.

"(1) Sufficient light, properly admitted to the schoolroom, should be regarded as a fundamental

requirement in schoolhouse architecture. The light should be admitted from the left side of the pupils, and the ratio of window surface to floor surface should never fall below one to five; and this should be exceeded in many localities, on the north side of buildings and on the ground-floors. (2) The desks and seats should be of such a pattern as will permit independent adjustment as to height and size, to meet the requirements of individual pupils and to insure upright sitting. (3) Instruction should be imparted as far as possible by means of blackboards, wall-maps, charts, and orally, instead of by work at a near point, as with pencil and paper or slate. Where the work must be done at a near point, a pen and black ink should be used, instead of a lead-pencil or slate and pencil. (4) The work required to be done at home should be in a large measure abandoned, or at least largely reduced. (5) A more elastic curriculum of study is desirable for pupils with weak eyes or feeble health, which will permit the lengthening of the school-life and at the same time admit of steady promotion. (6) Great care should be exercised in the selection of properly printed text-books. Only good paper, and type no smaller than eight-point, or preferably ten-point, are admissible in school-books; and these should be bold-faced and well spaced, on a double-column page. For the former a distance of two millimeters between the lines, and for the latter a distance of two and one-half millimeters, should be required. (7) In writing, the central position of the paper should be maintained; but in properly lighted rooms, with suitably arranged seating, the kind of script, vertical or slanting, will depend upon the vertical or the inclined position of the paper, and may safely be left to natural selection. Some of these suggestions are equally adaptable to the home-life or office-work of the adult."

THE USE OF STIMULANTS.

Dr. Reik says that excessive use of alcohol and tobacco affects the eyes very seriously, and that for some people tobacco is a poison and produces a lesion in the nerve of the eye leading to blindness. The most important thing of all, however, in order to take care of the sight, is to get sufficient light to work and read by. The most desirable location of a light to read by is from above, behind, and to the left of the body. Of artificial lights, the incandescent electric is the best, though the use of incandescent mantels has much improved gaslight. Where coal oil is the only illuminant, the so-called student lamps make a very satisfactory light.

THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

THE September *Harper's* is largely taken up with lighter features. Mr. Julian Ralph's article on the Boer War, under the title "The Teuton Tug of War," is full of disdain for the Boers and of admiration for Lord Roberts and the British Army. Mr. Ralph thinks that what resistance has been made to the British arms in South Africa has been made chiefly by the country, rather than by the fighting Boers.

SUBMARINE TORPEDO-BOATS OF TO-DAY.

Mr. William W. Kimball tells all about submarine torpedo-boats, his article being illustrated with pictures of various types, but especially of the American submarine boat *Holland*. Mr. Kimball believes in submarine boats, and says that while it is true there is no way of seeing through water for a practical distance ahead, still a course can be steered under water by the compass as readily as on the surface on a dark night or in a thick fog. There is no difficulty about providing enough compressed air to keep the boat perfectly ventilated for days, and it is certain that very valuable military results otherwise unattainable can be had by utilizing water for cover against gun-fire. The French have a submarine boat regularly in commission in the navy. This, the *Gustave Zédé*, is driven by stored electricity; therefore, her radius of action is small, as she has no means of renewing her store of power. She is credited with a radius of action of only 30 miles. The *Holland* uses a gasoline engine for surface and stored electricity for under-water work. Her surface radius of action is a good 800 miles, and her submerged one about 50. All attempts at lighting the water ahead by strong electric arc lights have proved futile, and the boat must be steered, when submerged, by compass or gyroscope, or some method obtaining, by means of the camera-lucida, a reflected image of the object steered for. In the present state of the science of submarine navigation, 60 or 80 tons is the most effective size of a vessel. For this size an armament can be devised to include both aerial and water torpedo-tubes. The automobile water-torpedo cannot be depended upon to get home at distances greater than 300 or 400 yards under battle conditions. In delivering it, the conning-tower must show at 400 yards from the ship; but even then the ship can hardly sink her before the torpedo has been driven home. The projectile torpedo fired through water cannot be depended upon for a range greater than 100 yards. It is for use only at the moment of passing out from the shadow of a ship.

THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE PARIS FAIR.

This number of *Harper's* opens with an article by Edward Insley on "Paris in 1900, and the Exposition." Mr. Insley thinks that the present exposition differs from those that have gone before in little except degree. In nearly all respects the architecture of the Paris Exposition in 1900 is an improvement over 1889. The materials used, staff and stone, have made it another white city. With a much larger exposition to house in half the space, it was out of the question to imitate or surpass Chicago. The one advantage that Paris has over Chicago is the inclusion within the boundaries of the

fair of some of the most beautiful permanent attractions of Paris—the two magnificent Beaux-Arts palaces, the majestic Alexander III. bridge, one side of the Champs Elysées, and both banks of a considerable section of the river.

THE CENTURY.

MR. R. VAN BERGEN writes in the September *Century* on "The Revolution in China and Its Causes." Mr. Van Bergen is fully convinced that it is a revolution and not an insurrection that is convulsing China now. He describes the Boxer Society as more like a labor union than a secret society. He says its purpose is mainly benevolent—to provide for old and disabled members. It is made up of men whose physical and muscular strength has been trained purposely and from early youth, not that they may enter the athletic arena, but that they may engage in a perfectly lawful and honorable career. They are engaged as watchmen by wealthy residents, and as guards by travelers carrying a large amount of money. Such a guard or watchman insures perfect safety, for it places the property or person under the protection of the Boxer Union, and thieves or malefactors dread arousing its vengeance. Not a single instance is on record in which a member of the Boxer Union was faithless to his trust. Thus, Mr. Van Bergen says, the Boxer is more like a private detective in America than the blood-thirsty rioter he seems to be from this distance. As to the reasons for the discontent which led the Boxers to take the initiative in this anti-foreign movement, Mr. Van Bergen says that the people of northern China have great causes of complaint. The opening of the Tientsin-Peking Railway brought thousands of people in Chili to the verge of starvation. A host of donkey-drivers, carters, carriers, coolies, boatmen, innkeepers, and their assistants were thrown out of employment. He says the Germans exasperated the Chinese of Shantung by superciliousness, and rode roughshod over the superstitions of the natives. Mr. Van Bergen denies the report that the missionaries had been to blame for China's uprising. While a few dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church have interposed between secular justice and their converts, arousing some jealousy and resentment, the Protestant missionaries have, according to Mr. Van Bergen, conscientiously avoided the connection of secular and religious conditions.

AID THE PROGRESSIVE ELEMENT IN CHINA.

Another article in the *Century* called forth by the Chinese upheaval is the Rev. Dr. D. Z. Sheffield's on "The Influence of the Western World on China." Dr. Sheffield, after rehearsing the political events that preceded and led up to the Chinese revolution, exhorts England and the United States to give all aid and sympathy to the progressive element already alive in China. This element will, he thinks, assert itself, and in due time overcome the spirit of conservatism and blind adherence to the dead past. Dr. Sheffield says that those who know the Chinese best have the highest confidence in the race capacities of that people. They are industrious, economical, persistent, capable, of high culture and of deep moral and religious convictions, shrewd in busi-

ness, bound together in strong family ties, lovers of order, patient in misfortune, resolute in danger, enduring in hardship, and loyal to just authority. Dr. Sheffield sees no reason to despair for the future of such a people, and he speaks as one with authority, as he is president of the North China College of the American Board at Tung-chau.

LISZT IN 1854.

Mr. William Mason's "Memories of a Musical Life" are occupied, in the chapter published this month, with the writer's acquaintanceship with Liszt, while Mr. Mason was a pupil under the great master. Mr. Mason describes Liszt in 1854 as follows: "There is his tall, lanky form, his high hat set a little to one side, and his arm a trifle akimbo. He had piercing eyes; his hair was very dark, but not black; he wore it long, just as he did in his older days; it came almost down to his shoulders, and was cut off square at the bottom." Mr. Mason says that Liszt never taught, in the ordinary sense of the word. He would simply tell his pupils to come up to see him at such and such an hour; and they would pay him a visit, and one of them would play, while the others smoked and Liszt criticised if he wished to. In one of these unconventional lessons the pupil would generally play for two or three hours.

Mr. John Burroughs gives his impressions on "A Summer Holiday in Bering Sea," a continuation of his account of the cruise taken in the Northwest with the Harriman expedition last year. Anna Mathewson gives an account of "The Detroit Bicentennial Memorial," to be completed July 24, 1901, to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the founding of Detroit. The particular features of the enterprise are that the design is a gift for the sake of art from five of America's leading architects, sculptors, and painters, and the marble is a free-will offering of the community. The column will be placed on the lower point of Belle Isle, in the center of the Detroit River. It will measure 24 feet in diameter at its base, and rise to a height of 220 feet.

M'CLURE'S MAGAZINE.

FROM the September *McClure's* we have selected the article by Mr. S. H. Adams on "The Training of Lions, Tigers, and Other Great Cats" for quotation among the "Leading Articles of the Month."

THE BUILDING OF THE "DEUTSCHLAND."

Another article of great interest is Mr. Ray Stannard Baker's on "Building a German Ocean Greyhound." The article is especially timely, because of the feats in record-breaking being performed by the monster *Deutschland*, which was built at the Stettin works, which Mr. Baker has visited and here describes. He says that when he visited these greatest of European shipyards in April no less than nine huge vessels were in course of construction. Mr. Baker thinks that now that the theory is exploded that the limit of size in ocean vessels had been reached, no one will venture to name a limit, and that it is probable that if a great steamship company should order a 750-foot ship to make 30 knots an hour, the builders would take the contract. In the *Deutschland* they have built a vessel 686½ feet long, 67 feet broad, and 44 feet deep. It requires 33,000 horse-power to drive the *Deutschland* at the rate of 26 miles an hour, which the contract calls for. In actual working, the ship has considerably exceeded this speed. These engines of the *Deutschland's* are

the greatest in the world, as the *Oceanic*, the largest ship afloat, has only 27,000 horse-power, and the *Campania* 30,000. Mr. Baker says it required the continuous work, for six months, of over twenty draughtsmen to make the plans. The *Deutschland* was launched just one year from the time her keel was laid, and her total cost was over \$3,000,000. Even a few years ago, such a vessel as the *Deutschland* would have been an impossibility; not so much for mechanical reasons as for the fact that it really could not have been made to pay. She carries no freight and little express. She is wholly a passenger and mail steamer, and carries 1,750 passengers across the Atlantic in the least possible space of time and with the greatest luxury.

SELLING OUR BONDS IN 1871.

The Hon. George S. Boutwell, ex-Secretary of the Treasury, describes "A Historic Sale of United States Bonds in England"—the issue of 5-per-cent. bonds to the amount of \$200,000,000, made in 1871 at Mr. Boutwell's own suggestion. Of these bonds, \$66,000,000 were subscribed in America by the public, and \$134,000,000 were sold in London through the Messrs. J. Cooke & Co. Mr. Boutwell describes the details of carrying on this transaction in London, and how the money received for the bonds was deposited in the Bank of England to the personal account of Judge W. A. Richardson, then an assistant secretary of the treasury. He calls attention to the fact that the long-established bankers of New York, Amsterdam, and London, so recently as 1871, were without the business foresight which would lead them to negotiate 5-per-cent. bonds of the United States at par. Mr. Morton, of the house of Morton, Bliss & Co., was an exception.

LIEUTENANT GILLMORE AMONG THE FILIPINOS.

Lieutenant Gillmore concludes his thrilling account of his captivity among the Filipinos with the incident of his rescue by American troops sent out to find him after he and his party had been left in the mountains without arms or provisions by their Filipino guards. He describes the Filipinos that he traveled among in his extraordinary journey as uncertain and changeable as children. They always showed a great respect for military rank. Wherever former Spanish officers were in charge, the party of Americans were treated well. There were frequent threats to kill the whole party of Americans; but, as a matter of fact, the Filipinos never laid hands on them during the whole time of their captivity, though they often flogged and otherwise ill-treated Spanish prisoners.

THE COSMOPOLITAN.

FROM the September *Cosmopolitan* we have selected Mr. John Brisson Walker's article on "China and the Powers," and Dr. H. O. Reik's on "The Human Eye and How to Care for It," for notice among the "Leading Articles of the Month."

A second article on China is by John Brewster Dane. Mr. Dane thinks there is no doubt that 1,000,000 Russian peasants will soon be breeding horses and raising wheat on the fertile plains of Manchuria. Mr. Dane thinks that China's system of government would be excellent, were it not for the fact that the small salaries paid the officials have led to the elaborate system of bribing which everywhere exists.

Mr. Samuel G. Blythe tells about the Pan-American

Exposition to be held at Buffalo. To show what a big city Buffalo has become, Mr. Blythe tells us it has now a population of nearly 400,000, is the fourth shipping city in the world, is the greatest sheep-market in the world, and one of the largest cattle and horse markets in the world. It has 41 grain-elevators, with a capacity of 21,000,000 bushels, and a total receipt of 191,000,000 bushels last year. It has 223 miles of asphalt streets, or more than London, Paris, Washington, or any other city in the world. The exposition is to open on May 1, 1901. It has an excellent site in Delaware Park. The working capital is \$5,800,000, and the promoters promise something bigger than anything that has ever been seen in America, with the exception of the World's Fair at Chicago. It will not be a white city; the buildings will be colored freely.

Mr. Frank Fowler, the artist, writes most interestingly on the subject of portrait-painting, taking as his examples the masterpieces of Reynolds, Romney, Gainsborough, and Sir Thomas Lawrence. He says that portrait-painting was the art which in England received earliest encouragement, and in which the English earliest excelled. Of the great names in portrait-painting, from Henry VIII. to George I., Holbein was the greatest genius, and many great Flemish painters were called to England's court to raise the standard of this particular field of art.

Olive Schreiner begins the magazine with the first installment of a description of "The African Boer." Her description of the Boer is occupied in this first chapter chiefly with a history of the founding of the two republics.

MUNSEY'S MAGAZINE.

IN the September *Munsey's*, Mr. Fritz Cunliffe-Owen, writing under the title "The Crime of the Powers," accuses the European governments of displaying an utter lack of foresight, firmness, and prudence in their dealings with China in the present tremendous crisis, and ascribes their shortcomings to mutual jealousy. Mr. Cunliffe-Owen alleges that, years ago, such men as Sir Henry Parkes were entirely aware that the European forces sent to China were ridiculously inadequate at the time of the Taiping Rebellion, and the writer thinks that the inadequate measures and insufficient troops in the present crisis were all due to the jealousy that delayed the work of rescue.

TWO THOUSAND TONS OF CAMPAIGN LITERATURE.

Mr. Luther B. Little, writing on "The Printing-Press in Politics," gives some curious statistics concerning the vast flood of campaign literature sent out by the rival political parties in a Presidential year. He says that in 1896 the Republicans distributed, from the National Committee headquarters, in round numbers 300,000,000 pieces, or 2,000 tons of documents. In describing the preparation of campaign literature, he says that no "copy" in any printing-office, unless it be the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, where Government bonds and currency are printed, is scrutinized more closely or edited with greater care than the copy intended for campaign literature. The managers give the most intense attention to every detail. Paragraphs, sentences, and words are weighed with reference to their effect on the reader, and their effect in one part of the country as against another.

THE WATER-TIGHT BULKHEAD AS A LIFE-SAVER.

Mr. Henry H. Lewis writes on "Life-Saving at Sea,"

giving an account of the life-boats and various apparatus provided to save life in marine disasters. He designates the water-tight bulkhead invented by Francis T. Bowles, one of our naval constructors, as the most effective device for saving life at sea. The earlier ships were mere hulls of two or three compartments, and when the sides were pierced the rushing water caused them to founder almost instantly. The modern steamship is divided into more than a score of water-tight steel bulkheads, each one of which is an entirely separate compartment.

Mr. Réginald L. Foster tells "The Story of the Great Hoboken Fire," which started at the piers of the North German Lloyd Line, and which was perhaps the most terrible and appalling spectacle of this century. Not only were three ocean steamships and a vast deal of other property destroyed in addition to the great loss of life,—the disaster occurred under the eyes of the people of three great cities, and was in that way unique in its spectacular qualities. Miss Mary C. Francis tells of "The First Hegira of Cuban Teachers," which has been noted in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, and gives some account of what the United States has done since it turned its attention to educational affairs in the island. At that time not more than 4,000 children attended the public schools of Cuba; now there are 3,300 public schools, with 3,500 teachers, and 140,000 children in attendance.

LIPPINCOTT'S.

THE September *Lippincott's* begins with a complete novelette by Thomas Cobb,—*"The Dissemblers,"*—the scene of which is laid in London. Stephen Crane's posthumous descriptions of "Great Battles of the World" are continued in an account of the battle of Lützen between Gustavus of Sweden and the Germans. Mr. Henry I. Pancoast, in an essay under the title "Young America at the Gates of Literature," deplors the weak, commonplace, and insufficient vocabulary of the children of the day, which, he alleges, makes it impossible for boys from fourteen to sixteen years of age to read even such poetry as "The Lady of the Lake." Mr. Pancoast does not think this deficiency can be overcome altogether by beginning the study of literature at an early stage of the school course. "This is indeed desirable, but it is not enough. The formation of taste, like the formation of character, should reach back into the very earliest years; and all deliberate, formal instruction in literature should be based upon a predisposition for what is right and excellent, carefully cultivated and directed from the very beginning." The Rev. Cyrus Townsend Brady contributes a short story, "The Bishop and the Fool," and there are several other imaginative features.

THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

THE beautifully illustrated September number of the *Ladies' Home Journal* begins with "One Hundred Years in the White House," by Rene Bache, an account of the fortunes of the Presidential domicile since Abigail Adams, first mistress of the White House, journeyed from Philadelphia to Washington in the autumn of 1800. As far back as 1792, a prize of \$500 had been offered for the best plan for a Presidential Mansion. It was awarded to James Hoban, a young Irish architect of Charleston, S. C., and the original White House showed the substantial characteristics of a typical South Carolina family mansion. Mr. Hoban's plan

was suggested by the palace of the Duke of Leinster at Dublin. The States of Virginia and Maryland supplied the funds, \$192,000. A budget of capital anecdotes of Phillips Brooks brings the reader closer to the fascinating personality of the great bishop than could most formal character sketches. A pleasant feature of the number is Thaddeus Horton's "Romances of Some Southern Homes," giving reminiscences of the Southern belles like Lucy Pickens who became a part of the history of the Southern States.

OUTING.

OUTING continues to improve in literary quality and in general plan under the capable editorship of Mr. Caspar Whitney. The September number begins with an excellent sketch of Indian life by Fitzherbert Leather; Mr. George Hibbard contributes an essay on "The Sporting Spirit," in which he argues that its teachings are of great service to the human race in helping us to do our best, no matter what comes, and in inculcating fair play and fearlessness of any odds in the game of life. In the chapter on Alpine Accidents, Mr. Francis Gribble divides the mountain climbing casualties into three classes—(1) when the climber falls off the mountain; (2) when the mountain or some portion of it falls on the climber; and (3) when the climber loses his way, or is weather-bound. Mr. Gribble examines each class of accident in detail, and gives prescriptions for avoiding it. He says that, according to the experts, alpine accidents ought never to happen, as rules have been laid down for avoiding them. But nevertheless, each season brings casualties, and often the sufferers are the experts at the game.

Mr. A. S. Jennings gives a thrilling true story of a Boer hunter in "A Hand-to-hand Fight with a Lioness;" and the famous naturalist, Dr. D. G. Elliott, has a chapter on North American Game-Birds, and there are various other features in *Outing's* peculiar field.

THE NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINE.

IN the *New England Magazine* for September, Mr. J. T. Sunderland, in discussing "The Cause of Indian Famines," ascribes these great disasters solely to the extreme poverty of the Indian people—a poverty so severe that it keeps the majority of the people on the very verge of suffering, even in years of plenty, and prevents them from laying up anything to tide them over years of scarcity. If their condition were such that in good years they could get a little ahead, and then, when the bad years came, they could draw on that as a reserve, this would not save them from hardship, but would save them from starvation. Mr. Sunderland asks why such great poverty exists, and finds as answer that India is a subject nation. He accuses England of sucking the substance from prostrate India, and believes that as long as India has to pay regularly to England each year somewhere between \$125,000,000 and \$150,000,000, in addition to the regular and heavy home expenses of the Indian Government, this poverty will continue.

G. Frederick Wright gives a good account of Oberlin College, its history, and the result of its labors. Mr. Charles B. Oliphant describes the picturesque town of Methuen, Mass., and Mr. Burton J. Hendrick publishes the chronicle of "Jacob Hemminway, the First Yale Student."

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

FROM the September *Atlantic Monthly* we have selected Mr. Brooks Adams' article on "Russia's Interest in China," and Helen C. Candee's on "Oklahoma," to review among the "Leading Articles of the Month."

THE AMERICAN POLITICAL BOSS.

The number begins with an essay on "The American Boss," by Francis C. Lowell. Mr. Lowell rather devotes himself to investigating the causes of the boss than suggesting means for his extirpation. He finds that the principal causes are the universal need of elaborate and extensive political machinery, the undue importance given by the American citizen to those who operate it, and the confusion caused by conducting local elections upon national party lines. He thinks these general principles are more to blame than the timidity, indifference, ignorance, and worthlessness of citizens. As to the effective remedies for bossism, Mr. Lowell thinks that, after civil-service reform, which he considers a great remedy, the important thing is to separate, as far as possible, local elections from the national; to encourage independent voting, that is, local voting independent of irrelevant national issues. He would also simplify elections of all kinds; for the boss thrives on elections so complicated that the voter must, of necessity, be guided in his choice by the machine.

COUNT TOLSTOI'S DEFINITION OF ART.

Under the title "The Ancient Feud Between Philosophy and Art," Mr. Paul Elmer More discusses Count Tolstoi's recent book, "What is Art?" in which the great novelist denies the importance—in fact, the existence—of beauty in any true ideal of art, making his definition merely the process of transferring the artist's sensations to other people. Mr. More, in his retrospect over the history of philosophy and art, shows that this is certainly no new view, but has been held by philosophers and denied by artists ever since these existed.

CONVENTIONAL MAGAZINE EDITING.

In the "Contributor's Club," there is a complaint from a member as to the conduct of American magazines. In the first place, this magazine reader argues that it is illogical and destructive of possible good to restrict all magazine articles to a comparatively small maximum of length. The writer asks how it is possible that we do not possess, in America, a magazine which will accept an article as long as 15,000 words. "Is it not true that St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians would be found too long for such a magazine and returned to the writer for condensation? Is it not also true that some religious, artistic, and literary questions absolutely require, for their adequate treatment, at least 15,000 words; and, moreover, absolutely require to be read at a single sitting in order to preserve their literary value?" This protestant thinks that contributors ought to be freer in their choice of topics, too, and suggests that either we ought to have a new magazine in which the editor permitted any proper person to say any proper thing without holding himself responsible, or else there ought to be founded a subsidized magazine, prepared to pay no dividends and to lose large sums monthly for the sake of printing any really good work, long or short, conventional or not.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

MORE than one-half of the August number of the *North American* is taken up with discussions of the present crisis in China. In addition to Mr. Barrett's article on "The Duty of America," from which we have quoted in another place, there are six papers representing as many different points of view, and dealing with various phases of the problem that now confronts the world. Lieut. Carlyon Bellairs, of the Royal Navy, writes on "The Responsibility of the Rulers;" Demetrius C. Boulger on "America's Share in the Event of Partition;" President George B. Smyth, of the Anglo-Chinese College at Foochow, on "Causes of Anti-Foreign Feeling;" Mr. Robert E. Lewis on "The Gathering of the Storm," and Mr. Charles F. Holder on "America's Treatment of the Chinese," while "The Japanese View of the Situation" is presented by "A Japanese Diplomat." Most of the opinions that are expressed in these articles have already received attention in our reviews of current articles presented in the department of "Leading Articles of the Month" in this and preceding numbers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

A noteworthy feature of Mr. Boulger's paper is its outspoken demand for the United States to take a share in the partition of China. In this respect it contrasts in a marked degree with the temperate counsel of Mr. Barrett in his article quoted among our "Leading Articles of the Month" in this number.

Among the causes of anti-foreign feeling in China, President Smyth includes the work of the missionaries. While he recognizes the nobility of the missionary motive, he is forced to admit that that movement is "unhappily associated with conquest, and its toleration is the result of successful war."

EDUCATION AND THE RACE PROBLEM.

President Booker T. Washington makes a clear and cogent statement of his belief in education as the final solvent of the race problem. Mr. Washington has asked many white men in the Southern States this question: "Judged by actual observation in your own community, what is the effect of education upon the negro?" explaining that by education he did not mean a mere smattering, but a thorough education of the head, heart, and hand. Of 300 replies, only one said that education did not help the negro, while most of the others were emphatic in stating that education made the negro a better citizen. Mr. Washington himself states that he does not know of a single instance where a black man who has been thoroughly educated has been even charged with the crime of assaulting a woman. Mr. Washington cites the remarkable progress made by the negro race in Jamaica in its sixty years of freedom, and remarks that the negro in America enjoys advantages and encouragements such as the race in Jamaica does not possess.

GENERAL SHERMAN ON THE PRESIDENCY.

By far the most interesting bit of reading in this number of the *North American Review* is a letter, hitherto unpublished, from Gen. W. T. Sherman, addressed to former United States Senator J. R. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, in 1884, and giving the general's reasons for declining the Presidential nomination in that year. The general explains that the law compelled his retirement from the command of the army at the age of sixty-four years. He then says: "If too old to command an army of 25,000 men, of course I was too old to

be the President and Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States. Therefore I notified my own brother, and all who were entitled to my confidence, that I must not be used by any political convention for its purpose and convenience. During the convention at Chicago, I was notified by men high in authority that, in case there should be a deadlock as between the two strong candidates, Arthur and Blaine, my name would surely be used, whether I consented or not. I may be eccentric; but I think I am not a fool, an ass, to be used by others at their will, and I simply confided to a friend, in position to act, that they had better not make too free use of my name, as I had old-fashioned ideas of freedom and the right of every man to shape his own destiny; that I was not in the habit of calling a council of war to throw off on it the responsibility, but had already decided for myself, and advised the convention that if it used my name without my consent I might answer in terms which would damage it as well as myself. Of course, my name was dropped, and Blaine was nominated."

"IMPERIALISM"—AMERICA'S HISTORIC POLICY.

Ex-Senator W. A. Pepper, of Kansas, whose return to the Republican party from the ranks of the Populists has recently been announced, comes to the defense of the McKinley administration on the charge of "imperialism" in the execution of the Philippine policy. The substance of Mr. Pepper's argument is condensed in the following terse paragraph: "President McKinley is now doing in the Philippines just what was done by President Jackson and his successors in Florida, and he is doing it more humanely. Were they imperialists?"

OUR METHOD OF CHOOSING PRESIDENTS.

Two papers dealing with our Presidential electoral system are contributed to this number by Mr. Walter L. Hawley and Mr. John Handiboe, respectively. Mr. Hawley reviews the history of Presidential elections, showing that up to the year 1880,—ninety-one years after the election of the first President,—there had never been a choice of President by the people of all the States recorded at the polls and carried into effect. Mr. Handiboe presents the familiar arguments for election by direct popular vote. It is well known that the present system by no means insures the election of the candidate receiving the highest number of votes, while at present the citizen of a large State exercises vastly more power in the choice of a President than the individual voter in a State having only a few electors.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. H. G. Wells, the English novelist, writes a tribute to Stephen Crane; Gen. O. O. Howard contributes a paper on "British Strategy in South Africa;" and Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., exposes "Some Absurdities of the House of Commons."

THE FORUM.

IN our department of "Leading Articles of the Month," we have made brief extracts from the articles by Mr. H. Remsen Whitehouse on "Some Italian Problems," by Mr. Charles A. Conant on "The United States as a World Power," and by Mr. F. F. Hilder on "The Present and Future of the Philippines," appearing in the August number of the *Forum*.

The opening paper of this number is an elaborate discussion of "The Present Status of Afghanistan," by

Sultan Mohammad Khan, chief secretary of that kingdom. This writer summarizes the relation between Afghanistan and the British empire in India, as fixed by treaties, as follows :

"The British Government acknowledges Afghanistan to be an independent kingdom ; she herself having no right to interfere with the internal policy of the latter. Great Britain undertakes the safety, integrity, and independence of Afghanistan against unprovoked aggression on the part of any foreign power, so long as the Amir does not act against the advice of the British Government in matters affecting diplomatic relations with other powers. Great Britain pays the Amir 18 lakhs of rupees as an annual subsidy, by virtue of Sir Mortimer Durand's treaty of 1893 with the Amir ; and in addition she helps Afghanistan by presenting her with war materials from time to time. She allows the Amir to have his political agent and representative at the court of the Viceroy of India ; and the Amir is entitled to import all kinds of goods, including war materials, into the country.

TREATY OBLIGATIONS AND RELATIONS OF THE AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN.

"In return for these pledges given by the British empire in India, the Amir's obligations are the following : He is bound, by his word and by treaties, to be a true friend and ally to the Indian empire ; he pledges himself not to communicate with any foreign power without first consulting with the Indian Government ; he must also have a British agent at Kabul. This British agent, however, must always be a Mohammedan, a subject of the Indian Government ; and no member of his staff is to be a European. Besides his political agent, who represents him at the court of the Viceroy, the Amir has several private commercial agents in India and in England. There is no extradition treaty between Afghanistan and other nations. Hence an offender is never given up to his own country against his will."

"IMPERIALISM" IN CANADA.

In an article on "Canada and Imperialism," Mr. John Charlton, M.P., one of the members of the Anglo-American Joint High Commission, argues that the unfriendly fiscal policy toward Canada adopted by the United States has been one reason for the gradual drifting away of Canada in sympathy and in sentiment from her neighbor. Canada has been obliged to find markets elsewhere than in America, and that she has succeeded is shown by the fact that last year England took 62 per cent. of her total exports, and her exports of farming products to that country were ten times greater than to the United States. The effect of this development of English trade has been to bind Canada more closely to Great Britain in sympathy and in sentiment. Mr. Charlton declares it to be his belief that not 10 per cent. of the Canadian population, outside of the Province of Quebec, are other than thoroughly loyal to British institutions.

THE CHILD-STUDY MOVEMENT.

President G. Stanley Hall, of Clark University, writes on "Child-Study and Its Relation to Education." He sums up the characteristics of this new movement among American educationists in the following paragraph :

"It is a nondescript and, in some sense, an unparalleled movement—partly psychology, partly anthropology, partly medico-hygiene. It is closely related at every step to the study of instinct in animals, and to the rites and beliefs of primitive people ; and it has a distinct ethico-philosophical aspect—partly what a recent writer classed as the higher biology—with a spice of folk-lore and of religious evolution, sometimes with an alloy of gossip and nursery tradition, but possessing a broad, practical side in the pedagogy of all stages. It has all the advantages and the less grave disadvantages of its many-sidedness."

HOW PEACE WAS MADE BETWEEN CHINA AND JAPAN.

The Hon. Charles Denby, formerly our minister to China, gives an interesting account of the negotiations which brought to a close the war between China and Japan in 1894. At that time our ministers to China and Japan were instrumental in acting as intermediaries between the two governments. Perhaps the most important part of Mr. Denby's account of these negotiations is the exposition that he makes of the duplicity of the Chinese foreign office in the transmission of official documents. In the light of recent developments in Chinese diplomacy, Mr. Denby's narrative is extremely suggestive.

A NEW VIEW OF TOLSTOI.

In a paper entitled "Tolstoi's Russia," Mr. G. H. Perris gives a rather different picture of the personality of the great Russian reformer from that which is commonly presented. He says :

"Too much may be made of the material sacrifices which Leo Tolstoi has made. Actually he lives in assured comfort, though in perfect simplicity. He rides the horse and the bicycle, plays tennis, enjoys music, romps with children, even to-day, and, in brief, is physically and mentally a sane, highly vitalized personality, far removed from the narrowness of the Eastern ascetic. It is this sanity and grip of real things that make his example so powerful, his spirit so infectious. In the records of the last decade in Europe few finer episodes will be found than the aged writer's campaigns against famine, against religious persecution, against the flogging of peasants, and against militarism. No other modern teacher has had to contend with such a desperate environment ; and no other has succeeded in giving such a splendid picture of love triumphant over the world.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Gen. C. H. Grosvenor contributes a spirited paper on "The Negro Problem in the South ;" Mr. J. Keir Hardie, chairman of the Independent Labor party in England, writes on "Labor and Politics in Great Britain," and Mr. Robert T. Hill, of the United States Geological Survey, furnishes an interesting study of "Texas, Past and Present."

THE ARENA.

THE August *Arena* opens with an extravagantly eulogistic estimate of Joseph Chamberlain, who is compared with that earlier British Imperialist, Oliver Cromwell. The writer is the Rev. George Walters, of Sydney, New South Wales.

A despondent article on "Failures in English Temperance Reform" is contributed by Mr. James Dowman, who holds that social reforms of a general charac-

ter and wider scope must precede and accompany temperance reform; universal education and a coöperative industrial system are demanded, and these can only be brought about after long agitation. In the meantime, the efforts of the temperance reformers to secure improved legislation must be futile.

INCENTIVE TO EXERTION IN THE SOCIALISTIC STATE.

An able plea for state socialism is put forth by Mr. Herman Whitaker. To the question, What, under Socialism, will be the incentive to exertion? this writer makes a threefold answer—(1) that the problem is not a question of biology, but of economics—in other words, the evolution of society is driving us to collectivism, whether or not that conclusion is opposed to the laws of life; (2) that the industries conducted by the governments of different countries turn out work equal, if not superior, to the same class of work turned out by private firms; (3) that fear of dismissal and hope of reward are the incentives that move to action the lower classes in existing society, while the same incentives spur to action those in government employ.

EARLY RETIREMENT FROM BUSINESS.

Mr. Townsend Cushman sets forth some of the advantages of a general introduction of the custom of business men retiring early in life—i.e., as soon as possible after the apex of prosperity has been reached; as a rule, in the middle period of their existence. Literature, science, and art would be recruited from this source, and the government would get the service of many of the ablest and most responsible citizens of the state.

AMERICAN RURAL LIFE.

Mr. Kenyon L. Butterfield contributes a hopeful paper on "The Expansion of Farm Life." Among the grounds of this writer's optimism are the facts that thousands of farmers are now farming on a scientific basis; that the number of specialists among farmers is increasing; that new methods are rapidly adopted—as, for example, the coöperative creamery; and that, in general, the idea of *intensive* farming is gaining. Various agencies offer to farmers better opportunities for mental and business training. The agricultural press of the country, farmers' institutes, bulletins issued by the Government experiment station, special winter courses at the agricultural colleges, the regular work of these colleges, "extension" instruction, and a growing technical literature of agriculture are some of these agencies.

WOMEN AND EDUCATION.

Educational problems of the day, chiefly relating to women, are discussed in three articles, under the heads of "Women as School Officers," by Duane Mowry; "Sex in Education," by A. L. Mearkle; and "New England Girl Graduates," by M. E. Blood. The latter article contains much interesting information regarding the business opportunities of educated young women.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. William Trowbridge Larned contributes an entertaining study of "The Fallible Physician," and May Brown Loomis writes on "The Inner life of the 'Settlement.'" Coupled with Mr. Charles Johnston's article on "The American Psychic Atmosphere," which we have reviewed in our department of "Leading Articles of the Month," is an account of some of our Southwestern American antiquities, by Frances Hart.

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE.

THE leading article in *Gunton's* for August is a discussion of "Sound Shipping Protection," by William W. Bates, formerly United States Commissioner of Navigation. Mr. Bates defines "sound shipping protection" as "one or more, or a system of, artificial conditions enforced by the government, the institutions, or the people of a nation favoring the use and employment of its own ships; and, necessarily, impeding, checking, or inhibiting the use and employment of foreign vessels in its own commerce. Its vital principle is *discrimination*. This may be applied by the government at its own custom-houses; by the boards of trade in their commercial rules; by underwriters in their policies and rates; by register associations in their classification systems, surveys, and ratings; by corporations, firms, and individuals in making engagements; and by other agencies in different ways." Mr. Bates champions this method of dealing with the question of merchant marine as opposed to the subsidy scheme embodied in the bill before Congress. He shows that the bounty policies of France and Italy have not been instrumental in gaining trade for French and Italian ships; but, on the other hand, that the custom-house returns of tonnage taxes paid by vessels of all nations show that since 1893 French vessels have paid each year less and less of proportionate tax, the falling off being 40 per cent., while Italian payments have fallen off 31 per cent.; British payments increasing on the average for that period nearly 4 per cent., although British freighters have neither bounty nor subsidy.

TOPOGRAPHY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

Mr. J. W. Redway contributes an article on "Effects of Topography on Economic Development," in which he traces the process by which people of different sections of the United States gradually adjusted themselves to their local surroundings. Thus, in New England, the colonists first tried farming, and finding that unremunerative, were led to engage in sea commerce, which naturally concentrated in the harbors of the rugged New England coast. When domestic manufactures began to develop in this country, New England was found to be peculiarly adapted to the establishment of manufacturing plants, because she possessed water-power, and capital was soon invested in mills and factories. In the Appalachian coal regions the manufacture of iron and steel has grown up. As several tons of coal must be used for every ton of metal produced, it is cheaper to ship the iron ore to the coal than to ship the coal to the iron. Hence, the great center of the manufacture of iron and steel must be either in or near the coal mines. But other centers of the industry have sprung up along the Great Lakes, because of the ease and cheapness of transportation of the ore to those points from the mines of northern Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, while the coal is brought by canal barges from the interior.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Leonora B. Halsted writes on "Christendom's Unity and Peril;" Mr. Charles Burr Todd describes "Social Settlements in New York City," and Mr. Moulton Emery contributes the third of his series of articles on the racial origin and composition of the people of the United States, referring to such authorities as Froude, Green, Macaulay, Buckle, Bancroft, Palfrey, Hewitt, Ramsay, Baird, and the reports of the United States Census of 1890, in support of his data.

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

FOREIGN and Imperial questions bulk large in the August number of the *Fortnightly*. Several of the articles demand separate notice.

"PUT NOT YOUR TRUST IN" KAISERS.

"The crux of foreign policy" is the subject of an unsigned essay. The writer holds that "the paramount purpose of our foreign policy must be to find out once for all whether a direct understanding with Russia is possible, or whether a conflict may be reckoned upon as the great certainty of the future, towards which preparation must be bent." He warns England against counting on anything of the nature of an Anglo-German alliance. The policy of Germany is ruled by two ideas: "Austria to be preserved at all hazards as the only natural ally, Russia to be conciliated as the one foe whose enmity under present circumstances might be mortal." England occupies only a third place.

A GOOD WORD FOR FRANCE.

Mr. Richard Davey presents "a few French facts" with the good-natured idea of helping to an appreciation of her better qualities and a charitable view of her faults. As he puts the case, the republic is young—"a new steam engine with a somewhat antiquated boiler." "Of the two countries, France and England, France is probably the most practically religious;" her pornographic literature is chiefly for export, and is scarcely read at home; the French army is not dominated by clericalism. What will, perhaps, most surprise English readers is the writer's hopeful view of the French press. Once it was either "frankly Voltairean or frankly clerical." Now *le Journal*, *la Libre Parole*, *l'Echo de Paris*, *la Croix* (The French War Cry), and a host of other papers which are light and popular, are decent in tone, and offer no outrage to faith and morals. The writer adds:

"With the political spirit of these papers and their numerous imitators I have nothing to say; but I feel certain that they are building up a wholesomer tone in journalism, and possibly the day is not far distant when it will be as difficult to find objectionable papers, caricatures, and novels in France as it is here."

ENGLAND'S GUNS AFLOAT.

Mr. J. Holt Schooling compares the "Armaments of Seven Navies," and generally reaches conclusions gratifying to Englishmen. He says:

"Taking all classes of guns, Great Britain has 36.3 of every 100 guns that exist in the seven navies, as compared with the 30.7 per 100 of France plus Russia; and if we neglect all muzzle-loading guns, then Great Britain has 35.6 out of every 100 guns that form the armaments of the seven Sea Powers. Looking at the above facts, and noting also that our biggest lead over France plus Russia is upon the score of quick-firing guns, one can scarcely avoid the conclusion that these are satisfactory results to have obtained."

He observes also that Russia's battleships and armored cruisers are more numerous armed than those of any other navies.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT IN DUBLIN!

Judge O'Connor Morris offers a political survey of "Contemporary Ireland." He suggests one remedy for the ignorance of Ireland which is displayed by English

and Scottish legislators, and which forms one of the most pernicious sources of Irish disaffection:

"The result could be of no doubtful good were the Imperial Parliament to hold its sessions in the capital of Ireland at certain intervals of time. . . . The presence in Dublin of the Imperial Parliament would, I am convinced, greatly weaken the cry for home rule."

He presses for a thorough inquiry into the present state of the Irish land system, and for royal favor to descendants of Irish Jacobite nobles.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

MOST of the August number of the *Nineteenth Century* is occupied with the sensational problems presented by current hostilities, and has been quoted accordingly elsewhere.

THE DEARTH OF CIVIC CONSCIENCE.

The Bishop of Hereford is exercised by the slow growth of moral influence in politics. He attributes it to three causes:

"The Divine Founder of our religion and His apostles deliberately confined their teaching to personal morals.

"Throughout our whole educational system we find very little systematic training in the morals of citizenship.

"All real moral progress is from the individual heart outward, and consequently corporate advance has to wait upon individual advance."

He urges religious teachers to exercise their prophetic vocation, and see to the training of the young in civic ethics.

"PROMOTING TRUE REPUBLICANISM."

Mr. Edward J. Hodgson contributes an American view of the Boer War. He holds that the utter unpreparedness of Great Britain for war proves her innocence of any plotting for gold or dominion. He urges:

"On the grounds, then, of justice, freedom, good government, and the advancement of the human race, we are bound to give our sympathy and moral aid to England as once more she battles against the forces of reaction, obstruction, and anti-freedom, and goes forth to supplant governments evolved and maintained by those forces by free, enlightened, and progressive government that aids and encourages the citizen to make the most of his mental and physical powers, instead of cramping and repressing them. . . . So shall we promote true republicanism upon earth."

THE PRESS-GAG IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Sir T. Wemyss Reid protests against "the gag which has been applied with merciless and unprecedented severity to the representatives of the press" in the field of war, whence the shock of Mr. Burdett-Coutts' exposure:

"Not only have their telegrams been mutilated or suppressed altogether, but their letters have been subjected to the most rigorous censorship—a censorship which has certainly not been less severe than that carried out in Russia. The result is that no unpleasant facts have been allowed to leak out, and we have had none of the benefit which the last generation, for example, derived from the presence of the famous correspondent of *The Times* in the Crimea. I cannot pretend to understand the meekness with which the press has submitted to a censorship that has systematically been

extended to matters that had no direct connection with military movements."

THE IMPERIAL NOTE.

"The Imperial Note in Victorian Poetry" is investigated by Mr. J. A. R. Marriott. He reckons Tennyson, Mr. Newbolt, and Mr. Kipling among the "Imperial Singers," but finds nowhere the characteristic note of the more finely tempered imperialism so delicately suggested as in Browning's "Home Thoughts from the Sea," with the challenge, "Here and there did England help me; how can I help England?"

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE August number of the *Contemporary* is principally military, imperial, and foreign in its complexion, and under these various headings citations have been grouped elsewhere.

SIR ALFRED MILNER.

Mr. F. Edmund Garrett supplies a clever *apologia* for Sir Alfred Milner and his work. He ridicules the representation of Sir Alfred as "an incompetent, a garbling, a mannerless and hectoring bully," and wonders what diabolic sea-change could have come over one who before he sailed for South Africa was generally applauded as the "finest flower of human culture." His main tribute is given in these sentences:

"Milner has successfully provided the nucleus of a non-Rhodes imperialism. . . . Everybody knows the healthy tendency of Englishmen and Scotsmen to discover dissentients to almost any conceivable opinion which is general enough to seem tyrannous. Here they are in South Africa all united, one may almost say to a man. To-day, for the first time, we have the spectacle of the Dutch split up and the English united. The present unanimous rally, look at it how you will, is a great fact, and a great moral force; it strengthens us to confront the world now, and the future in South Africa; and that rally, as the words it finds nearly always declare, we owe in a near and personal sense to Sir Alfred Milner."

Though the racial spirit has made him less acceptable to the Dutch, Mr. Garrett exults in declaring that Milner "has, actually, as the war went on, converted his 'neutrality' premier into an imperial co-worker."

TOLSTOI ON ART AND LIFE.

Aylmer Maude, in taking up the cudgels for Tolstoi's theory of art against malignant reviewers, restates the novelist's definition of art, and his view of life:

"Art is a human activity, consisting in this, that one man consciously, by means of certain external signs, hands on to others feelings he has lived through, and that other people are infected by these feelings, and also experience them."

"The religious perception of our time, in its widest and most practical application, is the consciousness that our well-being, both material and spiritual, individual and collective, temporal and eternal, lies in the growth of brotherhood among all men—in their loving harmony with one another."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Robert Donald repels, point by point, Lord Avebury's attack on municipal trading, and by a wide survey of actual municipal achievement proves his fears to be ill-grounded.

Mr. W. H. D. Rouse argues for higher salaries in British secondary schools. The average salary of an assistant is just below \$600; of a head-master, usually ten times as much. Tunbridge is the best paid, the head-master receiving \$25,000, his assistants less than \$1,000.

Mr. Arthur Symonds indulges in an impassioned panegyric of the actress, Eleonora Duse. Her art is pronounced to be "always suggestion, never statement, always a renunciation."

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

EVEN the heats of July and the prospect of the holiday season cannot slacken the tense purpose of the *Westminster*. The August number is as strenuous as ever, and no less instant in its devotion to the cause of land nationalization.

AN ESTIMATE OF MR. JOHN MORLEY.

The first place is given to a study of John Morley by Thomas Bowran. The gist of the writer's estimate appears in the following passage:

"With few exceptions, his attitudes, temper of mind, and emphasis are invariably truly and firmly placed. But when the character of his solutions is considered, and his reading of contemporary life, its tendencies of realizations, and its readjustments of social organizations, we are conscious of his ineptitude and limitations. Emphatically agreeing that his purposes are purposes of advancement and ennoblement, his reading of the signs are hesitating and narrow, his appreciation of methods doubtful and obsolete, and that, instead of historical knowledge being an illuminating force, it has obscured the working of the new tendencies, his feelings after the new purposes, and his comprehension of methods requisite to present conditions."

A SIGNIFICANT PLEA.

Mr. William Diack, writing on "Radicalism and Labor," pleads for a combination of modern Radicals, New Trade-Unionists, and avowed Collectivists, in support of—(1) old-age pensions; (2) the land for the people; (3) a shorter working-day; and (4) nationalization of railways. He suggests that twenty-five or thirty seats should be selected for attack on these lines at the next election. It is significant, however, that the writer insists on eliminating, as "a dead weight to social progress," the question of reforming the House of Lords:

"I say, with all the energy I can command: while there are hungry mouths to be filled, while the shoulders of little children are prematurely bent under the crushing weight of commercialism; while the fathers in factory, mine, and forge are overworked and underfed; while the aged veterans of labor, stricken, not with the weight of years, but with the far deadlier weight of poverty and hardship, stagger into the cold and cheerless workhouse, cease tampering with the political machine (your referendum schemes can afford to wait) and turn your thoughts to active ameliorative measures that will help to make the burden of life sit somewhat more lightly on the shoulders of the poor."

AN INHERITANCE TAX OF 100 PER CENT.

Franklin Thomasson, while agreeing with Henry George's goal of land nationalization, proposes a different method for attaining that goal. He says:

"In the plan I am about to propose there is no injus-

tice done to anybody. This plan, again, is in itself nothing new. It is merely the application to land of a tax already in operation—namely, the tax known in England as the death duty. Let the title to all land lapse to the nation on the death of the present owners.”

The writer reckons the national rent-roll at \$1,000,000,000 a year, which would yield to a population of 40,000,000 \$25 a head, or \$50 for each adult. Out of this sum not only could all taxes be paid, but also premium for an old-age pension fund.

Mr. Scanlon's suit of *Hodge v. Lord Broadacres*, or *Labor v. Landlordism*, is brought to a close by the jury returning a verdict for plaintiff that “all men had originally, and have now, equal rights to the use of land; that the authority which took away these rights was not a competent or sufficient authority.”

THE PRICE OF THE PEACE OF THE WORLD.

A comprehensive transaction with the United States is proposed by Mr. J. P. de Putron. He argues that the West Indies are bound to fall to the United States, and suggests that the transfer might be made the occasion of a compact between the two powers, by which England would gain passage for her ships of war through the Nicaragua Canal, free trade for herself and Canada with the United States, and the use of American coaling-stations in time of war. The United States would gain the Nicaragua Canal, the West Indies, Bermuda, Azores, etc., besides the use of English coaling-stations. As the joint Anglo-American fleet numbers 543 vessels, Mr. Putron thinks that the peace of the world would be secured by his plan, and would be cheap at the price. The Eastern question, he says, will be settled at the American isthmus.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Jostah Oldfield, as against vivisectionists, pleads that limits should be set to experimentation, and lays stress on “the maternal teaching” that life is sacred and pain is terrible. Dudley S. Cosby puts “the hard case of the Irish landlords,” and appeals to the government to do all it can to compensate the landlords and keep them in the country, since “to ruin and disfranchise an educated class, as they are now doing,” is a fatal course.

Allan Laidlaw's inquiry, “What are immoral plays?” follows Nietzsche in his condemnation of the “slave-morality” of repression.

CORNHILL.

THE August number of *Cornhill* shows a merciful regard for the vacation mood, and inflicts no very weighty articles on its readers.

Lady Grove writes cleverly on women's suffrage in time of war. She brings into killing contrast the two arguments that women must not concern themselves with politics because they do not fight, and that soldiers must not concern themselves with politics because they do fight. She points out that only about 2½ per cent., or only a little over 700,000 in every 29,000,000 of the adult population, are ever called upon actively to defend the empire against foreign enemies. The rest are employed in various other ways in contributing to the prosperity of their country; and in this category there is a numerical preponderance of several thousand women over men.

Mr. Frederic Harrison is loud in his praises of Mr. Firth's *Cromwell*. He pronounces it to be “an excel-

lent book, a fascinating book, a decisive book.” He says: “It will pass with historians as the final estimate of the character and achievements of the Protector.” Mr. Harrison is surely overbold when he predicts the finality of the estimate of any man. He singles out as the distinctive point about the book that “Mr. Firth for the first time combines a full and detailed narrative of Cromwell's entire career with exhaustive research into all the original sources.” Mr. Harrison describes Cromwell as “the first consistent and systematic architect of British imperialism.” He also says, “There never was so systematic an opportunist.”

Mountaineering supplies Francis Connell with a text for the recital of several Alpine adventures, and Mrs. E. M. Nicholl gives a humorous sketch of life in “a far-away corner” in Texas. She relates an ingenious way the Mexican Government over the border has of dealing with its criminal desperadoes. It sends soldiers to arrest them, but when arrested the prisoner never arrives at jail or court. His guards report that he was shot as he tried to escape. This happy dispatch saves the trouble of incarceration and trial, and thins out undesirable members of the community.

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

WE have noticed, in the “Leading Articles,” Mr. Ernest Williams' “Economic Revolution in Germany,” which appears in the *National Review* for August.

“IS THE BROAD-CHURCH PARTY EXTINCT?”

Canon Page Roberts answers:

“That such a party can become extinct is simply impossible. So long as there is a church, and man remains a rational being, it must exist. Final opinions are the fortresses of fools. Yet if the Broad-Church party can never become extinct, it must, at least among the clergy, be always a small party, like the advance-guard of an army, the first to occupy a position which will subsequently be held by the whole force. . . . The Broad-Church laity, like the Broad-Church clergy, are a little flock.”

They are said to be specially needed in the great cities and centers of education.

COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE.

Lord Newton deplores, in the *National*, the British Government's rejection of the militia ballot bill as “a case of paternal desertion.” For it was brought forward in 1899 by Lord Lansdowne in time of peace, but when war had shown England's weakness, this, “the one practical measure which would have given the country a real army for home defense,” was not even alluded to. When it was again introduced last June by Lord Wemyss, it was disowned by the government! The writer concludes with the remark that, “if the present policy of the expansion of our empire is to be continued, the adoption of some modified system of enforced military service for home defense is not only desirable, but unavoidable.”

FACTS AND FANCIES ABOUT THE BRITISH PRESS-GANG.

Vice-Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge, late director of the British Naval Intelligence Department, states some facts and explodes some fancies about the old press-gang. It is a common idea that the navy was chiefly supplied with compulsory recruits. The writer ex-

plains that this was a mistake, due partly to confusion of two very different words. "A prest-man was really a man who received the prest of 12d. as a soldier when enlisted." *Prestare* meant to lend or give beforehand. Prest-men were thus voluntarily enlisted men! Coercion was employed by the press-gang; but only a small proportion of recruits were thus obtained. In 1803, 37,000 volunteers came forward to serve, and only 2,000 were obtained by compulsion. The vice-admiral concludes:

"Compulsory service . . . failed completely to effect what had been expected of it. In the great days of old, our fleet, after all, was manned, not by impressed men, but by volunteers. It was largely due to that that we became masters of the sea."

TO PREVENT ARMY HOSPITAL SCANDALS.

Mr. Arthur Stanley, M.P., suggests that the difficulty be met by retaining the Royal Army Medical Corps as it at present exists, but adding a separate branch to deal solely with the organization. He is very severe on the cruelty of understaffing, both to the patients and to the staff.

WALTER BAGEHOT.

Mr. Leslie Stephen, in a characteristic appreciation of Walter Bagehot, the economic writer, remarks on Bagehot's unusually clear insight into fact. His book, "Lombard Street," is an instance. Mr. Stephen says of this: "It seems as though the ordinary treatises had left us in the dull leaden cloud of a London fog, which, in Bagehot's treatment, disperses to let us see distinctly and vividly the human beings previously represented by vague, colorless phantoms."

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

THE July number of the *Quarterly* is principally concerned with literature, although current events are by no means overlooked. We have noticed elsewhere the article on Gabriele d'Annunzio.

DR. THEAL'S HISTORY CHALLENGED.

The first place is given to a review of Dr. Theal's South African history, in which the writer takes strong exception to his interpretation of documents. He also contrasts Dr. Theal's present work with his "Compendium" of 1878, which was as pronouncedly pro-British as the history is pro-Boer. He remarks:

"The process of confronting Dr. Theal with his earlier self, and with his own original authorities, at several momentous epochs of South African history, is one earnestly to be recommended to the careful attention of those upon whom will rest in future the responsibility for the implicit acceptance of these fallacious conclusions. The modern school of writers upon South African history may be said to have been founded and maintained by Dr. Theal."

The reviewer closes with this reflection:

"While the colonists of other nations were fighting for the security of their persons and property or the free exercise of their religion, and while those of other territories of the British Crown were engaged in an arduous constitutional struggle for a representative government or some other privilege which was associated in their minds with the idea of political liberty, the Boers were mainly intent on claiming the right to keep their weaker fellow-subjects in a state of bondage. Their governors, in fact, were tyrants because they

put an end to a tyranny which was revolting to civilized humanity and the sense of justice."

OUR DEARTH OF GREAT POETRY.

"The Conditions of Great Poetry" forms the theme of an interesting study; these conditions are held to lie in a certain correspondence between the poet and the age. The writer says:

"Great poetry is never produced except in periods in which the minds of men are excited by strong feelings, dominated by strong beliefs, or animated by strong hopes, which the poet, at starting, has had no share in producing. . . . The national conditions most favorable to the production of great poetry are conditions of national vigor, confident of success, and looking forward to further triumphs."

After illustrating this statement, the writer finds in it some explanation of the fact that we have now no great poetry:

"Whatever may be thought of personal faculties, the general conditions that go to produce great poetry are for the moment wanting. The faiths, the hopes, and the aspirations of the present generation are not in a state of sufficient, or sufficiently definite, excitement to generate the emotional atmosphere which great poetry requires."

Poetry is essentially emotion; but "the mere emotional gift of poetry will no more make a man a great poet than the mere emotion of patriotism will make a soldier a great general. . . . Poetry is great in proportion as it is something more than poetry, and poets are great in proportion as they are something more than poets."

MODERN JAPANESE LITERATURE.

A paper on Japanese literature recalls how Japan adopted, "at one gulp," Chinese letters and civilization in the fifth century, and records a like swift assimilation of European culture in the nineteenth. Roman letters are now being used in place of the Chinese by Christian converts and by the scholarly classes, and the writer expects that the native script will soon become a mere memory of the learned. Following on the translation of Western fiction, "the old style of romance has been completely revolutionized, and just as native artists have attempted to obey the canons of European art in their latest pictures, so modern novelists endeavor to arrange the efforts of their imagination on Western models. One great defect of the older novels was, as has been remarked in the case of the native plays, the violations of common decency which disfigured their pages. . . . This is now all changed; improprieties are avoided, and the personages represented converse in a style which might suit the pages of Jane Austen. . . . A new set of subjects has been thrown open to the novelist. Full advantage has been taken of this privilege; and the most advanced socialistic and revolutionary ideas, which formerly would have entailed on both author and publisher consignment to the darkest prison, are now daily promulgated with impunity."

Style, too, has changed, and poetry strikes a deeper note.

"NEW CREATURES FOR OLD COUNTRIES."

This is the title of an essay on acclimatization of foreign species. What progress has been made in England may be gathered from this glimpse of the Duke of Bedford's "paradise" at Woburn:

"In the center of the scene lies the big gray palace,

set among rolling waves of park, studded with ancient trees. . . . Axis deer, Japanese deer, Peking deer, red deer, Caucasian red deer, Virginian deer, and a mouflon sheep may be seen grazing quietly together. . . . Among them stalk gigantic wapiti, lords and masters of the mixed multitude. Under the chestnut trees is a herd of black and white yaks with their calves, with thar and other wild sheep; and close to the drive is a small herd of zebras, with a foal or two."

There has been similar success with birds and fish and insects. The rainbow trout imported from the United States is hailed as "the universal trout" for all temperate waters. Compared with British trout, they are as game to fish, better to eat, and handsomer to look upon; and they alternate with it as regards seasons of spawning.

OTHER ARTICLES.

An appreciation of Byron declares that it was through the "directness of his vision of the world, and of his speech about it, that he became a poet—that he made a new thing of poetry." "His quality of humanity was genius to him, and stood him in place of imagination."

Another writer inquires into the reason of the Eastern empire lasting so much longer than the Western, and finds it "above all" in "the incomparable strength" of the situation and walls of Constantinople.

"A British School at Rome," for the study of classical and medieval archæology, is now being mooted, and receives the reviewer's warm support.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

TWO of the articles in the July *Edinburgh* call for separate notice—those dealing with Paris in 1900, and with the new movement in art. The historical interest is uppermost this month.

THE FRENCH IDEA OF NAVAL WAR.

Chevalier's history of the French navy leads the reviewer to insist on Captain Mahan's conclusion that commerce-destroying, as a plan of campaign against England, has always failed. The author suspends judgment as regards submarine boats, but kindly summarizes M. Chevalier's opinion into a single sentence:

"His opinions are that the French fleet should not seek for occasions to fight pitched battles; that squadrons should be kept in readiness to go to places where we should least expect their arrival; and that our commerce should be actively and vigorously harassed."

The general principle is "to make war without fighting."

THE FOUNDER OF PARLIAMENTARY RULE.

Goldwin Smith's "United Kingdom" gives rise to much comment and criticism. The reviewer says:

"Of all our kings, the only one whom Mr. Smith admires—the only one who seems to have been placed by destiny in his proper sphere—is Edward I. His reign (he says) is an epoch in the history, not of England only, but of the world. He reigns now, through the

institutions to which he gave life, over almost all European nations, in America, in Australia, in Japan. He will continue to reign, even if his special institutions should pass away, as the statesman who achieved a union of authority with national opinion. . . . He was the real founder of parliamentary government; and had he lived, or not been thwarted by the malice of fortune, he would, in all probability, have been the founder of British union."

TWO LADY NOVELISTS.

Mary Cholmondeley and Ellen Thorneycroft Fowler are selected as types of recent novel-writers. The writer divides fiction into two classes—the novel of incident and the novel of observation; the former commending itself chiefly to men, the latter to women. Miss Cholmondeley's chief concern is plot and dramatic or melodramatic psychology; but so far as she is a satirist, she contributes to the novel of manners. But what is secondary with her is primary with Miss Fowler. The reviewer grants that Miss Fowler is "really witty," but complains that her work, while undeniably witty, is also undeniably vulgar; "this continuous crackle of pretty verbal smartnesses wearies beyond expression." Miss Fowler "is assured of a huge literary popularity"—"the immediate vogue that goes to the chronicler of momentary phrases." Miss Cholmondeley's future is, in his judgment, more difficult to forecast. "Her work has a fine intellectual distinction and unusual constructive power." The central object of her attack is in all her books "the mean outgrowths of religion."

OTHER ARTICLES.

The article dealing with the South African War and its critics reproduces General von Schmeling's confident predictions of January 14, and brims over with exultation at their falsification by the subsequent course of events.

Progress in Ireland is viewed with a large measure of satisfaction, the writer holding that the changes of the last thirty or forty years have made for the successful economic development of the country. He rejoices in the fact that, though the Recess Committee four years ago failed to secure the support of two-thirds of the Irish Nationalist members, every section of the community approved the act which has given effect to the committee's suggestions.

A sketch of the Knights Templars—soldiers, monks, heretics—concludes with words which may be commended to those who exult in the crushing of weaker states: "Once again, as from many another chapter of life, we may learn that, if the vengeance of the strong is to strike, the vengeance of the weak—silent as Calvary's—is to suffer."

The life of the Iron Duke is commended as an example to statesmen who to-day are tempted to truckle to the mob.

The history of the Hudson's Bay Company is held to justify that concern being ranked among the builders of empire.

THE CONTINENTAL REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

THE *Revue des Deux Mondes* for July is quite up to its usual standard of interest and importance. We have noticed elsewhere an interesting letter sent by Vice-Admiral de Penfentenyo to the editor, and printed in the second July number.

FRANCE AND THE SUPPRESSION OF SLAVERY.

M. Bonet-Maury contributes a long and well-informed article to the first July number on the anti-slavery movement of the nineteenth century so far as it affects France. The attitude of mind in which he approaches the subject may be gathered from his recital of the story of how the three black servants of Livingstone, after his death at Ilala, embalmed the body and brought it to the coast of Zanzibar, after traveling on foot for nine months, and undergoing a thousand dangers and privations. It was a signal example of the negroes' gratitude; but the story perhaps scarcely justifies M. Bonet-Maury in putting the black race on an absolute equality with the white. The writer is justly indignant at the various forms of labor contract under which the reality of slavery is often disguised. If at first France allowed herself to be outstripped by England in the anti-slavery movement, yet now, thanks to the efforts of the Duc de Broglie, Victor Schoelcher, and Cardinal Lavigerie, she has resumed her place in the van of freedom. M. Bonet-Maury is no impractical theorist. Save in very rare circumstances, he says, the complete emancipation of a slave community by a stroke of the pen always does more harm than good; they must be prepared and educated for freedom in order to be worthy of it. The governor of French Guinea invented a scheme by which slaves could buy their freedom by saving up a certain sum of money—200 or 300 francs—out of their wages. The question of polygamy is one of great importance, and has naturally divided the missionaries from the civil or military authorities. M. Bonet-Maury's opinion is that the safest course is to recognize polygamous marriages, but to encourage by every possible means the Christian, or monogamist, union.

MUNICIPAL SOCIALISM.

M. Bourdeau has gathered together some interesting examples of practical municipal socialism in France. The socialist and the radical socialist are in power in some of the larger towns—such as Lille, Lyons, Bordeaux, and Marseilles; but England is regarded as the Mecca of municipal socialism, her municipalities being more directly under the influence of the working-class vote than Parliament itself; for, in parliamentary elections, the issues are confused by questions of Imperial politics. A tribute is paid to Mr. Chamberlain's municipal activity in Birmingham; but Glasgow is deservedly held up as the most conspicuous example of municipal socialism in operation. The story is told of a municipal councilor of Glasgow who was astonished to read in a book that his municipality was a socialist body. He had never thought of it in that light; he had only intended to take the steps which seemed to offer the best means of assuring the moral and material welfare of the community.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Among other articles may be mentioned an entertaining travel article by Mme. Isabelle Massieu, describing her journey across Indo-China; and a paper by Baron Pierre de Coubertin, on "The Psychology of Sport."

REVUE DE PARIS.

THE *Revue de Paris* keeps its place as by far the most vital and the most interesting of the three great French monthly reviews. While cosmopolitan as regards its choice of fiction—Annunzio's much-discussed novel "Fire" has just appeared in its pages—its contents have become typical of the best French thought, and its editors evidently aim at making the contents of each number as varied and as bright as possible. We have noticed M. Luchaire's curious article on "Relics and Their Cult"—a subject which is, perhaps, at the present moment more interesting in this country than it is in France, where the veneration of relics, holy images, and so on is taken as a matter of course.

THE PRINCE DE JOINVILLE.

Of particular interest to those who would fain see France a monarchy, and who have made any study, is M. Laugel's admirable appreciation of the late Prince de Joinville, who was for so long the last surviving son of Louis Philippe, and in whose person were centered the memories of the traditions left by the last French king and queen. Nowadays it is hard for us to realize Paris with its own patriarchal court; for Louis Philippe and Marie Amalie were, like the Queen and Prince Albert, the parents of nine children, and theirs was a very happy and united family life, which could not but have its ennobling influence on the country at large, as well as on the princes and princesses whose fate it was to grow up in such a court. The Prince de Joinville was the sailor of the family, and for many years he really lived on the sea, first in one French man-of-war and then in another; and it was as commander of *La Belle-Poule* that he brought back to France the remains of Napoleon from St. Helena. In 1848 the Duc d'Aumale and the Prince de Joinville were in Algiers, and when they there learned that their father was deposed and had to fly the country, putting patriotism before personal ambition, they made no attempt to bring to their side that portion of the French army and of the French navy in Algerine waters. Instead, they left the colony very quietly and joined their unfortunate parents in England, and there many years of the prince's later life were spent, although he lived for some time in America with his two nephews, the Comte de Paris and the Duc de Chartres, who fought with the North in the great War of Secession. After the Franco-Prussian War, the Prince de Joinville was able to once more live in France, and M. Laugel's slight sketch—in which not once is mentioned the Duc d'Orleans—makes even the casual reader realize all that France lost in losing her monarchical ideals; for no Napoleonic figure, either in the past or in the present, is clothed with the remarkable grandeur and self-abnegation of this son of Louis Philippe.

THE BIRTHPLACE OF ENGLISH SPORTS.

M. Jusserand, who has written so admirably on mediæval England as well as on mediæval France, continues in both numbers of the *Revue* his account of the sports and physical exercises of old France; and as we read his descriptions of the great wolf and stag hunts, of the village games, and of the many forms of physical exercise followed with zest by the great nobles, it seems almost incredible that the modern Frenchman has to go for his outdoor games to Great Britain. As an actual fact, most so-called national British sports seem to have first come from the other side of the Channel, notably football—known even in St. Louis as *jeu-de-soule*, or *sole*—the game of bowls (there are few French castles without a bowling-alley), tennis, as opposed to lawn-tennis, and croquet; indeed, cricket would seem the only outdoor game that can claim to be wholly of English manufacture.

A FRENCH EXPLORER.

At the present moment very interesting is M. François' account of a journey from Canton to Yun-nan-Sen. The writer was French consul at Long-Tchéou in 1896-98, at the end of which latter year he was commissioned by M. Delcassé to inquire into the commercial and economic state of certain provinces of Tonkin, or French China. Whenever it was possible he traveled by water in a Chinese junk, and though the country was supposed to be at peace, he thought it wiser to provide his boat with port-holes, each containing a miniature cannon. Among his Chinese employees was a certain Tong, who, in his spare time, devoted himself to watching for favorite sites for graves. He made careful notes of any that occurred, and on his return home was able to sell his information for a considerable sum; for the Chinaman considers that his own good fortune may depend on where he buries his near relations, beginning with his father and mother, who may count as ancestors. M. François, who writes with a greater sense of humor than is usual with a French traveler, does not seem to have been badly treated, and some of the observations he was able to make are really curious. It is quite clear that he does not much believe in the opening up of China to Europeans; on the other hand, he considers that Europe may be very glad ultimately to adopt the Chinese as a servile race, for he considers that they make admirable servants. "When a foreigner is in China he must cultivate any mesmeric power with which he may be endowed; sometimes one's only chance is to boldly walk forward right into the middle of a Chinese mob. The Chinaman is incapable of cohesion: in a mob each man fights for himself, each is fearful of death. Always remember, in a Chinese crowd, that you are dealing with each individual separately." This advice reads curiously in the light of late events; but it must be admitted that it also seems to be the experience of other European travelers in China.

ALSACE-LORRAINE.

The two political articles dealing, the one with the Roman question of 1862—which obtains a certain genuine value owing to its having been written by the M. Thouvenel who was at that time one of Napoleon III.'s trusted ministers—and an even less topical account of the relations which existed from the year 1648 to 1871 between Alsace and France, by M. Pfister. The writer attempts to prove that when what is now the German province passed into French hands, the tract

of country, though given one name, was really made up of a number of ecclesiastical properties, of principalities, of free burghs, and of tiny states, and that these gradually became merged in one another and formed, under the wise rule of France, a happy and contented province enjoying the same rights as any other, and after the Revolution sharing in the great ideals of fraternity and justice which then swept like a wave over the whole of the country. "The Westphalian treaty gave to France a series of states lacking cohesion and united aspirations; the Treaty of Frankfort withdrew from her a united province endowed with a soul. The language may have remained German, but the soul was, and is, French; and this is why Alsace still remembers and will never forget."

NOUVELLE REVUE.

WE have noticed elsewhere M. de Pouvoirville's instructive article on the Boxers, in the first July number of the *Nouvelle Revue*.

JAPAN.

In the second July number, M. Regamey writes a very interesting paper on Japan, illustrated with some graphic pictures. Japan has been overrun by engineers of various nationalities. Indifferent to the beauties of nature and eager only to exploit the country, while at the same time disposed to treat the Japanese as inferior beings, they mistook the calm gentleness characteristic of the Japanese for timidity, and were surprised and even scandalized when the race which they despised revealed an unsuspected energy which destroyed their best-laid plans. M. Regamey considers that the events which followed the Chino-Japanese War, in which France shared to some extent in the odium which Russia incurred among the Japanese, have fallen out to the commercial advantage of England.

THE WAR IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Captain Gilbert continues his ably written articles on the Boer War, taking the story of the military operations down to the middle of December last. Captain Gilbert notes that the action of General Buller in ordering that officers should not wear the distinctive tokens of their rank lest they should attract the special fire of the enemy had a great effect in keeping down the serious losses among the commissioned ranks. Captain Gilbert also notes that the hospital service of the British appeared, considering the circumstances, to be admirably organized; though it is not quite clear whether he is speaking generally, or only of the arrangements made after the battle of Belmont.

REVUE DES REVUES.

THE July numbers of this magazine being somewhat less international than usual, are less interesting to American readers. Purely international, however, is the idea of an American national institute, recently founded in Paris, thanks to the efforts of an American lady, Miss Smedley, and opened with a speech from M. Sully-Prudhomme, the full text of which forms an article in the first July number. The idea of the institute is to facilitate social intercourse and exchange of ideas between the United States and France.

M. Paul d'Estrée, in two long and rather scandalous articles, entitled "The End of a Society," describes the

state of higher Parisian society under Louis XV., quoting largely from the reports of the then head of the police force; reports carefully drawn up, we are told, to feed the royal appetite for "anecdotes galantes."

M. Georges Pellissier discusses "The Politician in Modern French Literature," in which, he assures us, no one is so unjustly treated as the politician. In almost all novels and plays in which a politician appears, he is represented either as consumed with ambition or as a rogue. Even if he was honest before entering political life, when once he is there he has no choice but to become corrupt and abominable.

M. Rosny reviews Mme. Clémence Royer's new book on "The Constitution of the World." In the present state of scientific knowledge, matter appears inexplicable and to elude us if we seek it; but Mme. Royer has persisted in not allowing it to elude her. She supposes that there are atoms impenetrable, individual, and eternal, not solid, but gaseous. Matter is made solid or liquid by variations in the pressure brought to bear on it; gas under pressure gives the idea of a solid. On this hypothesis the writer has built up a marvelous and original theory of the universe.

There are two other scientific articles by Dr. Caze, one of which, on "Therapeutics of the Future," deals with three new healing agents—cold, heat, and electricity. By the application of extreme cold, cases even of cancer are said to have been cured. Where an operation used to be performed, the patient is now plunged into a temperature of 110° below zero. This is also sufficient to destroy all microscopic life, and Dr. Caze hopes that science will greatly benefit by the discovery of the uses of extreme cold. A celebrated New York physician, Dr. Sprague, has discovered that such affections as rheumatism, gout, and sciatica can be benefited by the application of intense heat. He has, accordingly, been experimenting as to what was the highest temperature which a human being could endure, and found that 400° F. (100° above the boiling-point of water) could be borne without harm, and even with great benefit, by a girl suffering from acute rheumatism.

Dr. Caze has also an article on the "Genesis of Liquid Air," in which, among other strange things, he shows that the boiling of water is really a form of its getting colder.

An Italian marquis, secretary to his embassy in Paris, writes on the little Italian boys who sell plaster images about the streets. They have hitherto carried on their trade without the least regard to the laws of copyright; and as French sculptors, imagining that they are being harmed by these itinerant vendors who copy their works when and where they like, are asking for government protection, we may not see the little image-sellers much longer—at any rate, in the Paris streets.

THE NEW ITALIAN REVIEW.

WE have to congratulate Signora Salazar upon the success which has at last crowned her efforts to establish an Italian review in the English language. The first number of the *Italian Review*, a monthly, published at 51, Via Castelfidardo, Rome, is a very excellent periodical. Sienkewicz declares that every man has two countries: the one is that in which he was born,

and the other is Italy. "Faith, science, and, in short, all culture and spiritual life, have come from Italy; thus every one must feel that he is in a sense a grandchild of hers." But although there is no cultured home where books, prints, paintings, statues, or photographs from Italy do not remind us of our indebtedness to that country, very little is known about its modern life and the remarkable progress in its intellectual, industrial, and agricultural development. The aim of the *Italian Review* is to furnish a complete knowledge of modern Italian life in all its different branches. By creating a knowledge of modern Italian life, it hopes to achieve many good results. It aims at establishing direct communication between producers and consumers by developing Italian art and industry, and by keeping educated men throughout the world *au courant* with the progress of one of the most interesting nations of the world. It promises a complete review of Italian reviews and Italian new books. It undertakes to supply practical information on all subjects which are of importance to English or American visitors to the Peninsula.

The first number, which opens with the editorial programme, contains more than a dozen articles, which give good promise for future usefulness. "An Italian Deputy" gives a very hopeful account of the present economical and political condition of Italy. Violet Fane (Lady Currie) contributes a charming poem, entitled "In a Roman Garden." The general director of antiquities and fine arts explains his aspirations of bringing about a movement whereby a new Italian artistic youth may spring up. Signora Salazar gives a very gratifying account of woman's progress in Italy, which illustrates, among other things, how great an incentive to progress in this direction has been given by the International Council of Women. Signora Salazar promises a series of articles upon women's work, and maintains that women in Italy are fast rising to an appreciation of their duties, patriotic and social. Professor Count Angelo de Gubernatis writes on the "Literary Movement in Italy from 1860 to the Present Day." There are papers also on the last years of Italian art and the last years of Italian opera. There is an interesting account of the revival of Italian agriculture in South Italy, and the general director of the excavations in the Roman Forum describes the results of the new explorations in the Vesta temple.

The following is a list of the Italian reviews noticed: The *Nuova Antologia* (7, San Vitale, Rome), the *Political and Literary Review* (Rome), the *Journal of Economists* (Palazzo Orsini, Monte Savello, Rome), the *Naval League* (Spezia), the *Military Italian Review* (Voghera, Rome), *Colonial Italy* (Rome), the *Italian Review of Sociology* (Fratelli Bocca editori, Rome), *Vittoria Colonna* (Naples), *Literary Rome* (Rome), *Cosmos Catholicus* (Rome), the *Catholic Patriate* (Rome), the *Young Ladies' Review* (Rome), the *Illustrated Stage* (Via Fra Domenico, Florence), the *Modern Review of Culture* (Via E. Poggi 11, Florence), the *Social Culture* (Rome), the *Illustrated Musical Chronicle* (Voghera, Rome), the *Scholastic Review* (Bemporad, Florence), the *Economist* (Florence), *Flegrea* (Naples).

Altogether, the *Italian Review* is a highly creditable publication. How long shall we have to wait before a similar review is published in English in France?

THE NEW BOOKS.

ROOSEVELT AS A MAN OF LETTERS.*

HIS practical contributions to the work of the city, the State, and the nation are fairly well known; but what is not so widely understood is, that, in addition to being a man of affairs, Governor Roosevelt has made some most distinctive and important contributions to the literature of his country. Some ancient philosopher has remarked that "a man is the sum of his thoughts." This may possibly be true, if we consider only the relations of a man with himself. No man's life, however, as lived under present conditions, is confined to himself. As far as the community is concerned, a man may more properly be described as "the sum of his actions and of his utterances." It is by these that he is known to the men of his own generation; and it is by the utterances, as far as these take the shape of permanent literature, that his reputation is handed on to later generations.

The literary undertakings of Governor Roosevelt are almost as various in their character as have been his official services. His first publication, made when he was but twenty-six years of age, was devoted to an important division of the history of his country—the record of the Naval War of 1812–15. This book represents the result of sober and conscientious historical investigations. Accepted as an authority at the time of its first publication, the "Naval War" has held its position since as authoritative history. On the strength of the reputation thus secured for his knowledge of naval matters, Mr. Roosevelt has been requested to contribute to an English naval encyclopædia the paper on this particular naval war.

WRITINGS ABOUT THE WEST AND ITS HISTORY.

In connection with his personal experiences as a ranchman in the Northwest and as a hunter throughout the whole Rocky Mountain region, he found himself interested, during the years between 1885 and 1895, in putting into print various descriptions of a ranchman's life and of a hunter's life in our Western territory. The most important of these papers have been published in two volumes, entitled, respectively, "Hunting Trips of a Ranchman" and "The Wilderness Hunter." These books are much more than mere sketches of personal experiences; they describe conditions which are rapidly passing away, and they present a valuable record of the large game of this territory which is already nearly extinct.

Mr. Roosevelt's interest in the territory of the West was not, however, limited to that of the rancher and hunter. He conceived the plan of recording the history

of the territory and of its organization into the communities which later became States—a history which should continue for the territory of the Middle West and of the Southwest the annals which had been so eloquently presented by Mr. Parkman for the region of the Northwest. In the four volumes issued under the title of "The Winning of the West," Mr. Roosevelt has brought the history of this territory, and of the beginnings of the great States which were carved out of this territory, down to the close of the American Revolution. It is to be hoped that his future official responsibilities, however important and absorbing, may still leave time for the continuation of this history, according to the original plan, down to the close of the Mexican War, in 1847, a date at which was completed the additions of American territory in the Southwest.

POLITICAL ESSAYS.

The "Winning of the West" volumes were followed by the publication of a series of papers giving the results of Mr. Roosevelt's experiences as an office-holder and administrator. With these papers are included certain essays of a more general character, which set forth his ideals of American citizenship. The volume includes an account of practical work in the cause of civil-service reform, the personal experiences of the author in the administration of the New York police force, and studies of phases of State legislation and machine politics in New York City. It also includes papers on such general topics as "True Americanism," "American Ideals," and "National Life and Character." There is, finally, to be found in the volume a paper written in 1896 which possesses at this time a very direct and personal interest. It is a study of the office of the Vice-Presidency, and of the relations of the Vice-President to the national Government, and was originally contributed to the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* (vol. xiv, page 289).

His latest literary production presents an account of the organization of the cavalry regiment which came to be known as the "Rough Riders," and of the brief but stirring campaign in Cuba, in which the Rough Riders, comprising in almost equal proportions representatives of the far Western territory with which the Colonel was so familiar, and representatives of the social circles in the East, in which the Colonel was naturally also intimate, played a most creditable part. The book has value not merely as a stirring dramatic account of campaigning, but for the practical suggestions submitted in regard to the use, as a fighting force, of American volunteers. It constitutes also a valuable addition to our knowledge of the methods of thought and methods of action of the writer, who had left an administrative office in Washington for active service in the field.

It is not often that the candidate for any great office can be tested not only by the methods in which he has administered previous positions of trust, but by his own theories, experiences, and conclusions, placed de-

*The Sagamore Series. The Works of Theodore Roosevelt. In 15 volumes. Cloth, per volume, 50 cents, paper, 25 cents. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Mr. Putnam, who was Governor Roosevelt's first publisher and has long been familiar with his client's literary work and methods, contributes this brief survey of the Vice-Presidential candidate's activities as a man of letters at the request of the editor of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*.

liberately on record for the information of his fellow-citizens. Mr. Roosevelt will stand both tests. His theories are carefully thought out, and his practical work and services will also stand the fullest and closest investigation. His fellow-citizens may, from time to time, disagree with one conclusion or another. They may, however, feel assured that these conclusions have

been deliberately arrived at by a man of exceptional straightforwardness of character and integrity of purpose, and that in arriving at them the author has had a very much larger opportunity of putting his theories to a practical test than is often given to a writer on ideals of citizenship.

GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM.

NEW BOOKS ON CHINA.*

MR. COLQUHOUN has become known chiefly through his work, "China in Transformation," as one of the few authorities on the Oriental situation and the factors behind it who writes from a first-hand knowledge and a scientific study of China and the East. Mr. Colquhoun's new volume is written after and largely from the inspiration of a remarkable overland journey of 7,000 miles made by him from Moscow to Peking. From Moscow to Irkutsk Mr. Colquhoun traveled by rail. Leaving the uncompleted Trans-Siberian Railway at the latter point, he proceeded by the most varied methods of conveyance to eastern China, the expedition occupying seven months. But it is not by any means only this adventurous tour of investigation which fits Mr. Colquhoun to write of Oriental subjects. For twenty years he has been a British commissioner in Burma and elsewhere, and correspondent of the *London Times* at Tongking. "Overland to China" deals with both the political and physical aspects of Siberia, Mongolia, Manchuria, and China proper.

RUSSIA'S DETERMINED ADVANCE.

Mr. Colquhoun begins by tracing the history of the Russian occupancy of Siberia from the sixteenth century, and gives a most readable and valuable account of the peoples and countries, their customs and resources, which are most concerned in the present overwhelming Eastern crisis. With most Englishmen, Mr. Colquhoun believes in the steady and determined advance of Russia to the East, and that this advance will not be halted short of the Yellow Sea, unless British influence, with the aid of Japan and the United States, are brought to bear with a much firmer diplomacy than has been employed so far to the task of circumscribing the aggressions of the Muscovites. The great landmark in the Eastern aggressions of Russia Mr. Colquhoun places in the seizure of the Amur by Russia under the leadership of Mouraviev in 1857. "This marked," says Mr. Colquhoun, "an epoch in the history of Asia. A vast tract of fertile, virgin country was gained for Russian agriculture, the value of which was much enhanced by the means of transport at its very door. Politically, command of the Amur assured to Russia eventual control of the rich Province of Manchuria,—the cradle of the reigning dynasty of China,—and enabled her by a blow at the nerve-centers to para-

lyze at her pleasure the huge organism known as the Chinese empire." Mr. Colquhoun divides his volume into divisions, dealing with "Siberia," "Peking," "Manchuria," "Eastern Mongolia," "The Yangtse Valley," "Southwest China," and "Tongking." After his study of the ground in which the great drama of the East is now approaching its *dénouement*, Mr. Colquhoun concludes that the interests of the United States and Great Britain, and to a large extent of Japan, are mainly identical, to keep as much as possible of what remains of China as an open market. He thinks that Great Britain and the United States will each find it to their advantage to move with active diplomatic coöperation, and he calls on the British Government to take the firm and strong attitude which alone will enable Japan and the United States to join her in coming to terms with Russia. He believes Germany will and must maintain a good understanding with Russia, and that these two nations will continue their present abnormal efforts to become sea-powers on a scale which will enable them to deal with Great Britain.

THE GOAL OF MUSCOVITE AGGRESSION.

"The year 1902, or 1903 at latest, will see European Russia connected by the iron road with Vladivostok and Port Arthur; and the New Siberia, which must be held to include Manchuria, will have fully entered on its great career as the coming country of the twentieth century. Russia will be enabled to prosecute her plan; Korea and northern China will be acquired, and gradually, step by step, by means of railways (favored always by France in the south, and probably, covertly, if not openly, by Germany in the north), she will extend her influence southward until the Yangtse is reached, and there a connection made with the sphere of French influence.

"Russia, whose strength has hitherto been entirely on land, now aspires to be a sea-power. And in Manchuria she has got coast, coal, and a maritime population—excellent material for making sailors; and her presence on the Pacific Ocean and the Chinese Sea must give a great impetus to the aspiration for a navy. It may be taken for granted that, having got so much, she will want more—ports in other quarters, in many quarters, of the globe.

"Russia once on the Upper Yangtse would involve a second, an eastern, Indian frontier problem for Britain of an infinitely more serious character than the western; for the utilization of the greater part of the resources of China would mean Russia hanging over India on the northeast, as she is now on the northwest, by sheer weight able to shake to its foundations the British rule in India. And in the far East she would be supported by European allies.

"Orientals instinctively divine weakness, and the Chinese already turn to Russia, the rising power. In

* Overland to China. By Archibald R. Colquhoun. 8vo, pp. 465. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$3.

The Crisis in China. By George B. Smyth, Gilbert Reid, Charles Johnston, John Barrett, Robert E. Lewis, Archibald R. Colquhoun, M. Mikhailoff, Lord Charles Beresford, Wu Ting Fang, Demetrius C. Boulger, James H. Wilson, and Sir Charles W. Dilke. 12mo, pp. 271. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.

China, the Long-Lived Empire. By Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore. 8vo, pp. 466. New York: The Century Company. \$2.50.

their view, Russia moves steadily forward, never turning aside; always keeps her promises and fulfills her threats; devotes her energies to a steady advance, and does not waste time in talking. Britain, they say, talks loudly of her rights, but is unable to enforce them; and, while showing keen displeasure at Russia's advance, has been unable to check it in the least degree, and is not prepared to stand to her word where her northern rival is concerned. In diplomatic matters Russia lays down the law which England submissively accepts, and the Celestial looks upon Talienwan, Port Arthur, the Newchwang Railroad loan, and the Peking-Hankau Railroad as eloquent examples of the way in which Britain constantly challenges Russia, and then gives way. Finally, they consider that Russia, because of her superior knowledge of facts and circumstances, and her singleness of purpose, is better equipped for the contest than Britain, who is conscious of her inferiority."

The volume is usefully equipped with a number of comprehensive maps and diagrams, as well as with numerous descriptive woodcuts, and furnishes a very valuable and timely addition to our knowledge of the Orient.

"The Crisis in China" is a volume made up of a dozen articles on the Chinese situation which have been recently published in the *North American Review*, and is designed to furnish from the pen of as many experts an exposition of the present situation, its causes and its results.

CAUSES OF THE BOXER INSURRECTION.

The volume opens with an analysis of the crisis of anti-foreign feeling in China written by Mr. George B. Smyth, President of the Anglo-China College at Foochow, Mr. Smyth taking the ground that while there has been some irritation on the score of the mission's prerogatives, and of isolated clashes between Chinese and Europeans,—the great and underlying reason for the Boxer insurrection is the awakening of the Chinese mind to the tremendous deprivations of territory by Europe, and to the cool discussions of the dismemberment of the empire indulged in by the foreign press. Mr. Smyth says the people are humiliated and angry; that all their finest harbors have been taken, and that there is actually not a place on the Chinese coast where their own fleet can rendezvous except by the grace of foreigners. Mr. Smyth is emphatic in his reminder that the anti-foreign feeling is not groundless; that the foreigners themselves had a large share in creating it. In a following chapter on "The Powers and the Partition of China," by the Rev. Gilbert Reid, President of the International Institute of China, Peking, we were warned again that Americans, especially, have too little respect for the Chinese as a race, on account of their acquaintance being chiefly with Chinese laboring immigrants, and that while we hear a great deal of the obligation of the Chinese to observe treaties, we hear very little of American obligation in relation to China. He thinks it very possible that, through mutual jealousies of the nations, China may be held together.

AMERICA AND CHINA.

In his chapter on "Political Possibilities in China," Mr. John Barrett urges that America should resist, with all her moral influence, any parceling out of the empire; and he thinks she may prevent it, without the impossible expedient of declaring war on European nations to

attain that end. Mr. Archibald R. Colquhoun, in "The Far Eastern Crisis," likens the disturbed country to an invalid whose life can only be saved by the transfusion of healthy blood. This vitality can be brought to China, he thinks, quietly, with tact and patience, by the gradual introduction of foreign capital and the foreign enterprise that are needed to preserve and fertilize this valuable field of commerce. In the very excellent chapter on "China and the United States," by Mr. Wu Ting-fang, the Chinese minister to this country, he dwells on the aid that America can give the Chinese nation by furnishing the Yankee enterprise and ability to handle great commercial and engineering projects—an ability so entirely absent in the Chinese character. He believes that there is a great opportunity for mutual helpfulness between the Orient and America, and that the people of China will be able to do quite their part in reciprocity by furnishing vast new markets for American manufactures.

THE INTERNAL REFORMS MOST NEEDED.

Lord Charles Beresford, writing on "China and the Powers," mentions specifically the reforms which are most urgently required in China. The most striking are the appointment of a foreign financial adviser to direct the administration in the collection of internal revenue, the reform of the currency, the abolition of taxes on goods which have already paid duty at the ports, the establishment of a proper military and police system, and the opening up of the country to commercial enterprises. Lord Beresford believes in the possibilities of a coalition of Great Britain, Germany, the United States, and Japan to regenerate the great sick nation on a programme of this sort. Other chapters in the book are Mr. Demetrius C. Boulger's "America's Share in the Partition of China," Gen. James H. Wilson's "America's Interests in China," M. Mikhailoff's "The Great Siberian Railway," Robert E. Lewis' "The Gathering of the Storm," and Mr. Charles Johnston's "The Struggle for Reform."

A TRAVEL SKETCH.

Mrs. Scidmore's book on China was not prepared in haste at the suggestion of the present crisis, but happens to be published just in time to give, in popular and readable form, a very fresh and entertaining account of the manners and customs of the Flowery Kingdom. Mrs. Scidmore writes discursively in the style of intelligent travel sketching, from the material gathered by her in the course of some seven different visits to China during the past fifteen years. There are a number of chapters devoted to the city of Peking, one each to Tientsin, Canton, and Shanghai. The Great Wall is very thoroughly described. The Manchu governing race is the subject of a special chapter. Other divisions have much to say of the famous old Dowager Empress, "the only man in China."

So far as the inner life and significance of the Chinese people is concerned, Mrs. Scidmore gives it up in despair. She says she does not understand the people, and has never seen any one who did understand them. "There is no starting-point from which to arrive at an understanding. Always the eternal impassable gulf yawns between the minds and temperaments of Occident and Orient." The volume is illustrated with many portraits of prominent Chinese and pictures of scenes and characteristic objects.

INDEX TO PERIODICALS.

Unless otherwise specified, all references are to the August numbers of periodicals.
For table of abbreviations, see last page.

- Advent, Second, Preparation for the, Agnes S. Lewis, LQ, July.
Advertising Run Mad, J. DeWitt Warner, MunA, June.
Aéronautics, Scientific, R. Bornstein, Deut.
Afghanistan, Present Status of, M. Khan, Forum.
Africa, East, Colonization Experiments in, P. McQueen, NatM.
Agriculture, Modern, Trend of, G. W. Hill, IntM.
Air, Liquid, L. Caze, RRP, July 15.
Air, Liquid, Genesis of, L. Caze, RRP, August 1.
Alaskan Waters, Summer Holidays in, J. Burroughs, Cent.
Americanism, Growth of, W. E. McLennan, MRNY.
American Psychic Atmosphere, C. Johnston, Arena.
America, Some Antiquity in, F. Hart, Arena.
Angels and Demons, Evolution of, R. B. Boswell, OC.
Animals: How They Swim, J. G. Millais, Pear.
Antarctic Expeditions, A. Dastre, RDM, August 1.
Arcadia, Mediæval, Village Life in, Gent.
Archæology, Experimental Method in, S. Ricci, RasN, July 1.
Architecture:
 Architectural Schools—I., Columbia University, P. C. Stuart, Arch, July.
 Art Gallery of the New York Streets, R. Sturgis, Arch, July.
 Natural History Museum, Paris, J. Schopfer, Arch, July.
 Royal Academy and Architecture, IntS.
 School Architecture in New York, F. Wilson, Out.
Argyll, Late Duke of, J. R. Gregory, LQ, July.
Art:
 Alexander, John W., G. Mourey, IntS.
 American Sculpture at Paris Exposition—II., L. Taft, BP.
 American Paintings in the Boston Art Museum, W. H. Downes, BP.
 Appellate Court-House in New York, E. Knauff, AMRR.
 Besnard, Albert, Work of, J. Bois, RRP, July 15.
 Bones, Artistic Value of, R. Wells, AA.
 Boughton, George Henry, R. de Cordova, Str.
 Cabinet Painting on Glass, Swiss, Anna Siedenburgh, AA.
 Charcoal Drawing, Hints on, Rhoda H. Nicholls, AA.
 Chauker, Geoffrey, Portraits of—II., M. H. Spielmann, MA.
 Clarke, Thomas Shields, A. Hoerber, BP.
 Drawing for Reproduction, AA.
 Dresden China, Art.
 Embellishment of a Michigan Town, A. Hadden, AMRR.
 Embroideries of the Metropolitan Museum, Mrs. Lillian B. Wilson, AI.
 Eton, Portraits and Prints at, Blanche W. Cornish, PMM.
 Home Arts and Industries Association, Mabel Cox, Art.
 Home Arts and Industries Exhibition at the Albert Hall, Esther Wood, IntS.
 Illustrators, American Women—II., Regina Armstrong, Crit.
 Literary Pictures of the Year—II., G. K. Chesterton and J. E. Hodder-Williams, Bkman.
 Lustre Ware—II., A. C. Standage, AA.
 Maréchal, François, F. Khnopff, IntS.
 Metal, Arts of—IX., Coloring, AA.
 Municipal Art, Lucia A. Mead, BP.
 Mural Painting, Technical Difficulties of, N. A. Wells, BP.
 Musée du Luxembourg, L. Bénédite, MA.
 National Art Exhibition, W. O. Partridge, AMRR.
 Painting, Outdoor, Some Hints on, AI.
 Paris Exposition, Art Buildings at the, H. Frantz, MA.
 Paris Exposition, Art at the, Edin, July; R. de La Sizeranne, RDM, August 1.
 Pennell, Joseph, A. Tomson, AJ.
 Perry, Roland Hinton, R. Hughes, AI.
 Protestantism and Art, E. Müntz, RRP, July 15.
 Rafael's "Sistine Madonna," M. Lautner, Deut.
 Rodin Exhibition in Paris, IntS.
 Romney Exhibition at the Grafton Gallery, L. Cust, MA.
 Sleep in Art, E. Valisé, NatM.
 Statuary-Molders, Italian, in France, RRP, July 15.
 Tolstol's Theory of Art, A. Maude, Contem.
 Triumphal Arches, A. Fish, MA.
Assurance Against Unemployment, E. Rostand, RefS, July 1.
Astronomical Myth-Makers, B. Lindsay, Mind.
Australasia, Resources and Foreign Trade of, R. Stout, Contem.
Australian Commonwealth, A. G. Berry, NineC.
Australia, United, J. H. Symon, Yale.
Automobile, Evolution of the, W. Baxter, Jr., PopS.
Bagehot, Walter, L. Stephen, NatR.
Bank Amendment Act, Canadian, R. M. Breckenridge QJEcon.
Banking Methods, Modern, A. R. Barrett, BankNY.
Bank of France, Centenary of the—II., J. M. Forbes, BankL.
Bank of France, Transactions of the, for 1899, BankL.
Bank of France, Variations in the Rate Charged by the, BankL.
Bank of Germany, Imperial: Report for 1900, BankL.
Bank Reports, Average and Actual, R. M. Breckenridge, BankNY.
Battleship, Building of a, D. A. Willey, Home.
Belgium, Electoral System in, H. Dumont, HumN; M. Vanlaer, RPP, July.
Belgium, Universal Suffrage and the Elections in, P. Deutscher, RSoc, July.
Bible? How Does it Stand with the, A. Brown, LQ, July.
Bible: Is It the Word of God? G. T. Purves, Record.
Bible Portraiture, Characteristics of, G. Matheson, LQ, July.
Bible-School Curriculum, G. W. Pease, Bib.
Boat-Sailing: Beating to Windward, A. J. Kenealy, O.
Boiler Explosions, J. Horner, Str.
Bookbinder, Famous Paris, Marie von Vorst, Bkman.
Bookbindings, Early French, W. G. Bowdoin, AI.
Bow, In the Woods with the, M. Thompson, Cent.
Brewster, Frederic Carroll, C. B. Connolly, GBag.
British Columbia Politics, T. L. Grahame, Can.
Browning's Later Work, Defence of, Helen A. Clarke, PL, June.
Brunetière's Critical Studies, Ida Luisa, RasN, July 1.
Bryan, William J., at Home, AMRR.
Burke, Edmund, and the Revolution, W. B. Morris, Dub, July.
Burr, Theodosia, Virginia T. Peacock, Lipp.
Business, Early Retirement from, T. Cushman, Arena.
Business Principles, Ordinary: A Symposium, NineC.
Byron, Lord, QR, July.
Canada and Bisley, H. C. Blair, Can.
Canada and Imperialism, J. Charlton, Forum.
Canadian Mounted Police, B. J. Ramage, SR, July.
Canadian Writers, Modern School of, Winifred L. Wendell, Bkman.
Carlyle, Thomas, Another View of, J. E. Wray, MRN.
Cartography, Recent, F. R. Helmert, Deut.
Catacombs of Syracuse, A. F. Spender, Dub, July.
Cathedrals, World's, in Miniature, A. H. Broadwell, Str.
Catholic Church, Bible in the—II., B. F. De Costa, Cath.
Catiline, Conspiracy of, W. B. Wallace, USM.
Cavalry, Notes on the Evolution of, F. N. Maude, USM.
Census-Taking, A Difficulty with, W. F. Willcox, QJEcon.
Charity, Private, Public Aid and, L. Rivière, RefS, July 16.
Charity: Uses and Limitations of Material Relief, F. Tucker, Char.
Chicago, Pleasure-Grounds of, E. H. Glover, Int.
Children, Education of—II., P. Strauss, RRP, August 1.
Child-Study and Its Relation to Education, G. S. Hall, Forum.
Chile: Santa Lucia of Santiago, D. White, Over, July.
China:
 America, Duty of, J. Barrett, NAR.
 America's Share in a Partition, D. C. Boulger, NAR.
 America's Treatment of the Chinese, C. F. Holder, NAR.
 Anti-Foreign Feeling, Causes of, G. B. Smyth, NAR.
 Army, Chinese, G. Senzapaura, RasN, July 16; E. H. Parker, USM.
 Associations, Lawful, and Secret Societies, F. Cerone, NÁ, July 16.
 Causes of the Troubles in China, W. O. Elterich, MisR.
 China and Her People, H. Webster, NatGM.
 China and the Chinese Problem, A. S. van Westrum, BB.
 China and the Powers, E. Bainbridge, Contem.
 China and the Secret Will of Peter the Great, C. W. Hall, NatM.
 China in Regeneration, J. Foord, Eng.
 China of To-day, W. Muirhead, LQ, July; A. Pratesi, NÁ, July 1.
 Chinese Revolution, S. Bonsal, AMRR; Black; Home; F. Greenwood, NineC; J. B. Steenackers, RGen; W. T. Stead, RRL.
 Clash of Civilizations in China, J. T. Gracey, MisR.
 Diplomacy of the Powers, M. von Brandt, Deut, July.
 Gathering of the Storm, R. E. Lewis, NAR.
 Germans in China, E. Fossataro, NÁ, July 16.
 Indo-China, Across, Isabelle Massieu, RDM, July 15 and August 1.

- Japanese View of the Situation, NAR.
 Japan, How Peace was Made with, C. Denby, Forum.
 Li Hung Chang, W. P. Curtis, Home.
 Manchuria, Railways, Rivers, and Strategic Towns in, NatGM.
 Missionary Work in China, J. Fryer, Ains.
 New Year's Couplets, Chinese, H. P. Perkins, Hart.
 Openings for Mechanical Engineers, C. Beresford, CasM.
 Peking—and After, D. C. Boulger, Fort.
 Peking, By Rail to, Mary H. Krout, Chaut.
 Peking, Situation at, During the Last of May, A. H. Smith, MisH.
 Problems in China, J. M. Hubbard, NatGM.
 Responsibility of the Rulers, C. Bellairs, NAR.
 Rights of an American in China, M. B. Dunneil, Atlant.
 Riots and Reparations in China, W. A. Cornaby, MisR.
 Sanitation in the "Middle Kingdom," San.
 Secret Societies and the Government, L. Nocentini, NA, July 1; F. Murry, RRP, July 15.
 Soldier, Chinese, H. Liddell, Home.
 United States in China, J. Quincy, Contem.
 Who's Who in China, D. C. Boulger, Contem.
 Chipmunks, My Summer with, A. Stone, LHJ.
 Chopin, Study of, L. M. Isaacs, Bkman.
 Christendom's Unity and Peril, Leonora B. Halsted, Gunt.
 Christian Ethics, B. P. Raymond, MRNY.
 Church of England: Is the Broad-Church Party Extinct? P. Roberts, NatR.
 Church Methods, Century of, J. H. Ecob, Harp.
 Church, Russian Champion of the, W. H. Kent, Dub, July.
 Cicero—Coward and Patriot, W. C. Lawton, SR, July.
 Circle, Squaring the, Temp.
 Clemens, Samuel L., on the Lecture Platform, W. M. Clemens, Ains.
 Collaborators, Some Famous, PMM.
 Colonies and the Mother-Country—III., J. Collier, PopS.
 Commerce, Cheap Living and, C. M. Limousin, Nou, July 1.
 Compensation, Law of, Mabel C. Thompson, Mind.
 Competition, Actual and Theoretical, J. Bascom, QJEcon.
 Conflict and Growth, J. C. Granbery, MRN.
 Connecticut River Ferry, M. B. Thrasher, NEng.
 Constitution and Territorial Possessions, F. H. Cox, SR.
 Corporation System, S. Mosby, ALR.
 Cotton: When It Was King, Eva V. Carlin, Over, July.
 Courtney, Leonard, W. Clarke, YM.
 Courts of Justice in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, T. L. Phillips, ALR.
 Cowper, William, R. T. Kerlin, MRN.
 Crane, Stephen, H. G. Wells, NAR.
 Cremation, Ethics of, QR, July.
 Cricket, Curious Incidents at, W. J. Ford, Str.
 Cromwell, Mr. Firth's, F. Harrison, Corn.
 Cromwell, Oliver—X., The Breaking of the Long Parliament; the Reign of the Saints; First Stage of the Protectorate; Quarrel with the First Parliament, J. Morley, Cent.
 Croquet, The New, G. H. Powell, Bad.
 Cuban Teachers at Harvard University, S. Baxter, Out.
 Currency Law of 1900, R. P. Falkner, Annals, July.
 Curzon, Lord: A Progressive Viceroy, Contem.
 Dancing and the Philosophy of the Ballet, C. Maclair, Deut, July.
 D'Annunzio, Gabriele, QR, July.
 "David Harum," M. Bigot, BU.
 Deaf-Mutes and Their Language, Professor Passow, Deut, July.
 Diamonds, G. W. Thornley, AJ.
 Domestic Problem, Martha Major, Mac.
 Donne, John, and His Contemporaries, QR, July.
 Dorset (England) Humor, R. Edgcombe, Corn.
 Dramatists, English, of To-day, W. K. Tarpey, Crit.
 Drink Traffic, Tyranny of the: A Symposium, YM.
 Dunkeld, Scotland, H. Macmillan, AJ.
 Duse, Eleonora, A. Symons, Contem.
 Earth, Struggle Regarding the Position of the, C. Sterne, OC.
 Eclipse of the Sun, May 28, 1900, W. Fawcett, Home; S. Newcomb, NatGM.
 Education:
 Art in the Nursery, C. Aldin and J. Hassall, AJ.
 Churches and Student Aid, E. M. Camp, Chaut.
 Honorary Degrees, Present Status of, C. D. Wilson, Chaut.
 Languages, Modern, in Colleges, J. P. Carroll, Cath.
 Mathematics and Secondary Education, J. Tannery, RPar, August 1.
 Mentally Defective School Children, W. Channing, Char.
 New England Girl Graduates, M. E. Blood, Arena.
 Philosophy and the University, A. Fouillée, RPP, July.
 Religion, Education in, A. R. Merriam, Hart.
 Rugby and Charterhouse, England, H. M. Stanley, Dial, August 16.
 Sex in Education, A. L. Mearkle, Arena.
 Social Side of Student Life: In America, G. S. Hall; In England, E. D. Warfield; In Germany, E. F. Baldwin, Out.
 Women as School Officers, D. Mowry, Arena.
 Egypt, New Light on, G. St. Clair, West.
 Elections, English and American, S. Brooks, Harp.
 Electric Cranes in German Harbors, L. J. Magee, CasM.
 Electricity in the British Collieries, S. F. Walker, Eng.
 Elucutionists, St. Louis Convention of, Wern.
 Emerson's Mystic Verse, Clews to—III., W. S. Kennedy, PL, June.
 England: See Great Britain.
 England, Across, on a Bicycle, A. R. Quinton, LeisH.
 Experimentation, Limits of, J. Oldfield, West.
 Erin, Glimpse of: Sorley Boy's Town, W. J. Hardy, Black.
 Farm Life, Expansion of, K. L. Butterfield, Arena.
 Ferrier, David, and Malcolm McHardy, W. T. Stead, RRL.
 Fiction: Development of the Short Story in the United States, Lillian V. Lambert, SelfC.
 Fiction, Women of, Ella S. Mapes, Bkman.
 Financial Law, New, M. Brosius, BankNY.
 Fingalian Legends, W. C. Mackenzie, Gent.
 Finsen Institute in Copenhagen, Edith Sellers, Cham.
 Fishes, Blind, Degeneration in, C. H. Eigenmann, PopS.
 Fish, Sociable, F. T. Bullen, Str.
 Flies, Plague of, H. Sutherland, Ains.
 Fort Snelling, Old, J. M. Bulkiye, SelfC.
 France:
 Algerian Delegates, RDP, July; F. Grivaz, RPP, July.
 Education, Social, Anna Lampérière, RRP, August 1.
 Facts, A Few French, R. Davey, Fort.
 France and Alsace, C. Pfister, RPar, July 15.
 French Song: Its Domain and Its Future, C. Maclair, RRP, Aug 1.
 Navv, French, Chevalier's History of the, Edin, July.
 Navv, French Colonial, C.-A. de Penfentenyo, RDM, July 15.
 Socialist Party and the Ministry, G. Maillet, HumN.
 Freneau, Philip, F. L. Pattee, Chaut.
 Galileo, Monument to, in Paris, G. Sergi, NA, July 16.
 Gardens, Praise of, R. C. Cowell, LQ, July.
 Gas Commission of Massachusetts, J. H. Gray, QJEcon.
 Geologic Time, Rhythms and, G. K. Gilbert, PopS.
 Germany, Commercial Power of, P. de Rousiers, RPar, August 1.
 Germany, Economic Revolution in, E. E. Williams, NatR.
 Germany, Modern Political, T. Barth, InGM.
 Germany, Social Democratic Party in, G. Sorel, RPP, July.
 Gillette, William, Actor and Playwright, R. Duffy, Ains.
 Girls of Two Republics, Infanta Eulalie, FrL.
 Gladstone's Categories of Religious Thought, J. W. Hinton, MRN.
 Goethe—Society and Its Future, T. Mommsen, Deut.
 Gold and Iron from Sand, C. M. McGovern, Pear.
 Gold, Stock of, in the Country, F. P. Powers, QJEcon.
 Golf in the West, Development of, H. C. Chatfield-Taylor, O.
 Golfand, Capital of, D. D. Fletcher, NatM.
 Golf of the New School, H. Hutchinson, O.
 Golf, Rules of, W. Pigott, Bad.
 Gothic or Mixed Race? Are We a—III., M. Emery, Gunt.
 Great Britain: see also Transval.
 Army, British—II. Officers, USM.
 Army, How to Popularize the, PMM.
 Compulsion v. Volunteering, C. A. G. Bridge, NatR.
 Cromwell and Chamberlain, G. Walters, Arena.
 Factory Acts and State Employees, S. W. Belderson, West.
 Federation, Colonial and Imperial, Edin, July.
 House of Commons, Absurdities of the, T. P. O'Connor, NAR.
 Imperialism: What It Means, J. H. Muirhead, Fort.
 Industries of Britain, Small, Prince Kropotkin, NineC.
 Infantry, British, Earl of Northbrook, NineC.
 Irish Landlords, Hard Case of, D. S. A. Cosby, West.
 Judicature Acts at Work, R. F. Graham-Campbell, NatR.
 Labor and Politics in Great Britain, J. K. Hardie, Forum.
 Labor v. Landlordism—II., T. Scanlon, West.
 Land Nationalization, F. Thomasson, West.
 Militia Ballot Bill, NatR.
 Naval Arrangements in the New World, J. C. R. Colomb, Fort.
 Radicalism and Labor, W. Diack, West.
 Salisbury, Lord, Sins of, Mac.
 Temperance Reform, Failures in, J. Dowman, Arena.
 Volunteers, British, D. T. Timins, Cass.
 War and the Drill-Book, Contem.
 War Medals, Some British, T. Hopkins, Cass.
 Grouse, The, A. I. Shand, Bad.
 Harz, Peasant Life in the, Carina C. Eaglesfield, Cath.
 Hat, Top, Evolution of the, C. Johnston, Cos.
 Haunted Houses of New England, S. S. Kingdon, LHJ.
 Heating, Hot Water, in Industrial Works, A. D. Adams, CasM.
 Heat, Summer, Effect of, H. D. Chapin, San.
 Hebrews in London, G. A. Wade, NIM.
 Hecker, Father, L. C. Vigodarzere, RasN, July 16.
 Hereditary Succession, Rabbinical Law of, T. W. Brown, ALR.
 Heredity as a Witness to Faith, G. Jackson, YM.
 "History of Dogma," Issues of the, J. J. Tigert, MRN.
 Hoboken Catastrophe, Mrs. A. Sullivan, Cath.
 Horses: His Majesty the Thoroughbred, H. P. Mawson, Mun.

- Horses: How to Breed Them for War, W. S. Blunt, NineC.
 House-Boat, Practical, C. L. Norton, O.
 Hospitals in the Country, J. Buse, RGen.
 Houghton, Henry O., D. W. Clark, MRN.
 Hudson's Bay Company, Edin, July.
 Humbert, King, of Italy, RRL.
 Hygiene as a Duty of the State, M. von Brandt, Deut.
 Hypnotism, Kathleen Schlesinger and C. Geniaux, Pear.
 Imaginative Faculty, R. C. Witt, West.
 Immortality, New Thought of, R. H. Newton, Mind.
 Imperialism America's Historic Policy, W. A. Peffer, NAR.
 Independence Day, A. Lewis, Over, July.
 India: Brahman Officials, A. T. Sibbald, GBag.
 India, Health and Ill-Health in, Mrs. M. Turnbull, Cham.
 Indian Contract Schools, M. P. Casey, Cath.
 Indian Famine Problem, R. W. Grant, AngA.
 Indians: A Kiowa Funeral, Mrs. L. F. Woodward, SelfC.
 Indians: Fire-Dance of the Navahoes, G. W. James, WWM.
 India, Suffering in, Caroline Macklem, Can.
 Industrial Depressions and the Pig-Iron Reserve, G. H. Hull, Eng.
 Intervention in Europe, W. E. Lingelbach, Annals, July.
 Invertebrates, North-American—XI., Mary J. Rathbun, ANat, July.
 Iowans, The, R. L. Hartt, Atlant.
 Ireland, Contemporary, O'C. Morris, Fort.
 Ireland, High Crosses of, G. H. Orpen, LeisH.
 Ireland, Progress in, Edin, July.
 Ireland, Rural, In the Byways of, M. MacDonagh, NineC.
 Iron Industry in the United States—II., F. W. Taussig, QJEcon.
 Isherwood, Benjamin F., R. H. Thurston, CasM.
 Italy:
 Expansion and Colonies, A. G. Keller, Yale.
 Financial Situation in 1900, L. G. de C. Digny, NA, July 16.
 Mission in the Far East, RPL, July.
 Political Spirit Among Italians, P. Orano, RPL, July.
 Problems, Some Italian, H. R. Whitehouse, Forum.
 Universities, Clericalism in the, G. Pittaluga, RPL, July.
 Jacob, General John, Black.
 Japan:
 China and Japan, How Peace Was Made Between, C. Denby, Forum.
 Finance, Japanese, BankL.
 Japan, Modern—II., D. Glass, AngA.
 Japan, Mysterious, L. Hearn, RPar, July 15.
 Literature, Japanese, QR, July.
 Navy, Imperial, C. C. P. Fitz Gerald, CasM.
 Jerusalem, A New, Lucy Garnett, Cath.
 Jesus, Recent Studies in the Life and Teaching of, R. M. Pope, LQ, July.
 Johnson, Dr., as Lover and Husband, Temp.
 Jungfrau Railway, A. H. Atteridge, Cass; J. P. Hobson, LeisH.
 Kentucky, Court of Appeals of—II., J. C. Doolan, GBag.
 "Kentucky," Trial Trip of the, C. M. McGovern, Home.
 Kingsley, The Late Mrs. M. H., D. Kemp, LQ, July.
 Knights Templars—Soldiers, Monks, Heretics, Edin, July.
 Lamartine at Florence, L. Farges, RPar, August 1.
 Lanier, Sidney, as Revealed in His Letters, W. P. Woolf, SR, July.
 Latin Poetry, Ecclesiastical, E. W. Bowen, MRN.
 Law, Biblical, Chapters from the—IV., D. W. Amram, GBag.
 Lawn Tennis, Progress of, J. P. Paret, O.
 Law Reform, Beccaria and, U. M. Rose, ALR.
 Lavroff, Pierre, C. Rappoport, RSoc, July.
 Lee, Robert E., Recollections of, R. E. Lee, Jr., FrL.
 Legislatures, State, Representation in—III., G. H. Haynes, Annals, July.
 Leipzig, Battle of, S. Crane, Lipp.
 Leo the Thirteenth, Poetry of, Anna B. McGill, Cath.
 Leschetizky, the Greatest Piano-Teacher, YW.
 Life After Death, Evidence of, T. J. Hudson, Harp.
 Lighthouses, Famous, G. Kobbé, Chaut.
 Light, Manufacture of, J. Henderson, CasM.
 Lightships, Chat About, Cham.
 Literary Criticism, American—II., W. M. Payne, IntM.
 Literary Diplomats, Our—III., L. Swift, BB.
 Literary Haunts of Old New England, W. Fawcett, SelfC.
 Literature, Continental Year of, Dial, August 1 and 16.
 Literature: Epigraph Mania, J. Bainville, RRP, August 1.
 Literature of the Pyrenees, G. Compayré, Nou, July 1 and 15.
 Loches, E. C. Peixotto, Scrib.
 London, East, Riverside of, W. Besant, Cent.
 Loyola, Ignatius, Sanctity of, Cath.
 Machine-Shop, Commercial Organization of the—III., H. Diemer, Eng.
 Maine in Literature, W. I. Cole, NEng.
 Man and the Environment, P. Geddes, IntM.
 Manners, Decadence of, Amelia G. Mason, Cent.
 Maori Race, Alleged Disappearance of the, Constance A. Barnicoat, RRP, August 1.
 "Mark Twain" on the Lecture Platform, W. M. Clemens, Ains.
 Marshall, Chief Justice John, W. Olney, ALR.
 Mason, William, Reminiscences of—II., Cent.
 Massachusetts Country Towns, A. E. Winship, NEng.
 Master, Life of the—VIII., A Warning to the Rich; The Home at Bethany, J. Watson, McCl.
 Meredith, George, on the Source of Destiny, Emily G. Hooker, PL, June.
 Mexico, Imperial Régimes in, H. M. Skinner, Int.
 Midshipmen, English, and French Prisons, 1807, Eveline C. Godley, Long.
 Military Obstacles, N. Fraser, Pear.
 Military Service, Compulsory, in England, T. M. Maguire, USM.
 Milling Machines, Some British, A. Herbert, CasM.
 Milner, Sir Alfred, and His Work, F. E. Garrett, Contem.
 Ministry to the Sick and Wounded Soldiery, A. T. Pierson, MisR.
 Missions:
 China, Missionary Work in, J. Fryer, Ains.
 China, Outbreak in, MisH.
 Day Schools of Foochow City, Emily S. Hartwell, MisH.
 Egypt, Missionaries in, A. Ward, NineC.
 Hunan, China, Story of the Gospel in, G. John, MisR.
 "Inner Missions" of the Church of Germany, G. H. Schodde, MisR.
 Japan, Growth of Christian Sentiment in, J. H. De Forest, MisH.
 Porto Rico as a Mission Field, H. K. Carroll, MisR.
 Principle That Underlies Victory, E. Stock, MisR.
 Treaty Rights and Missions, P. W. Pitcher, MisR.
 Money, Token, of the Bank of England, M. Phillips, BankL.
 Moors and the Estrel Mountains, P. Foncin, RPar, July 15.
 Moral Question: Is It a Social Question? A. Fouillée, RDM, August 1.
 Morley, John, T. Bowran, West.
 Mosquito, The Terrible, W. A. Page, Home.
 Motor Vehicles for Road Service, F. M. Maynard, Eng.
 Mountaineering, F. Connell, Corn.
 Mouravieff, Count, and His Successor, W. T. Stead, RRP, August 1.
 Mourn Mountains, England, C. Edwardes, Gent.
 Mouse, Country, QR, July.
 Müller, George, of Bristol, S. M. Jackson, Char.
 Municipal Art, Lucia A. Mead, BP.
 Municipal Corporations, Legislative Control of, E. McQuillin, ALR.
 Municipal Employment and Progress, J. R. Commons, Muna, June.
 Municipal Politics:
 Church and Politics, T. R. Slicer, Muna, June.
 Independent Parties, A. S. Haight, Muna, June.
 Library Hall Association of Cambridge, G. G. Wright, Muna, June.
 Municipal Voters' League in Chicago, E. B. Smith, Muna, June.
 Political Clubs in Prussian Cities, R. C. Brooks, Muna, June.
 Reformers in Party Politics, J. W. Keller, Muna, June.
 Saloon in Politics, B. Hall, E. H. Crosby, Muna, June.
 Settlements and Politics, R. A. Woods, Muna, June.
 Third Party Unnecessary, J. J. Chapman, Muna, June.
 Municipal Trading, R. Donald, Contem.
 Murder Cases, Some Notable, W. F. Howe, Cos.
 Music, English, Sir A. C. Mackenzie on, W. Armstrong, Mus, July.
 Music, Good Thoughts of Great Men on, Helena M. Maguire, Mus, July.
 Natural Selection, Competition, and Socialism, A. H. Whitaker, Arena.
 Nature, Energy and Inactivity in, B. Weinstein, Deut, July.
 Naples and the Gospel, Anne E. Keeling, LQ, July.
 Naval Officers, Education of, USM.
 Navies, Armaments of Seven, J. H. Schooling, Fort.
 Negro Conference at Tuskegee, M. B. Thrasher, Chaut.
 Negro Problem in the South, C. H. Grosvenor, Forum.
 New England Hilltops, Rise of the Tide of Life to, E. P. Pressey, NEng.
 New Hampshire, Old Home Week in, W. H. Burnham, NEng.
 New Hampshire, Whittier's, D. L. Maulsby, NEng.
 Newman, Bishop John Philip, MRNY.
 New Mexico Territory, Edith M. Nicholl, Corn.
 Newport Palace, M. Schuyler, Cos.
 Newspaper, The American, D. F. Wilcox, Annals, July.
 New York Ghetto, In the, Katherine Hoffman, Mun.
 Northumberland, History of, Edin, July.
 Novel in Recent Criticism, G. C. Edwards, SR, July.
 Novels of Manners, Some Recent, Edin, July.
 Oberammergau Passion Play of 1900, Anna L. Dingley, Mus, July; C. Van Lerherghe, RGen.
 Old Testament, Attacks on the, A. Kamphausen, Deut.
 Old Testament, Ethics of the, H. A. Stimson, Bib.
 Opera, Russian School of, A. E. Keeton, Gent.
 Ophelia, Tragedy of, D. A. McKnight, PL, June.
 Orange Culture in South California, D. Wingate, Cham.
 Order, Price of, T. Williams, Atlant.
 Oxford, England, PPM.
 Papacy and the Witchcraft Delusion, G. von Hoensbroech, Deut.

Paris Exposition :

- American Sculpture—II., L. Taft, BP.
Amusements of the Exposition, J. Schopfer, Cent.
Architecture and Exterior Decoration, W. Fred, Art.
Art at the Exposition—III., R. de La Sizeranne, RDM,
August 1.
Belgium at the Exposition, F. Bournand, RGen.
Local Transportation, H. H. Suplee, Eng.
Musical Instruments, Picturesque, E. Bailly, HumN.
Paris Exposition, H. de Varigny, BU; W. T. Stead, Cos.
Paris in 1900, Edin, July.
Parkman, Francis—II., W. W. Hudson, SelfC.
Parliaments and Parliamentarianism, C. Benoist, RDM,
August 1.
Patriotism, The New, A. E. Davies, AngA.
Peddler, Old Wholesale, and His Teams, A. N. Hall, NEng.
Pensions, R. de Kéralain, RefS, July 16.
Pensions, Old-Age, F. H. Stead, RRL; C. DeJace, RGen.
Peru : Hidden Treasures of Tapadas, Cham.
Philippines : A Prisoner Among Filipinos, J. C. Gillmore,
McCl.
Philippines : Igorrote Runners of Luzon, W. Dinwiddie, O.
Philippines, Present and Future of the, F. F. Hilder, Forum.
Photography :
Arm, Mouth, and Nose in Portraiture, F. M. Sutcliffe,
PhoT.
Convention of the Photographers' Association, APB;
WPM.
Copying Photographs, F. A. Allison, WPM.
Hand-Camera Membranda, H. McB. Johnstone, PhoT.
History, Early, of Photography, PhoT.
KrbmskOp Color Photography, PhoT.
Lantern Slide Making for Beginners—X., PhoT.
Paintings, Photographing, WPM.
Reducing and Intensifying, F. J. Clute, PhoT.
Sound-Waves, Photography of, R. W. Wood, PopS.
Sportsman's Photographic Equipment, W. E. Carlin, O.
Stage, Photography of the, E. N. Heard, PhoT.
Physician, The Fallible, W. T. Larned, Arena.
Physic, Eastern, Stumbling-Blocks in, T. E. Willson, Mind.
Plagiarism, Defense of, F. V. Beck, Ans.
Platonic Idea Elucidated, J. Cooper, MRNY.
Play, Catholic College, E. Everett, Wern.
Players and Old Plays, Notes on, F. Wedmore, NineC.
Plays, Immoral, A. Laidlaw, West.
Poetry, Great, Conditions of, QR, July.
Poetry, Victorian, Imperial Note in, J. A. R. Marriott, NineC.
Polar Expedition, Norwegian, A. W. Greely, PopS.
Political Affairs :
Choosing the President, W. L. Hawley, NAR.
Kansas City Convention, W. Wellman, AMRR.
Platforms, The Two, Gunt.
Presidential Elections by Direct Vote, J. Handiboe, NAR.
Republican National Convention, F. A. Munsey, Mun.
Political Education, A. T. Hadley, Atlant.
Political Science, Crisis in, M. Deslandes, RDP, June.
Politics, Moral Influence in, Bishop Percival, NineC.
Pompeii Up to Date, F. Dolman, NIM.
Poor, Imperial Influence of the, W. Williams, LQ, July.
Poor, Relief and Care of the, in Their Homes, E. T. Devine,
Char.
Porcupine Quill, Pointers from a, W. D. Hulbert, McCl.
Porto Rico and Its Future, R. Stone, Mun.
Porto Rico, First American Census of, NatGM.
Porto Rico, Industrial Development of, A. W. Buel, Eng.
Porto Rico, Water Supply and Irrigation in, G. E. Mitchell,
IA, July.
Power Development, Future of, W. D. Ennis, Eng.
Preacher's Message, O. S. Davis, Hart.
Priests, Exodus of, in France, MisR.
Profession, Choice of a, T. R. Slicer, Cos.
Prosperity and Progress, Era of, BankNY.
Publisher, American, of a Hundred Years Ago, L. S. Living-
ston, Bkman.
"Punch" as a Literary Chronicler, Bkman.
Psychology, Recent Advance in, E. B. Titchener, IntM.
Quarantine, Law, New York's New, San.
Rabelais, François, F. Brunetière, RDM, August 1.
Race Conference at Montgomery, B. T. Washington, Cent.
Race Problem, Education Will Solve the, B. T. Washington,
NAR.
Red, Psychology of, H. Ellis, PopS.
Religion and Socialism, E. Berth, RSoc., July.
Religion, Education in, A. R. Merriam, Hart.
Religion of Childhood, J. A. Story, MRNY.
Religious Canvass in the Far West, T. Coyle, Record.
Resurrection, Evidence of the, W. G. M. Thomas, MRN.
Rhodes, Cecil, and the Governor, E. M. Green, Temp.
Rhyme, Some Notes on, S. H. Clark, Wern.
Rights of Accused, E. R. Stevens, GBAG.
Roman Catholic Church in Northern Europe, C. W. Dowd,
Cath.
Roman Catholic Church : The Democratic Christians and
the Vatican, G. M. Fleming, OC.
Rome and Byzantium, QR, July.
Rome, British School at, QR, July.
Roosevelt, Theodore, J. A. Riis, AMRR.
Roosevelt, Theodore : His Work as Governor, AMRR.
Rugs, Fine, Dinah Sturgis, Over, July.
Rural Free Delivery, P. S. Heath, NatM.
Ruskin Mosaic, A. J. Telford, MRNY.
Russia, Social Problems in, H. Primbault, RefS, July 1 and
16.
St. John Baptist de la Salle, C. M. Graham, Cath.
Sand, George, in Her Old Age, T. L. L. Teeling, Gent.
San Francisco : Shall It Municipalize Its Water Supply ?
A. S. Baldwin, MunA, June.
Salmon, Decrease of the, H. Hutchinson, Fort.
Savages, Among Central African, M. S. Welby, Harp.
Savonarola, Character of, G. Guerghi, RasN, July 16.
Savoy, House of, and the Triple Alliance, G. Grabinski,
RasN, July 1.
Scandinavia, History-Makers of—II., Winifred L. Wendell,
SelfC.
Schmoller's Grundriss, H. W. Farnam, Yale.
Scottish Reformation, Papers of the, A. Lang, Fort.
Sea, Songs of the, A. Walters, Temp.
Settlement, Inner Life of the, May B. Loomis, Arena.
Shakespeare's Country, Bicycling Through, W. Hale, O.
Shakespeare's History, Studies in—II., J. L. Etty, Mac.
Shakespeare, William—VIII., The Poetic Period, H. W.
Mable, Out.
Sharks, M. Dunn, Contem.
Shenstone, William, L. Morison, Gent.
Sherman, General : Why He Declined the Nomination in
1884, NAR.
Shipbuilding Yards of the United States, W. Fawcett, Eng.
Shipping Protection, Sound, W. W. Bates, Gunt.
Silk-Spinning Spiders of Madagascar, J. E. Whitby, WWM.
Sill, Edward Rowland, E. Parsons, SelfC.
Smith, Goldwin : His "United Kingdom," Edin, July.
Socialism, Illusions of, G. B. Shaw, HumN.
Social Settlements in New York City, C. B. Todd, Gunt.
Somaliand, With a Camera in, V. Goedorp, WWM.
Sorel's Counterblast to the Astrée, B. W. Wells, SR, July.
Spain, Educational Policy of, A. Posada, EM, July.
Spanish Dominion in the Low Countries, F. Barado, EM, July.
Stage, Foreign, in New York—III., H. Hapgood, Bkman.
Stars, Chapters on the, S. Newcomb, PopS.
Stars, Some Unseen, E. Ledger, NineC.
Statesmen, Some Radicals as, Chase, Sumner, Adams, and
Stevens, F. Bancroft, Atlant.
Stevenson, Robert Louis, Letters of, J. B. Kenyon, MRNY.
Submarine Signaling and Maritime Safety, S. Baxter, Atlant.
Sugar Situation in the West Indies, J. F. Crowell, Yale.
Sullivan, Sir Arthur, as a Boy, E. Swayne, Mus, July.
Surf Bathing, F. J. Wells, O.
Surgery, Modern, and Its Exponents, LeisH.
Swimming Lessons, Common Sense, D. Osborne, O.
Switzerland, W. Deucher and F. W. Fitzpatrick, SelfC.
Tennyson, Faith of, C. W. Barnes, MRNY.
Tennysons, The, Anna B. McGill, BB.
Texas, Past and Present, R. T. Hill, Forum.
Textile Education, Jane A. Stewart, Chaut.
Thaxter, Celia, Bessie L. Putman, SelfC.
Theocracy and Democracy, J. O. Pierce, Dial, August 1.
Theosophy as a Philosophy, S. D. Hillman, MRNY.
"Through Nature to God" : A Critique, C. T. Carroll, MRN.
Tibetans, Sports of the, A. H. S. Landor, O.
Tolstoi and His Translucers, E. Crosby, HumN.
Tolstoi's Russia, G. H. Perris, Forum.
Topography, Effects of, J. W. Redway, Gunt.
Train, Running a, H. E. Hamblen, Mun.
Transvaal : see also Great Britain.
Agricultural Possibilities of the Transvaal, IA, July.
American View of the War, E. J. Hodgson, NineC.
Boer Ambulance in Natal, With a—II., G. O. Moorhead,
Corn.
Boer and Briton, With, F. R. Robertson, Cos.
Boers of South Africa—II., J. Villarais, BU.
Britons and Blacks in South Africa, A. R. Abbott, AngA.
Canadian Troops in South Africa, Can.
Commencement of Hostilities, C. H. Wilson, USM.
Gold-Field, Richest, in the World, S. C. Norris, Mac.
History, Short, of the Boer War, N. Patterson, Can.
Hospital Scandals in South Africa, W. Foster, Contem.
Justice of the War, Dub, July.
Krüger, President, Talk with, A. Sangree, Ains.
Lessons of the War, NatR.; NineC.
Medical Services, British and Canadian, C. A. Matthews,
Can.
Paardeberg, Battle of, Can.
Poetry of the Boers, L. Van Keymeulen, RGen.
Pretoria in War-Time, R. H. Davis, Scrib.
Pretoria, How We Escaped from, A. Haldane, Black.
Republic of the United States of Great Britain, J. B.
Walker, Cos.
Settlers and Settlements in South Africa, H. A. Bryden,
Fort.
Sick and Wounded British Soldiers, A. Stanley, NatR.
Sieges, Three, and Three Heroes, E. H. Cooper, Can.
South African War and Its Critics, Edin, July.

Strategy, British, in South Africa, O. O. Howard, NAR.
 War Operations in South Africa, Black; Fort; QR, July.
 Tuberculosis: Change of Climate, K. von Ruck, San.
 Tuberculosis, Curing a Case of, J. H. Metzgerott, San.
 United States:
 China, United States in, J. Quincy, Contem; J. Barrett, NAR.
 Fiscal Year, Some Figures of the, F. A. Vanderlip, Bank NY.
 Imperialism America's Historic Policy, W. A. Peffer, NAR.
 Trade of the World, Our Nation and the, G. B. Waldron, Chaut.
 United States as a World Power—II., C. A. Conant, Forum.
 Vaccination, Debt of the World to, J. F. Marchand, San.
 Venice, Beautiful—II., Lillie P. Robinson, SelfC.
 Venice in Danger, R. de Souza, RPar, August 1.
 Vergil as a Magician, E. W. Bowen, SR, July.
 Vesuvius, Eruptions of, in May, 1900, G. Mercalli, RasN, July 16.
 Victoria, Queen, Day by Day, Crit.
 Victoria, Queen: Her Life at Balmoral, YW.
 Villebois-Mareuil, Colonel de, A. Veuglaire, BU.
 Virginia, University of, H. W. Mabie, Out.
 Volcanic Scenery of the Northwest, R. E. Strahorn, AMRR.
 "Wampanoag," The Sloop-of-War, B. F. Isherwood, CasM.

Warfare: Mounted Troops, W. W. Marshall, USM.
 Warfare: Organization of Howitzers, T. W. G. Bryan, USM.
 Watson, William—An Agnostic Poet, G. White, SR, July.
 Wellington, The Life of, Edin, July.
 Western Reserve University, W. T. Marvin, SelfC.
 West Indies in Their Relation to England and the United States, J. P. de Putron, West.
 Whalebacks, T. E. Curtis, Str.
 Wheat Corner, International, J. D. Whelpley, Fort; McCl.
 Wheat Farms, Glant, W. B. Holland, Pear.
 Whittier's "Captain's Well," Story of, Mary E. Desmond, Cath.
 Whittier's New Hampshire, D. L. Maulsby, NEng.
 Wilson, James, and the Formation of the Constitution, J. M. Harlan, ALR.
 Women's Suffrage: In Time of War, Agnes Grove, Corn.
 Xenophanes, G. M. Hammell, MRNY.
 Yachting: Centerboard Cup Defender for 1901, C. G. Davis, O.
 Yachting on the Great Lakes, J. B. Berryman, O.
 Yachtsmen, Navigation for, W. J. Hendersen, O.
 Yale-Harvard Race as a Spectacle, Lillian D. Kelsey, Int.
 Yeats, W. B., Poems of, Dora M. Jones, LQ, July.
 Yosemite Park, Wild Gardens of the, J. Muir, Atlant.

Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

Ains.	Ainslee's Magazine, N. Y.	Ed.	Education, Boston.	NAR.	North American Review, N. Y.
ACQR.	American Catholic Quarterly Review, Phila.	EdR.	Educational Review, N. Y.	Nou.	Nouvelle Revue, Paris.
AHR.	American Historical Review, N. Y.	Eng.	Engineering Magazine, N. Y.	NA.	Nuova Antologia, Rome.
AJS.	American Journal of Sociology, Chicago.	EM.	España Moderna, Madrid.	OC.	Open Court, Chicago.
AJT.	American Journal of Theology, Chicago.	Fort.	Fortnightly Review, London.	O.	Outing, N. Y.
ALR.	American Law Review, St. Louis.	Forum.	Forum, N. Y.	Out.	Outlook, N. Y.
AMonM.	American Monthly Magazine, Washington, D. C.	FrL.	Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y.	Over.	Overland Monthly, San Francisco.
AMRR.	American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y.	Gent.	Gentleman's Magazine, London.	PMM.	Pall Mall Magazine, London.
ANat.	American Naturalist, Boston.	GBag.	Green Bag, Boston.	Pear.	Pearson's Magazine, N. Y.
AngA.	Anglo-American Magazine, N. Y.	Gunt.	Guntton's Magazine, N. Y.	Phil.	Philosophical Review, N. Y.
Annals.	Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila.	Harp.	Harper's Magazine, N. Y.	PhoT.	Photographic Times, N. Y.
APB.	Anthony's Photographic Bulletin, N. Y.	Hart.	Hartford Seminary Record, Hartford, Conn.	PL.	Post-Lore, Boston.
Arch.	Architectural Record, N. Y.	Home.	Home Magazine, N. Y.	PSQ.	Political Science Quarterly, Boston.
Arena.	Arena, N. Y.	Hom.	Homiletic Review, N. Y.	PopA.	Popular Astronomy, Northfield, Minn.
AA.	Art Amateur, N. Y.	HumN.	Humanité Nouvelle, Paris.	PopS.	Popular Science Monthly, N. Y.
AE.	Art Education, N. Y.	Int.	International, Chicago.	PRR.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review, Phila.
AI.	Art Interchange, N. Y.	IJE.	International Journal of Ethics, Phila.	PQ.	Presbyterian Quarterly, Charlotte, N. C.
AJ.	Art Journal, London.	IntM.	International Monthly, N. Y.	QJ Econ.	Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston.
Art.	Artist, London.	IntS.	International Studio, N. Y.	QR.	Quarterly Review, London.
Atlant.	Atlantic Monthly, Boston.	IA.	Irrigation Age, Chicago.	RasN.	Rassegna Nazionale, Florence.
Bad.	Badminton, London.	JMSI.	Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H.	Record.	Record of Christian Work, East Northfield, Mass.
BankL.	Bankers' Magazine, London.	JPEcon.	Journal of Political Economy, Chicago.	Refs.	Réforme Sociale, Paris.
BankNY.	Bankers' Magazine, N. Y.	Kind.	Kindergarten Magazine, Chicago.	RRL.	Review of Reviews, London.
Bib.	Biblical World, Chicago.	KindR.	Kindergarten Review, Springfield, Mass.	RRM.	Review of Reviews, Melbourne.
BSac.	Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O.	LHJ.	Ladies' Home Journal, Phila.	RDM.	Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris.
BU.	Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne.	LeisH.	Leisure Hour, London.	RDP.	Revue du Droit Public, Paris.
Black.	Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh.	Lipp.	Lippincott's Magazine, Phila.	RGen.	Revue Générale, Brussels.
BB.	Book Buyer, N. Y.	LQ.	London Quarterly Review, London.	RPar.	Revue de Paris, Paris.
Bkman.	Bookman, N. Y.	Long.	Longman's Magazine, London.	RPP.	Revue Politique et Parlementaire, Paris.
BP.	Brush and Pencil, Chicago.	Luth.	Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa.	RRP.	Revue des Revues, Paris.
Can.	Canadian Magazine, Toronto.	McCl.	McClure's Magazine, N. Y.	RSoc.	Revue Socialiste, Paris.
Cass.	Cassell's Magazine, London.	Mac.	Macmillan's Magazine, London.	RPL.	Rivista Politica e Letteraria, Rome.
CasM.	Cassier's Magazine, N. Y.	MA.	Magazine of Art, London.	Ros.	Rosary, Somerset, Ohio.
Cath.	Catholic World, N. Y.	MRN.	Methodist Review, Nashville.	San.	Sanitarian, N. Y.
Cent.	Century Magazine, N. Y.	MRNY.	Methodist Review, N. Y.	School.	School Review, Chicago.
Cham.	Chambers's Journal, Edinburgh.	Mind.	Mind, N. Y.	Scrib.	Scribner's Magazine, N. Y.
Char.	Charities Review, N. Y.	MisH.	Missionary Herald, Boston.	SelfC.	Self Culture, Cleveland, Ohio.
Chaut.	Chautauquan, Cleveland, O.	Mon.	Monist, Chicago.	SR.	Sewanee Review, N. Y.
CAge.	Coming Age, Boston.	MunA.	Municipal Affairs, N. Y.	Str.	Strand Magazine, London.
Cons.	Conservative Review, Washington.	Mun.	Munsey's Magazine, N. Y.	Sun.	Sunday Magazine, London.
Contem.	Contemporary Review, London.	Mus.	Music, Chicago.	Temp.	Temple Bar, London.
Corn.	Cornhill, London.	NatGM.	National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C.	USM.	United Service Magazine, London.
Cos.	Cosmopolitan, N. Y.	NatM.	National Magazine, Boston.	West.	Westminster Review, London.
Crit.	Critic, N. Y.	NatR.	National Review, London.	Wern.	Werner's Magazine, N. Y.
Deut.	Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart.	NC.	New Church Review, Boston.	WWM.	Wide World Magazine, London.
Dial.	Dial, Chicago.	NEng.	New England Magazine, Boston.	WPM.	Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y.
Dub.	Dublin Review, Dublin.	NIM.	New Illustrated Magazine, London.	Yale.	Yale Review, New Haven.
Edin.	Edinburgh Review, London.	NW.	New World, Boston.	YM.	Young Man, London.
		NineC.	Nineteenth Century, London.	YW.	Young Woman, London.

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CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER, 1900.

General Louis BothaFrontispiece	The Practical Bryan Policy for the Philippines 433 By Edward M. Shepard.
The Progress of the World—	Mr. Bryan and the Trusts: An Anti-Trust View 439 By Frank S. Monnett.
Mr. McKinley's Review of the Situation..... 387	Trusts, in Case of Bryan's Election 443 By J. Laurence Laughlin.
Certain Business Questions..... 387	New Light on the Problem of Trusts 445 By Charles R. Flint.
The President on Cuba..... 388	Bryan's Financial Policy: A Republican View 447 By George E. Roberts.
On Porto Rico..... 388	Bryan's Financial Policy: A Democratic View 449 By Charles B. Spahr.
On the Philippine Question..... 388	Does Jamaica Contain a Lesson in Colonial Government? 451 By Julius Moritzen. With portraits of Sir Augustus Hemming, Capt. L. D. Baker, and D. S. Gideon, and other illustrations.
Parties and Policies..... 389	The Rise of Golf in America 459 By Price Collier. With illustrations.
Mr. Shepard's Views and Criticisms..... 390	Leading Articles of the Month—
Mr. Bryan's Letter..... 390	The Latest Phase of the Trust Problem..... 465
Mr. Bryan on Silver..... 391	Is "Bryanism" Socialistic?..... 466
Accepting the Populist Nomination..... 391	How Political Discussion Should Be Conducted..... 467
The Vice-Presidential Candidate..... 391	Voting by Mail..... 468
The Non-Fusion Populists..... 392	The Filipinos and Independence..... 469
Campaign Activities..... 392	Ibero-American Unity..... 470
Governor Roosevelt in the Field..... 392	Italian Progress Under Humbert..... 470
Some Bryan Supporters..... 393	Coöperation in Russia..... 471
Senator Beveridge on Cuba..... 393	Story of the Delagoa Bay Arbitration..... 472
The Cuban Programme..... 394	French Naval Power..... 472
The "Third-Ticket Antis"..... 394	What to Do with China..... 473
September State Elections..... 395	The Commercial Future of China..... 475
Republican Forecasts for November..... 395	The Boxer Propaganda..... 476
Democratic Claims..... 396	Our Brothers in Mid-Africa..... 477
New York Politics..... 396	Robinson Crusoe's Island..... 478
Money in the Campaign..... 397	Antarctic Exploration..... 479
Galveston's Calamity..... 398	The World's Coal..... 480
The Coal-Miners' Strike..... 399	Some Notable New Inventions..... 480
President Krüger's Retreat..... 400	The Basis of Immunity from Microbe Infection..... 483
The "Vaal River Colony"..... 401	Gutenberg and the Yellow Journalist..... 484
The Pending Elections in England..... 402	The Iron Duke and the Irate Painter..... 485
China and the Powers..... 403	With portraits of John Bates Clark, and Jean de Bloch, and other illustrations.
As to Punishing the Chinese..... 404	The Periodicals Reviewed 486
Partition Is the European Purpose..... 404	The New Books 501
Wanted: A Government in China..... 405	Index to Periodicals 508
Elections in Both Hemispheres..... 406	
With portraits of George L. Wellington, Archibald M. Howe, Jefferson Davis, William R. Hearst, John B. Stanchfield, William F. Mackey, Cornelius N. Bliss, Marcus A. Hanna, Nathan B. Scott, Frederick S. Gibbs, Joseph H. Manley, John Mitchell, Archbishop Ryan, Count Waldersee and Countess Waldersee, and Li Hung Chang, cartoons, and other illustrations.	
Record of Current Events 407	
With portraits of Marquis Salvago Raggi, M. de Giers, Baron de Cartees, the late Baron von Ketteler, Leo Rassieur, Duke of Abruzzi, Sir William Turner, Joseph Larmor, W. H. Perkin, R. H. Traquair, W. J. Sollas, Sir G. S. Robertson, P. G. Craigie, Sir Alexander R. Binnie, John Rhys, Sydney H. Vines, Sir F. M. Durand, E. C. Phipps, Sir W. Conynghame Greene, Sir Francis Plunket, Sir Henry Nevill-Dering, and the late Henry Sidgwick.	
Home and Foreign Politics in Caricature 411	
With reproductions from American and foreign journals.	
Mr. Stevenson, the Democratic Candidate for Vice-President 420 By James S. Ewing. With portraits of Adlai E. Stevenson.	
A Great Lawyer and His Career: A Character Sketch of the Late Lord Chief Justice of England 425 By W. T. Stead. With portraits of the late Lord Russell.	

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GENERAL LOUIS BOTHA,

Whose retirement last month as commandant-general of the Boer forces marked the end of the South-African struggle as a regular war, and the beginning of a guerrilla campaign led by General Viljoen.

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

Mr. McKinley's Review of the Situation. Besides the elaborate and carefully prepared speeches that the Presidential candidates make upon the occasion of their formal notification, it has been the custom for them at a subsequent date to issue a still more elaborate statement in the form of a public letter, expounding their respective party platforms and reviewing the questions at issue in the campaign. Mr. McKinley's letter was dated September 8, and published in the newspapers of Monday, the 10th. It was immediately accepted by all Republican authorities as the most telling document that had thus far appeared since the holding of the great conventions. It was prepared in such a way as to be especially available for use as campaign "literature;" and the Republican

National Committee will, doubtless, before the middle of October, have distributed millions of copies of it. Mr. McKinley begins by calling detailed attention to the demands of the three parties that are supporting Mr. Bryan for the immediate opening of the mints to the free coinage of silver. He pledges the Republican party to the unequivocal maintenance of the gold standard. He sets forth, in a statistical way, what he regards as a flattering condition of the national treasury and the public finances, and dwells upon the marvelous expansion of our foreign trade and the unprecedented general prosperity of the country. He notes the fact that we are now redeeming, with a bond bearing 2 per cent. interest, the bonds that in Mr. Cleveland's administration were bearing as high as 5 per cent. interest. Whereas Congress authorized a war loan of \$400,000,000 at the beginning of the war with Spain, it proved necessary to issue only \$200,000,000. Mr. McKinley thinks that it will be feasible for Congress, at its next session, to reduce taxation very materially.



Certain Business Questions.

He discusses the question of our merchant marine, declaring that 91 per cent. of our exports and imports are now carried in foreign ships; and he asserts that we ought to own the ships for our carrying trade with the outside world, and that we ought to build them in American shipyards and man them with American sailors. In connection with this subject of transportation by water, he introduces the topic of an interoceanic canal; and, as to the political aspect of it, he says that "our national policy more imperatively than ever calls for its completion and control by this Government; and it is believed that the next session of Congress, after receiving the full report of the commission appointed under the act approved March 3, 1899, will make provisions for the sure accomplishment of this great work." As respects trusts, President McKinley says that "honest coöperation of capital is necessary to meet new business condi-

IF BRYAN WERE PRESIDENT THIS HAPPY STATE OF AFFAIRS COULD NOT EXIST.—From the *Enquirer* (Philadelphia).

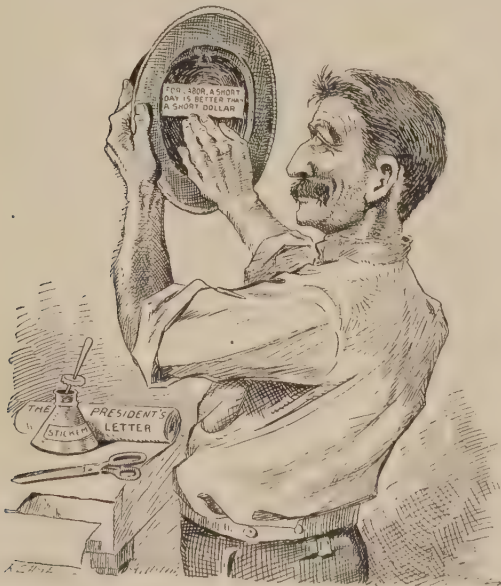
tions and extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade; but conspiracies and combinations, intended to restrict business, create monopolies, and control prices, should be effectively restrained." He points to publicity as a helpful influence, and suggests uniformity of legislation in the several States. "Combinations of capital which control the market in commodities necessary to the general use of the people, by suppressing natural and ordinary competition, thus enhancing prices to the general consumer," he considers "obnoxious to the common law and the public welfare;" calls them "dangerous conspiracies," and says they "ought to be subject to prohibitory or penal legislation." Mr. McKinley calls attention to the importance to the working-man of that general condition of prosperity which gives abundant employment and makes possible good wages; and he intimates his belief in short hours and payment in high-standard money. As to civil-service reform, he declares that the future of the merit system is safe in the hands of the Republican party. He says that this system, so

Very much the greater part of Mr. McKinley's letter is devoted to a discussion of what has been attempted and accomplished in the islands which have come into close relations with us in consequence of the war with Spain. That which relates to Cuba is so compact a statement that we may properly quote it all. It is as follows:

We have been in possession of Cuba since the 1st of January, 1899. We have restored order and established domestic tranquillity. We have fed the starving, clothed the naked, and ministered to the sick. We have improved the sanitary condition of the island. We have stimulated industry, introduced public education, and taken a full and comprehensive enumeration of the inhabitants. The qualification of electors has been settled, and under it officers have been chosen for all the municipalities of Cuba. These local governments are now in operation, administered by the people. Our military establishment has been reduced from 43,000 soldiers to less than 6,000. An election has been ordered to be held on the 15th of September, under a fair election law already tried in the municipal elections, to choose members of a constitutional convention, and the convention by the same order is to assemble on the first Monday of November to frame a constitution upon which an independent government for the island will rest. All this is a long step in the fulfillment of our sacred guarantees to the people of Cuba.

He explains that our military force in Porto Rico has been reduced from 11,000 to 1,500, and that native Porto Ricans constitute, for the most part, the local constabulary. He reports that there is now under the new civil government a gratifying revival of Porto Rican business. He says that a much larger measure of self-government has already been given to the Porto Ricans than was given to the inhabitants of Louisiana under Jefferson. He explains very clearly the arrangement under which Congress has, at the outset, removed 85 per cent. of the tariff duties between Porto Rico and the United States, and has provided that the remaining 15 per cent. must disappear not later than a year from next March, and as much earlier as the local finances of Porto Rico will permit. On November 5 the Porto Ricans will elect a delegate to Congress and 35 members of the House of Delegates, the lower branch of their legislature. The recent census shows that about three-fourths of the population belong to the white race.

As to the Philippine question, Mr. McKinley declares that "the purposes of the executive are best revealed and can best be judged by what he has done and is doing." He proceeds, thereupon, to give a chronological résumé of the whole



PASTING IT IN HIS HAT.

The American working-man agrees with Mr. McKinley.

From the St. Paul Pioneer-Press.

far as practicable, is made the basis for appointments in our new territory. He further calls attention to those modifications of the civil-service rules that were made in May, 1899, and to which much exception was taken at the time, and declares that the changes have been vindicated by experience.

subject, in order that it may be seen "that the power of the Government has been used for the liberty, the peace, and the prosperity of the Philippine peoples, and that force has been employed only against force which stood in the way of the realization of these ends." The President, in the course of his remarkable summary and defense of his Philippine policy, makes the following statements, which seem to us to have the highest weight and pertinence :

We are in agreement with all of those who supported the war with Spain, and also with those who counseled the ratification of the treaty of peace. Upon these two great essential steps there can be no issue, and out of these came all of our responsibilities. If others would shirk the obligations imposed by the war and the treaty, we must decline to act further with them, and here the issue is made. It is our purpose to establish in the Philippines a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants, and to prepare them for self-government, and to give them self-government when they are ready for it and as rapidly as they are ready for it. That I am aiming to do under my Constitutional authority, and will continue to do until Congress shall determine the political status of the inhabitants of the archipelago.

Are our opponents against the treaty? If so, they must be reminded that it could not have been ratified in the Senate but for their assistance. The Senate which ratified the treaty, and the Congress which added its sanction by a large appropriation, comprised Senators and Representatives of the people of all parties.

Would our opponents surrender to the insurgents, abandon our sovereignty or cede it to them? If that be not their purpose, then it should be promptly disclaimed, for only evil can result from the hopes raised by our opponents in the minds of the Filipinos—that with their success at the polls in November there will be a withdrawal of our army and of American sovereignty over the archipelago, the complete independence of the Tagalog people recognized, and the powers of government over all the other people of the archipelago conferred upon the Tagalog leaders.

The effect of a belief in the minds of the insurgents that this will be done has already prolonged the rebellion, and increases the necessity for the continuance of a large army. It is now delaying full peace in the archipelago, and the establishment of civil governments, and has influenced many of the insurgents against accepting the liberal terms of amnesty offered by General MacArthur, under my direction. But for these false hopes a considerable reduction could have been had in our military establishment in the Philippines, and the realization of a stable government would be already at hand.

Our readers will scarcely need to be reminded that the views the President sets forth have from the beginning had the support of this magazine—not on any ground of partisan preference whatsoever, but because they have seemed to us essentially sound and patriotic. There was nothing partisan about the war with Spain. The whole American people, with only individual exceptions here and



"PERPETUITY!"

"Every one is called upon at this time to work to perpetuate this administration."—From the *Verdict* (New York).

there, demanded that our Government should put an end to Cuba's intolerable situation. Nor was there anything partisan about the terms of the treaty of peace that was subsequently entered into. Everything that our Government has done, since that treaty of peace was signed, in respect to the Philippine Islands has seemed to us to have been done in good faith, on principles of which we have no reason to be ashamed, and with fair prospects of highly creditable results in the end. What is further than all this, we beg to say, with the most unqualified emphasis, that we have not the shadow of doubt that if Mr. Bryan had been elected President of the United States in 1896, instead of Mr. McKinley, he would, in his capacity as chief executive and as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, have carried on a war with Spain for the relief of Cuba, and that this war would have resulted in the annexation of all the territory that we acquired by virtue of the peace treaty at Paris. Historically speaking, the Democratic rather than the Republican party has throughout our history instinctively favored expansion and annexation; and at this moment the Democratic South, if circumstances permitted the expression of its genuine sentiment, would probably be shown to have far less misgiving about the advisability of our exercising sovereignty in the Philippines, as well as in other quarters, than the Republican North.

*Mr. Shepard's
Views and
Criticisms.*

The whole subject is being constantly confused by the failure to discriminate between self-government of the practical sort—municipal, provincial, territorial—and the exercise of sovereignty in the sense of international law. The Philippine Islands have never at any time been an independent sovereign nation; and the idea of assuming such a position had never, previous to the American conquest of Manila, been seriously contemplated by the population of the archipelago as a deliberate aspiration. Such insurrections as had been waged against the Spanish rule were for the sake of securing certain administrative reforms. The Hon. Edward M. Shepard, a very distinguished Democrat of New York, who did not support Mr. Bryan four years ago, but who is now supporting him on the Philippine issue, contributes, at our request, an article on that subject to the present number of the REVIEW. Mr. Shepard was asked especially to answer the question what, in his judgment, Mr. Bryan could actually accomplish, in case of his election, towards a reversal of the policy of which Mr. Shepard disapproves. Our readers will find the article well worth their careful reading. It has always been our plan to welcome open discussion in our pages; and the fact that Mr. Shepard's views are diametrically opposite to those expressed by us editorially, at considerable length last month, merely lends another reason why we should give them a prominent place. Let it be added that we value the country far more highly than we do its parties and their antagonisms. When serious questions arise involving in a large way the permanent mission and history of this nation, we prefer to believe that men who hold the reins of power at Washington, regardless of

party, will do the very best they possibly can for the welfare and honor of their country; and this we believe that Mr. McKinley has done. But we believe no less firmly that if Mr. Bryan had been elected he, too, would have risen above party prejudices and fetters, and would in the emergencies of war-making and peace-making have done those things which we should have found it possible and reasonable to support. There are matters in which we are absolutely compelled to act through our accredited representatives. In the matter of our recent participation in Chinese affairs, for example, it has been only sensible to show confidence in the policy pursued by the President.

*Mr. Bryan's
Letter.*

The letter of acceptance of the Democratic nomination issued by Mr. Bryan appeared on September 18. He adopted a plan different from that of Mr. McKinley, and made this letter, in effect, a supplement to his famous notification speech at Indianapolis, reviewed by us last month. That speech was devoted to the one subject of imperialism. This letter deals with the other matters presented in the Democratic platform. Mr. Bryan prefaces the document with a repetition of his avowal of 1896 that if elected, he would not be a candidate for a second term. He proceeds to discuss the question of trusts as of especial prominence. He charges the Republican party with the lack of either desire or ability to deal with the question effectively. The following quotation well expresses the spirit of Mr. Bryan's discussion of the subject of corporate monopolies:

Our platform, after suggesting certain specific remedies, pledges the party to an unceasing warfare against private monopoly in Nation, State, and city. I heartily approve of this promise; if elected, it shall be my earnest and constant endeavor to fulfill the promise in letter and spirit. I shall select an attorney-general who will, without fear or favor, enforce existing laws; I shall recommend such additional legislation as may be necessary to dissolve every private monopoly which does business outside of the State of its origin; and if, contrary to my belief and hope, a Constitutional amendment is found to be necessary, I shall recommend such an amendment as will, without impairing any of the existing rights of the States, empower Congress to protect the people of all the States from injury at the hands of individuals or corporations engaged in interstate commerce.



BRYAN and McKINLEY (in unison): "Beware of that man!"

From the Plain Dealer (Cleveland).

The next question taken up by Mr. Bryan is that of coinage and currency, and in our opinion he does not deal with that subject with the frankness of four years ago. Upon a theme of such commanding importance, the country has a right to ask Mr. Bryan what he proposes to do. He studiously avoids this practical aspect of the sub-

ject of approval upon what may be called the miscellaneous planks of the Kansas City platform—such as the election of Senators by the people, the establishment of a Department of Labor with a Cabinet officer at its head, the construction of the Nicaragua Canal under the ownership and control of the United States Government, the admission of the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma as States, economy in public expenditures, and the income tax—a plank in favor of which, Mr. Bryan tells us, had been agreed upon by the Committee on Resolutions at Kansas City, but was omitted from the platform by inadvertence.



MR. BRYAN'S SEVERE CASE OF STAGE FRIGHT.

The Eastern Gold Democrat and the Western Free Silverite join in asking Mr. Bryan: "If elected, would you, Mr. Bryan, pay U. S. coin obligations with silver?"

From the Pioneer-Press (St. Paul).

ject, merely remarking that "whether the Senate, now hostile to bimetallism, can be changed during this campaign or the campaign of 1902 can only be determined after the votes are counted." If this remark of Mr. Bryan's has any force or meaning at all, it can only be intended to convey the implication that the money question is solely one for Congress, and that there is nothing that a free-silver President and a free-silver Secretary of the Treasury can do if the Senate should be, to use his phrase, "hostile to bimetallism." The present Secretary of the Treasury has made himself responsible for very specific declarations to the effect that Mr. Bryan, if elected President, could do a great deal to change the present monetary policy of the country without the coöperation of the Senate. The greater part of the remaining paragraphs of Mr. Bryan's letter are brief running comments

Mr. Bryan had previously made a speech at Topeka, Kan., in response to the ceremony of notification by the Populist party. The formal speech notifying him was made by the Hon. T. M. Patterson, of Denver. In his reply, Mr. Bryan expressed warm recognition of the educational work done by the Populists, and by the farmers' alliances and labor organizations, which he regarded as associated with the Populist party. Mr. Bryan's speech was a skillful one, but cautious and reserved in a marked degree, as compared with the speeches that he made four years ago. Nothing is more striking in this campaign than Mr. Bryan's growth in conservatism, as evidenced by his complete silence on such questions as, for instance, the Populist demand for government ownership of telegraph lines and railways. The Eastern opinion that Mr. Bryan has the inclinations of a socialistic radical is a wholly mistaken one.

Mr. Stevenson, whose formal letter on the issues had not appeared as these comments were written, was duly accepted by the Populist Executive Committee in session at Chicago on August 27 as the candidate of their party for Vice-President, in place of Mr. Charles A. Towne, of Minnesota, whom they had nominated at Sioux City on June 9. The decision of the Populists to have neither a Presidential nor a Vice-Presidential candidate of their own in the field is regarded, by a considerable minority of their party, as a serious mistake of practical judgment. Senator Marion Butler, of North Carolina, well known as chairman of the Populist National Committee, was radically opposed to the substitution of Mr. Stevenson, not on personal grounds, but on those of party tactics. The story of Mr. Stevenson's career is set forth in this number of the REVIEW in a sketch both interesting and authoritative, by his law partner and lifelong friend, Judge James S. Ewing.

*The Non-
fusion
Populists.*

Our readers should not be allowed by us to forget that a portion of the Populists have never favored the policy of fusion with the Democrats, and are not supporting the candidacy of Mr. Bryan, but are organized for the advocacy of a platform and ticket of their own, their candidates being two widely known gentlemen—namely, the Hon. Wharton Barker, of Pennsylvania, and the Hon. Ignatius Donnelly, of Minnesota. The chairman of the National Committee of these "Middle-of-the-Road" Populists is the Hon. J. A. Parker; and he is quoted as having recently said, on behalf of himself and his political associates, that they did not care whether Bryan or McKinley was elected. Mr. Parker declared that imperialism in the Philippines was by far less objectionable than imperialism at home, by which he explained that he referred to "the disfranchisement of citizens at the South, both by law and by force." Mr. Wharton Barker's views on public questions are currently set forth with very great ability in his weekly paper, *The American*, of Philadelphia.

*Campaign
Activities.*

The headquarters of the Democratic campaign are at Chicago. Mr. Bryan himself, who has from time to time gone to Chicago, is giving close attention, not merely to his own personal speaking canvass, but also to the management of the campaign business. Mr. Bryan is not attempting this year such prodigies of stump-speaking as he accomplished four years ago. That would seem scarcely possible for any man twice in a lifetime. He is, however, making a great many speeches in a number of States. During a part of August he was in Kansas, and later he made a series of speeches in West Virginia and Ohio. Then he went farther west again, where he made notable speeches in Missouri and Kansas. On September 20 he went to his home at Lincoln, Neb., to rest. In the closing days of September it was his plan to speak in the Dakotas, and on October 1 he was slated for Duluth and St. Paul, Minn. Next he was to spend several days in Wisconsin and Indiana. Then comes his Eastern tour, which it was expected would include New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, and New York. He was announced to speak in Madison Square Garden, New York City, on October 16. The last week of the campaign he was to spend, as usual, in his own State, where he was to be reinforced by several others, notably Senator Wellington, of Maryland, whose withdrawal from the Republican party—while still holding a seat in the United States Senate to which the Republicans of Maryland had elected him—has been one of the nota-

ble personal incidents of a campaign remarkable for the change of attitude of a large number of widely known public men.

*Governor
Roosevelt in
the Field.*

Governor Roosevelt, who has been the most active campaigner on the Republican side, met Mr. Bryan at Chicago on Labor day, where both men by previous arrangement made non-political addresses



SENATOR WELLINGTON, OF MARYLAND.

(Who is supporting Mr. Bryan.)

appropriate to the day. Governor Roosevelt's letter as Vice-Presidential candidate appeared in the newspapers on Monday, September 17. The letter is a document of great force. He puts the question of money and the continuance of stable business conditions as of paramount importance; and, in our opinion, he is justified in doing this. It is in accord with the views expressed at some length in these pages two months ago. Referring to the question of the relative importance of the free-silver issue as raised by the Democrats, Governor Roosevelt says, with what seems to us unanswerable logic:

No issue can be paramount to the issue they thus make, for the paramountcy of such an issue is to be determined, not by the dictum of any man or body of men, but by the fact that it vitally affects the well-being of every home in the land. The financial question is always of such far-reaching and tremendous importance to the national welfare that it can never be raised in good faith unless this tremendous importance is not merely conceded, but insisted on. Men who are not willing to make such an issue paramount have no possible justification for raising it at all, for under such cir-

cumstances their act cannot under any conceivable circumstances do aught but grave harm.

The paragraph devoted to the trust question is in line with the notable utterance of Governor Roosevelt in his recent message to the New York Legislature. The governor proceeds to give an interesting *résumé* of our earlier achievements in the exercise of an expansion policy. His support of President McKinley's position in the Philippines bears the emphasis of strong conviction. As an incessant campaigner he bids fair to make a record surpassed only by that of Mr. Bryan four years ago. His speaking last month drew great crowds in various parts of the West, and in the Dakotas and Montana he aroused the utmost enthusiasm.

Some
Bryan
Supporters.

As we have remarked, the greater part of the men conspicuous for their attacks upon the Philippine policy of the Government have come out for Mr. Bryan. They have not done this, however, in a way particularly complimentary to that gentleman; and it is to be doubted whether they will help him much by their support. They talk about a choice of evils, and support Mr. Bryan grudgingly, as the only way to beat Mr. McKinley. Mr. Schurz, for instance, whose support of Bryan

is very conspicuous, is at the same time notifying the Republicans that in case of Bryan's election they ought to avail themselves—before his inauguration, next March—of the opportunity they will have in the short term of the present Congress next winter to enact fresh laws of one kind or another to protect the country against things that Mr. Bryan might otherwise do when in office. Mr. Richard Olney condemns utterly the Philippine policy, and therefore supports Mr. Bryan, although it does not appear that this ex-secretary of state supposes for a moment that we can adopt Mr. Bryan's programme and withdraw from any part of the territory we have annexed. His views, indeed, are not in the least like those of Mr. Bryan, or those of Mr. Shepard, which we publish this month, in respect to their doctrine that the Filipinos are qualified for full self-government and ought to be set up as an independent republic. On the contrary, his grievance against the administration is that "we have saddled ourselves with the gravest responsibilities for some eight or ten millions of the savage or, at best, half-civilized brown people of the tropics." On his own statement, Mr. Olney's position is the most paradoxical of that of any of the public men who have thus far confided to the public their reasons for supporting one or the other of the Presidential candidates. The fact is that Mr. Olney is an expansionist whose favorite doctrine is that of the paramountcy of the United States in the Western Hemisphere; and he does not like to see us diverting, in Asia or the islands of the far East, the energies that ought to be expended nearer home. This point of view he expresses in the fifth of the series of bad things that he thinks would be implied in the indorsement of the McKinley administration by the American people this year. It reads as follows:

It will mean that the American people approve the extraordinarily fatuous policy or impolicy, or no policy at all, by which the Philippine Archipelago, many thousands of miles from our shores, becomes an integral part of the United States; while Cuba, the cause and inspiration of the war, lying right at our door, the key to the Gulf of Mexico and absolutely essential to our defense against foreign attack, is declared alien territory, and entitled to all the rights of an independent sovereignty.

Senator
Beveridge
on Cuba.

As to Cuba, Senator Lodge, who answered Mr. Olney in a speech at Portland, Maine, on September 8, frankly agreed that it ought to be annexed to the United States for the good of all concerned; but he called attention to the circumstances under which this country promised to give Cuba independence, and held that we must live up to the promise. This position respecting Cuba is even



MR. SCHURZ' BRIGHT IDEA.

CARL SCHURZ: "The Republicans can fix him at the next session of Congress so he can do no harm; why not make him President?"—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

more strongly stated in the very brilliant speech of Senator Beveridge, of Indiana, in opening the Republican campaign at Chicago, September 25. Mr. Beveridge says that "a separate government over Cuba uncontrolled by the American republic never should have been promised." He declares that Cuba is a mere extension of our Atlantic coast-line, commanding the ocean entrances to the Mississippi and the Isthmian Canal, the possession of which has been the wish of every farseeing American statesman from Jefferson to Blaine. Mr. Beveridge paints a vivid picture of the progress that Cuba is now making under American administration, and offers the following gloomy prediction :

When we stop this work and withdraw our restraint, revolution will succeed revolution, as in the Central and South American countries ; Havana again fester with the yellow death ; systematic education again degenerate into sporadic instances ; and Cuba, which under our control would have been a source of profit, power, and glory to the republic and herself, will be a source of irritation and of loss, of danger and disease, to both. The United States needs Cuba for our protection ; *but Cuba needs the United States for Cuba's salvation.*

He advances the further prediction "that within twenty-five years we shall again be forced to assume the government of Cuba, but only after our commerce has again been paralyzed by revolution ;—after internal dissension has again spilled rivers of Cuban blood ; after the yellow fever has again and again crossed over to our southern coast from its hotbed in Havana harbor, and after we have assumed hundreds of millions of dollars of Cuban debt to prevent this island from falling into the hands of a foreign power."

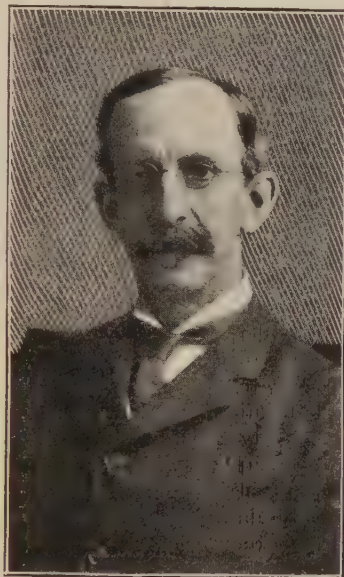
The Cuban Programme. These views expressed by Mr. Beveridge assume that Cuba is really to be given her independence, in the fullest and most unqualified sense. It is well known, however, that the United States Government, in ordering the election last month of a Cuban constitutional convention, entertained the lively hope that this body would see the propriety of arranging for extremely intimate relations between Cuba and the United States—relations which, while leaving ordinary affairs of internal government wholly to the Cubans, would place external affairs under the ægis of the United States. We must, in all sincerity, agree with Senator Beveridge that it would be very unfortunate for Cuba to have our American school administration withdrawn at this time ; while it is our further conviction that we owe it to ourselves to retain a permanent supervision of Cuban sanitary affairs, with a view to protecting our Southern States against yellow fever and cholera. Cuba

needs five years more of the present régime under General Wood, after which it ought to have perhaps ten years of territorial government like that of Oklahoma or New Mexico ; and then it ought to be admitted as a sovereign State into the Union. But Mr. McKinley is in no way responsible for the absurd and mischievous pledge made by Congress on the eve of our going to war, to the effect that we were not going to annex Cuba. It is as ridiculous to think that we are really doing a good thing for people who live in Cuba by ordering them to adopt a constitution and run an independent government as to think it an act of generosity to shove a handful of men, women, and children off to shift for themselves in a small open boat in mid-ocean, when they might just as well have been comfortable and safe on board a big steamer. Undoubtedly, there are many intelligent Cubans who think it best that the island should have its independence first, and should then seek annexation on its own free motion. Under all the circumstances, there is much to be said in favor of this view. There is just now great irritation in Cuba over that part of the War Department's call for the convention which makes it the convention's duty "to provide for and agree with the Government of the United States upon the relations to exist between that Government and the Government of Cuba." The Cuban leaders took great interest in the election of the delegates, but probably not more than half of the registered voters attended the polls. The convention will include some of the ablest men in Cuba, and its sessions will begin at Havana on Monday, November 5, the day before our Presidential election.

The "Third-ticket Antis." The attempt of certain gold-standard anti-imperialists to place a third ticket before the country has not met with much encouragement. As reported by us last month, the various groups of anti-imperialists that met at Indianapolis in the middle of August almost unanimously determined in favor of supporting Mr. Bryan. A few, however,—under the leadership of Mr. Thomas M. Osborne, of Auburn, N. Y. ; Mr. John Jay Chapman, of New York City ; Dr. William Everett, of Massachusetts, and others,—persisted in their previously expressed determination to name a ticket. They met in Carnegie Hall, New York, September 5, with Mr. Osborne in the chair, and adopted the name of the National Party, agreed upon a platform, and selected candidates. Their nominee for the Presidency is the Hon. Donelson Caffery, Senator from Louisiana, who declined, and whose place had not been filled as we went

to press. For the Vice-Presidency they selected Mr. Archibald M. Howe, of Cambridge, Mass. Their attitude is a perfectly logical one, and, it seems to us, entitled to respect. Their platform has the merit of great clearness and brevity, and in these regards it is a model. We quote it in full :

Convinced that the extension of the jurisdiction of the United States for the purpose of holding foreign



MR. A. M. HOWE, OF THE NATIONAL PARTY.

peoples as colonial dependents is an innovation dangerous to our liberties and repugnant to the principles upon which our Government is founded, we pledge our honest effort, through all constitutional means, to procure the renunciation of all imperial or colonial pretensions over citizens of countries alleged to have been acquired through or in course of the military and naval operations of the last two years.

Second—We furthermore pledge our efforts to secure a single gold standard and a sound banking system.

Third—To secure a public service based on merit only.

Fourth—To secure the abolition of all corrupting special privileges, whether under the guise of subsidies, bounties, undeserved pensions, or trust-breeding tariffs.

It is reported that this party, which of course has no expectation of victory this year in any community, will not nominate full electoral tickets, but will name one candidate for elector in each State, and will be able, by the number of votes cast for this candidate, to ascertain its numerical strength.

*September
State
Elections.*

The State elections in Vermont and Maine resulted in Republican majorities quite as large as had been generally anticipated. The Vermont majority, which has long been regarded as a significant straw showing the drift of national sentiment, was larger than at any corresponding time for about thirty years, excepting only four years ago, when it was nearly 37,000. This year it is about 32,500. In Maine, the Republican plurality was about 34,000, and, as in Vermont, was even a little larger than the Republican managers had figured upon. An election was held in Arkansas on September 3, and the Democratic candidate for governor, the Hon. Jeff Davis, received a plurality of about 40,000 votes.

*Republican
Forecasts for
November.*

Mr. Payne, of Wisconsin, vice-chairman of the Republican National Committee, early in September issued a statement representing the forecast of the Republican managers for the Presidential election. Twenty-two States are claimed as certain for McKinley, these having a total electoral vote of 249, while 224 is a majority of the whole number of electoral votes, which is 447. Seventeen States are conceded to Mr. Bryan, these having a total vote of 145. These conceded States are all Southern, excepting Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, and Utah. The list of States given by Mr. Payne



HON. JEFFERSON DAVIS.
(Elected governor of Arkansas.)

as doubtful is as follows: Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Nebraska, West Virginia, and Indiana. Mr. Payne's list, with the number of electoral votes belonging to each State, is as follows:

Certain for McKinley.		Conceded to Bryan.	
California.....	9	Alabama.....	11
Connecticut.....	6	Arkansas.....	8
Illinois.....	24	Colorado.....	4
Iowa.....	13	Florida.....	4
Kansas.....	10	Georgia.....	13
Maine.....	6	Idaho.....	3
Massachusetts.....	15	Louisiana.....	8
Michigan.....	14	Mississippi.....	9
Minnesota.....	9	Missouri.....	17
New Hampshire.....	4	Montana.....	3
New Jersey.....	10	Nevada.....	3
New York.....	36	North Carolina.....	11
North Dakota.....	3	South Carolina.....	9
Ohio.....	23	Tennessee.....	12
Oregon.....	4	Texas.....	15
Pennsylvania.....	32	Utah.....	3
Rhode Island.....	4	Virginia.....	12
South Dakota.....	4	Total.....	145
Vermont.....	4		
Washington.....	4		
Wisconsin.....	12		
Wyoming.....	3		
Total.....	249		

FIGHTING GROUND.

Delaware.....	3	West Virginia.....	6
Kentucky.....	13	Indiana.....	15
Maryland.....	8		
Nebraska.....	8	Total.....	63
Total vote.....			447
Necessary to elect.....			224

Mr. Payne declares that there is no possible way of figuring out Bryan's election without New York, and that New York is as safely Republican as Wisconsin.

Democratic Claims.

It is necessary to say, however, that the Democrats repudiate these Republican forecasts with scorn. As to the claim that New York is as safely Republican as Wisconsin, they reply that the German-Americans hold the balance in Wisconsin, and that this year, as eight years ago, the German vote is going to be Democratic. Four years ago, Mr. McKinley carried the State by almost 100,000. The Democrats also reiterate their expectation that they will carry New York. They claim Indiana, and propose to make every effort to make good the claim. On October 3 there will assemble at Indianapolis the national convention of Democratic clubs. These clubs, under the presidency of Mr. William R. Hearst, proprietor of the *New York Journal*, the *San Francisco Examiner*, and the *Chicago American*, have shown a rapid and enthusiastic development which thus far is the most striking feature of the Democratic campaign. It is claimed that this national association of clubs now embraces a membership of 1,500,000, and that the gathering

at Indianapolis will be the largest political assemblage ever held in the country. It is reported that Tammany is sending money to Indiana. Democrats make strong claims of strength in



MR. WILLIAM R. HEARST.

(President of the National Association of Democratic Clubs.)

Ohio, an important element of which is the canvass that Mayor Jones, of Toledo, is making for Mr. Bryan.

New York Politics.

If the Democrats of New York had been united upon their strongest man for governor, they might possibly have elected their State ticket and at the same time secured a good fighting chance for their Presidential electors. There was great enthusiasm for the candidacy of the Hon. Bird S. Coler, the Controller of New York City. But the delegates from New York, who were mere dummies under the control of Richard Croker, naturally opposed a Democrat who had made no secret of his opposition to the leaders and the methods of Tammany Hall. The great contest lay between ex-Senator David B. Hill, who supported Coler, and Croker, who merely stood for anything to beat Coler. The result was the nomination of the Hon. John B. Stanchfield, of Elmira, Senator Hill's friend and former law partner, a nomination not objectionable in itself so much as in the circumstances by which it was brought about. The Republicans had nominated the Hon. B. B. Odell, chairman of the State Committee and absolutely identified with Mr. Platt's conduct of New York State politics.



Photo by Davis & Sanford, N. Y.

Photo by Hall, Buffalo.

HON. JOHN B. STANCHFIELD.
(Democratic nominee for
governor.)

HON. WILLIAM F. MACKEY.
(Democratic nominee for
lieutenant-governor.)

Mr. Coler on the Democratic ticket would have drawn away from Mr. Odell the greater part of the independent vote and some portion of the anti-Platt Republicans. It now appears that Republicans of all shades of opinion will support Mr. Odell, and that the independent vote will be divided, as indicated by the fact that of its two principal exponents, the *New York Times* prefers Mr. Stanchfield and the *New York Evening Post* prefers Mr. Odell. Both parties and

candidates are more or less emphatically pledged to maintain the franchise tax on street railway and other corporations, and to oppose the infamous Ramapo conspiracy for robbing municipalities of their prospective sources of water-supply.

*Money
in the
Campaign.*

It is commonly understood that both great parties will spend more money in this year's campaign than was ever before used in the history of American politics. Mr. Hanna and Mr. Cornelius N. Bliss are the most successful money-raisers the Republican party has ever had. The Democrats charge that the Republican campaign fund is being swollen by gifts from the great trusts and corporations. The Republicans charge that Tammany Hall is raising millions by its peculiar system of levying upon interests which it has under its protection. The fundamental basis, however, of this year's campaign on both sides is the appeal to public opinion, and the attempt to win over the voter through his intellect or his sensibilities. Most of the money is used to pay for the printing and distribution of documents, and for the legitimate expenses of public speakers. It is a mistake to suppose that mere bribery or corruption will count in any essential manner in the campaign.



Hon. C. N. Bliss.

Hon. M. Hanna.

Hon. N. B. Scott.

Hon. F. S. Gibbs.

Hon. J. H. Manley.

THE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE IN ITS NEW YORK HEADQUARTERS.



From a photo for the New York Journal.

A SCENE FROM THE WRECK OF GALVESTON.

Galveston's Calamity. The Southern coast of the United States was visited by a tropical hurricane on September 6-9, the fury of which reached its climax at and near Galveston, Texas, 1:45 A. M., on Sunday, the 9th. Galveston is built upon the east end of a beautiful but low-lying island some thirty miles long and six or seven miles wide at the point of greatest extent, though only a mile or two wide where the city is built. The pressure of the wind upon the waters of the Gulf was so powerful and so continuous that it lifted the waves on the north coast many feet above the ordinary high-tide level, and for a short time the entire city was submerged. The demolition caused by the wind alone, apart from the invasion of the sea, would have resulted in a great loss of property and considerable loss of life. But the combined attack of hurricane and tidal-wave produced indescribable horrors—the destruction of property sinking into insignificance when compared with the appalling loss of life. The new census taken in June accredited Galveston with a population of 37,789. The calamity of a few hours seems to have reduced that number by 20 per cent. The loss of life in villages and at isolated points

along the coast-line will probably bring the sum total of deaths caused by this fatal storm up to 10,000. The condition of the survivors for two or three days beggars description. The water had quickly receded, and all means of communication had been destroyed, including steamships, railroads, telephone and telegraph lines, and public highways. Practically all food supplies had been destroyed, and the drinking-water supply had been cut off by the breaking of the aqueduct pipes. The tropical climate required the most summary measures for the disposition of the bodies of the dead. Military administration was made necessary, and many ghoulish looters and plunderers were summarily shot, either in the act of robbing the dead or upon evidence of guilt. It is needless to dwell upon the horrors of the situation. As against the blind force of nature that precipitated the calamity, there stands out in splendid contrast the wonderful qualities of hope, courage, devotion, heroism, generosity, and undaunted enterprise that were manifested in the very face of the disaster. To the question whether the site of Galveston had better not be abandoned altogether, there came an emphatic negative. The pluck of Galveston had behind it

the vigor and unlimited resources of the great State of Texas, and the sympathy and quick generosity of the entire nation. Relief agencies everywhere set to work promptly to forward food, clothing, and money to the impoverished survivors. Great corporations like the Southern Pacific Railroad made haste to restore their Galveston facilities, and ingenious engineers brought forward suggestions for protection of the city against future inundations. These suggestions embraced such improvements as additional breakwaters, jetties, dikes, and the filling in of a portion of the bay, between Galveston and the mainland. The United States Government in recent years has spent \$8,000,000 or \$10,000,000 in engineering works to deepen the approach to Galveston harbor. The channel, which was formerly only 20 or 21 feet deep across the bar, is now 27 feet deep, and the action of wind and tide between the jetties cuts the passage a little deeper every year. The foreign trade of Galveston, particularly in cotton, has been growing by leaps and bounds. It will assuredly not be allowed to languish or come to a standstill.



A CRY FROM THE SOUTHLAND.

From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer.

The
Coal-Miners'
Strike.

There are about 140,000 men employed in the anthracite coal-mines of Pennsylvania. For a number of weeks their dissatisfaction with their lot had taken the form of a serious proposal to join in a general strike. The order was at length given by the National Executive Board of the United Mine Workers of America, and it took effect on

Monday, September 17. A week later it was reported that fully 125,000 out of the 140,000 men had left the mines. Their grievances included the long-standing objection to being compelled to buy their supplies at the coal companies' stores, where, as they claim, they are obliged to pay double the market price for some very



FOR THE SAKE OF THESE—ARBITRATE!

From the New York World.

essential things, such as the powder they use in their work. They are nominally paid for mining by the ton, which the law, they say, specifies to be 2,240 pounds, while they declare that the mine-owners compel them to dig from 2,700 to 4,000 pounds for each ton. The miners demand release from the compulsion to pay a dollar a month out of their wages to the company's doctors, whether they are sick or well. They also declare that their wages, which were at the lowest point compatible with a bare existence for their families, have remained at the old figure, while the cost of living has been increased by a general advance in the price of food, clothing, etc. The phase of the situation that is evidently most repugnant to the views of the mine-owners and operators is the compactness of the union movement. They declare that as separate individuals or concerns they have no objection to meeting their men in a conciliatory spirit for the discussion of real or alleged grievances; but they also affirm that conditions vary so much in the different mines and districts of the anthracite region that the operators cannot afford to permit the successful development of a miners' union under such perfect control that a central executive

board can dictate in detail to individual operators in the case of local differences from time to time. Each side, of course, sees the situation from its own point of view. But the working-men in this instance, as in several similar ones heretofore, have appealed successfully to public sympathy by their avowal of readiness to submit their case to fair and impartial arbitration—a

It was impossible, when these pages closed for the press, to make any predictions as to the duration or outcome of the strike.

*President
Krüger's
Retreat.*

The English will be spared the embarrassing question of deciding what to do with President Krüger. They will not have to put him on trial for his life; neither



MR. JOHN MITCHELL.

(President of the United Mine Workers of America, who is conducting the strike.)

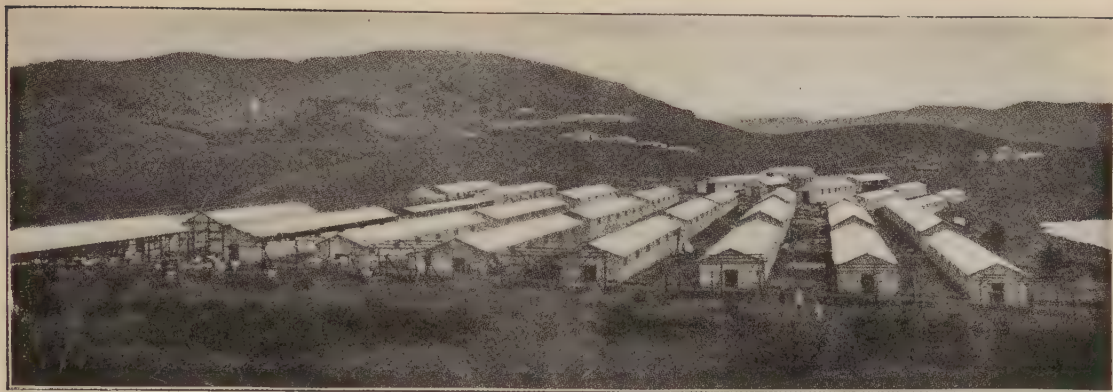


ARCHBISHOP RYAN, OF PHILADELPHIA.

(Leader of the movement for arbitrating the mining disputes.)

recourse that the owners and operators almost invariably dislike and oppose. These coal lands once belonged to the public. They are not an entirely suitable object of private ownership. The coal deposits are a form of wealth not created by any man's effort or enterprise, and exceedingly necessary to the general well-being. The financial history of the Pennsylvania anthracite lands is full of lessons and warnings. The miners certainly have a hard enough time; but the general public, also, has been a victim of the artificial and improper system under which a group of common carriers that ought to have no interest, direct or indirect, in the commodities they transport, have acquired a virtually monopolistic control of the output of the one great anthracite region of this country and of the world. Archbishop Ryan, of Philadelphia, and clergymen of all denominations throughout the mining region were lifting up their voices in favor of arbitration last month.

will they deport him to St. Helena, whither they have sent a part of the Boer prisoners; nor yet to Ceylon, where another part are living in a guarded prison camp, an illustration of which we publish herewith. Mr. Krüger had from the time of his withdrawal from Pretoria occupied one temporary capital after another, until finally the Boer political headquarters may be said to have been literally "on wheels." A dispatch of September 12 from Lourenço Marques—the Portuguese seaport on Delagoa Bay and the natural outlet for the Transvaal—announced the presence there of President Krüger and several other Transvaal officials. State Secretary Reitz, however, and Mr. Steyn, formerly president of the Orange Free State, were said to be still in the Transvaal; and the duties of the presidency had been left, for the present, in charge of General Schalk-Burger, the vice-president. It was announced that Mr. Krüger would sail for



THE BOER PRISON IN THE HAPPY VALLEY, CEYLON.

Europe on the German steamer *Herzog*, about September 24. It was subsequently made known that the government of Holland would bring Mr. and Mrs. Krüger and their party to Europe on a warship, the English Government having been duly notified by the Dutch foreign office, and having made no objections. Mr. Krüger is supposed to be armed with plenipotentiary authority to conclude terms of peace or otherwise to negotiate on behalf of the Transvaal. The English, however, will not consider any terms except absolute surrender; inasmuch as, from their point of view, the war has lost all vestige of international character, and has become a domestic insurrection.

On September 1, Lord Roberts, from his army headquarters, then at the "Vaal River Colony," Transvaal town of Belfast, issued a proclamation that the Transvaal was thenceforth to form a part of her Majesty's dominions. The Orange Free State several months ago was converted into the "Orange River Colony;" and the Transvaal, or South African Republic, has now become, in official British parlance,

the "Vaal River Colony." For some time the English Government has been declaring the war to be virtually at an end; but seldom has a vanquished and scattered enemy been so troublesome. Gen. Louis Botha, undoubtedly convinced that further organized and regular military resistance was worse than useless, was in September superseded in command of the Boer forces by the irreconcilable Viljoen, better adapted to the conduct of a relentless guerrilla campaign. It was reported on September 20 that of the 3,000 Boers who had retreated from Komati Poort before the British advance from Machadodorp the majority had scattered in various directions, while some hundreds had crossed the line into Portuguese territory; and it was further said that they had at last decided to destroy the artillery which they had used so long and effectively. This means, of course, the final abandonment of all attempts to fight in considerable bodies as regular soldiery. It is not likely that even the most determined of the guerrilla fighters will think it worth their while to greatly prolong the now hopeless situation. The English have paid a sufficient price,

and the Boers ought now to accept the inevitable with the best grace possible, and consider their personal and private interests. The English Government wanted Krüger out of the Transvaal, and it is said in England that in going to Europe the old president will be in a position where he can neither harm his enemies nor help his friends. The special South African envoys, Messrs. Fischer, Wessels, and Wolmorans, issued a



THE RECENT BOER CAPITAL AT MACHADODORP.



LORD ROBERTS' LITTLE ANNEXATION JOKE.

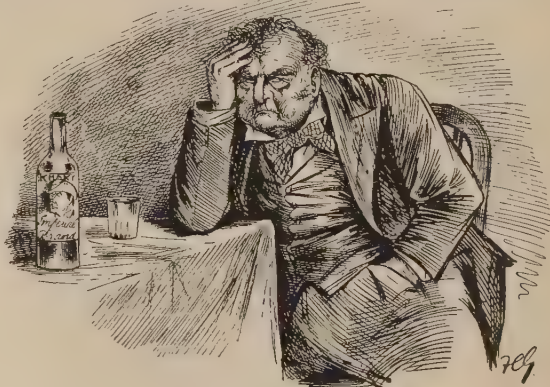
He presents the Queen with a gentle(?) souvenir of the South-African War.—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

statement from Amsterdam, on September 15, in which they declared that the object of the British in announcing the annexation of the Transvaal was to avoid the further necessity of recognizing the Boers as belligerents and treating them in accordance with the rules of warfare. The weekly losses, chiefly from disease, reported by the British War Office, continue to be very heavy. The United States military *attaché*,

Capt. Herbert Slocum, left South Africa several weeks ago, and has gone to St. Petersburg as a member of the American legation.

The Pending Elections in England.

The British Government has been for some time awaiting what might seem to be the favorable moment for dissolving Parliament and ordering a new general election. Mr. Chamberlain strongly insisted that the party now in power ought to secure a fresh lease from the people while the martial spirit was still high, and before the inevitable reaction against the hideous South-African business should have arrived to sweep the Liberals into power



WANTED—SOME SODA-WATER.

JOHN BULL: "Waiter! bring me some soda-water."

"A few months ago the whole country was drunk with Mr. Chamberlain's new wine, the Imperial brand, but to-day it is demanding soda-water."—MR. AUGUSTINE BIRRELL, at Manchester, September 1, 1900.—*Westminster Gazette*.



BOERS TAKING THE OATH IN A BRITISH CAMP.

again. Accordingly, it was announced on September 17 that Parliament would be dissolved on the 25th, and that the new Parliament to be elected in October should assemble on November 1. Almost every student and observer of English politics admits that nothing can prevent a victory for the Conservatives, although it is not claimed by any one that their majority will be anything like as large as it has been in the Parliament now ended, which first met on August 12, 1895. The duration of this Parliament was a little longer than five years. If it had continued two years longer, it would

have been dissolved by virtue of the law which limits the life of a Parliament to seven years. This was the fourteenth Parliament of Queen Victoria's long reign; and the average length of Victorian Parliaments has been exactly four years and six months. The thirteenth Parliament lasted a little less than three years, Mr. Gladstone being Prime Minister during the first half of that period and Lord Salisbury during the second half. The twelfth Parliament lasted nearly six years, Lord Salisbury being Prime Minister. The shortest Parliament of the Victorian era was the eleventh, which lasted less than six months, Mr. Gladstone being the head of the government. It has not been customary hitherto for Parliament to dissolve at a time when the ministry controls a large working majority in both houses, with the country expressing no demand for an opportunity to renew its representation in the House of Commons. The dissolution at the present moment, therefore, looks like a rather sharp political trick, having as its design the securing of another long term of power by those who now hold the reins. The elections find the Liberal party without unity or leadership. Sir William Harcourt has expressed hope of a Liberal victory; and men like Mr. Morley, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Asquith, and many more will each for himself make bold and strenuous declaration of his faith, but it would take at least another year to get the Liberal party into trim for a successful fight.



COUNT WALDERSEE LEAVING BERLIN FOR CHINA.

(Count Waldersee, the commander-in-chief of the European forces operating in China, left Berlin wearing the uniform which the Emperor William wore on his voyage to Jerusalem, and which was presented to the count by the Emperor. The Countess Waldersee is shown in our illustration seeing her husband off.)

China
and the
Powers.

It was not to be expected for a moment that the extraordinary crisis in China should have been tided over

without a protracted period of diplomatic discussion, after the rescue of the foreigners at Peking by international military intervention had been



JOE CHAMBERLAIN, THE POINTER.

"What's the good of my pointing? He'll never get a better chance than this!"—From *Punch* (London).

accomplished. The programme of the United States has been clear from the beginning. Until the foreigners were rescued, we could not treat with the Chinese Government; but after their rescue,—no state of war existing between the people and government of the United States and those of China,—it remained to plan for the withdrawal of our troops as soon as prudence and common sense might justify such a step, and then to negotiate with the Imperial Government of China for a reasonable indemnity and guarantees of future good behavior. Our Government was ready enough, therefore, when a month ago Russia proposed the withdrawal of troops from Peking, to express approval of that plan, provided it could be generally agreed to. Germany was not ready, however, to withdraw, and England seemed to be deeply suspicious of Russia's good faith in making the suggestion. The German Government insisted, as a preliminary condition, that those persons high in authority who were guilty of the assassination of Von Ketteler, the German Minister, and of other outrages against foreigners, should be delivered

From the *Illustrated London News*.

A TYPICAL BOXER.

over by the Chinese to the allied forces for condign punishment. Even if this were otherwise reasonable or possible, a moment's thought will show that this demand implies that the guilty persons are well known, and can be surrendered for punishment without any judicial investigation as to their innocence or guilt.

As to Punishing the Chinese.

The futility of this German position is almost as great as that of the insane British jingoes, like Rudyard Kipling, who would like to punish, as guilty of high treason, everybody in South Africa who showed active sympathy with the Boer cause. Millions of people in China had been stirred to something like a frenzy of patriotic opposition to foreigners by the circulation among them, in vast editions, of numerous anti-foreign papers and books making all sorts of charges against the Europeans, some of which were true and many of which were false. It is a notorious fact that the European powers have been greedily planning to seize and cut up China at the very first

opportunity. It is not so strange that the Chinese were led to excesses by the Boxer fanatics as that they have been so easily induced to quiet down again. The severe retribution policy now proposed by Germany could only lead in the end to far more formidable movements in hostility to Europe. The thing that is necessary is to encourage and to require the firm establishment in authority of a liberal Chinese imperial government, such as the young Emperor himself could successfully carry on if the Dowager Empress and a dozen of her malign advisers could be deported for life. England would do well to send General Cronje and his brave Boers back home from St. Helena, and to turn the island over to the allied powers for the use of the Chinese Dowager Empress.

Germany has a foothold in China, and is evidently determined to use the present opportunity for further territorial seizure. Russia has not the slightest intention of relinquishing Manchuria. Japan in the past two months has been quietly but actively putting additional army divisions on a war footing, with the design, very probably, of seizing Korea while Russia is occupied in Manchuria. We know that the Japanese press has urged this course. England in a languid way prefers that these things should not happen; but England



LI HUNG CHANG.

(From his latest portrait.)

meanwhile is making all her plans to console herself by seizing, as she has always done in the past, a good deal more than anybody else, if the game of grab once fairly sets in. France, also, is definitely prepared to advance from her existing bases. If China had been wise enough to maintain a liberal government for a considerable length of time, the country would have made such progress that it could have relied upon its own army to protect it efficiently against these unscrupulous European foes. It will be the duty of the United States to speak with the utmost plainness in condemnation of the European policy of Chinese spoliation, but it will not be possible for us to fight about it; and the only thing that can save China will be the Chinese themselves. If they show a readiness to permit the Europeans to partition and annex their country, the thing will inevitably come to pass. There is not a power in Europe strong enough to annex little Switzerland, because of the pluck and high spirit of the Swiss people. It has strained all the resources of the greatest empire the world has ever seen to annex the country occupied by a handful of Boers, who were not numerous enough, all told, to make up a fair-sized Chinese city.



From the Illustrated London News.

A JAPANESE INFANTRYMAN.



GERMAN EMPEROR (to Field-Marshal Graf von Waldersee): "You are appointed to command the United Forces of Civilization! You are a German. Remember your Kaiser!! And do try to be there before it's all over!!!"

From Punch (London).

It has been unfortunate that there should be any doubt cast upon the full authority of Li Hung Chang and his associates to conduct negotiations. There is no very general belief in the good faith of Li Hung Chang, and no imperial authority is in clear evidence back of him. The vicious old Dowager Empress, dragging the Emperor and the court with her, had retreated to an inaccessible point in the interior before the allied troops entered Peking. There are intelligent Chinese ministers in the principal capitals of the world. These ought to secure from whatever imperial authority may exist in China the permission to ask that the whole perplexing situation be submitted to a court of inquiry of the kind provided for in the treaty adopted at The Hague. And the United States, in any case, could hardly err in earnestly promoting that view. Of course, there can be no military withdrawal until order has been restored in China and a government capable of maintaining authority is in undisturbed control of the situation. Events reported after the middle of September made it clear that the Boxers were not wholly subdued, and that complete

evacuation by the allies would only be the signal for a reoccupation of Peking by the rioters; while the anti-foreign press of China would persuade the people that the foreigners had withdrawn through cowardice. No one can deny



A CHINESE PUZZLE.

SENTRY: "Who goes there?"

LI HUNG CHANG: "Friend! You know me very well—a friend to everybody!"

SENTRY: "H'm! Give me the countersign!"

From *Punch* (London).

that the whole situation remains one of extreme danger and difficulty, and that modern diplomacy has not had to deal with any problem so critical and perplexing.

Elections in Both Hemispheres. Canada, like England and the United States, is in the midst of political discussion, preparatory to a general election. Sir Charles Tupper heads the forces of the Conservative opposition. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Liberal prime minister, has the especial advantage of immense strength in the great French-speaking province of Quebec, and his supporters expect to win a substantial victory. Parliamentary elections have been held in Norway, with no change in the general political complexion of the government. The Austrian Reichsrath has been dissolved, and an election campaign is pending throughout that country. Australia has been greatly interested in the federal elections which will create the first general lawmaking body of the new commonwealth. Just as we are on the eve of celebrating the one-hundredth anniversary

of the founding of the city of Washington, and the creation of our federal District of Columbia, the Australians will be deciding upon the site of their new federal capital. It is likely to be on the Murray River, which separates the provinces of New South Wales and Victoria. The date set for the formal establishment of the Australian Commonwealth is the opening day of the new century—namely, January 1, 1901. The Australians are complaining vigorously of the attempt that is being made by the British Government to keep the colonial troops in South Africa permanently through the offer of free grants of land on the American homestead plan. Australia insists upon having her troops returned intact. A cartoon from the *Sydney Bulletin* which we publish herewith shows, rather amusingly, the Australian opinion of the attempt to catch the kangaroo in the land-grant steel trap.



THE ATTEMPT TO TRAP THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIAL TROOPS, WITH LAND-GRANT BAIT, INTO PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

(From the *Sydney Bulletin*.)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From August 21 to September 20, 1900.)

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

August 21.—Delaware Republicans ("regular," or anti-Addicks faction) nominate Jonathan S. Willis for governor.

August 22.—Governor Shaw, of Iowa, appoints Representative J. P. Dolliver to succeed the late John H. Gear in the United States Senate.... Wisconsin Democrats nominate Louis H. Bohmrich for governor.

August 23.—Union Republicans (Addicks faction) in Delaware accept the Presidential electors named by the "regular" Republicans.... William J. Bryan accepts the Populist nomination for the Presidency at Topeka, Kan.

August 27.—The executive committee of the Populist party at Chicago nominates Adlai E. Stevenson for Vice-President on the ticket with William J. Bryan, to fill the vacancy caused by Charles A. Towne's declination of the nomination.

August 31.—The Government at Washington takes measures for the relief of destitute miners at Cape Nome, Alaska.

September 3.—Arkansas Democrats elect Jefferson Davis governor by a majority of more than 50,000.

September 4.—Vermont Republicans elect W. W. Stickney governor by a plurality of more than 31,000.... United States Senator Wellington, of Maryland, elected as a Republican, declares in favor of the election of the Democratic candidate for the Presidency.

September 5.—New York Republicans nominate Benjamin B. Odell, Jr., for governor.... Connecticut Republicans nominate George P. McLean for governor.... Montana Republicans nominate David E. Folsom for governor.... Utah Republicans renominate Heber M. Wells for governor.... The National party, in convention at New York City, nominates Senator Donelson Caffery (Dem.), of Louisiana, for President, and Archibald M. Howe (Ind.), of Massachusetts, for Vice-President.

September 6.—Minnesota Democrats and Populists renominate John Lind for governor.... Utah Democrats nominate James H. Moyle for governor.

September 9.—President McKinley's letter accepting the Republican nomination for a second term is made public.

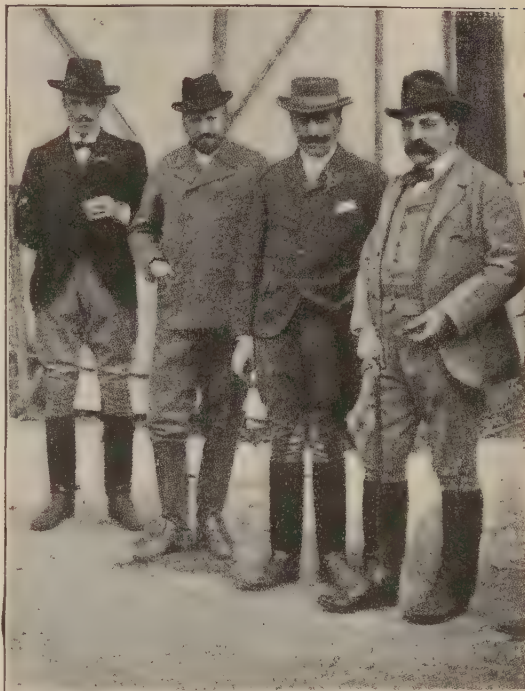
September 10.—Maine Republicans elect Dr. John F. Hill governor by a plurality of more than 34,000.

September 11.—New Hampshire Republicans nominate Chester B. Jordan for governor.... Delaware Democrats nominate Peter J. Ford for governor.

September 12.—New York Democrats nominate John B. Stanchfield for governor.

September 14.—Four Republican mass meetings open the campaign in New York City.

September 15.—The election of delegates to the coming constitutional convention in Cuba results in an overwhelming triumph of the Nationalist party. There is



A GROUP OF DIPLOMATS AT PEKING.

(Reading from left to right: 1. Marquis Salvago Raggi [Italian minister, wounded siege of Peking]. 2. M. de Giers [Russian minister]. 3. Baron de Cartees [Belgian minister]. 4. Late Baron von Ketteler [German minister, murdered].)

a total registered vote of 186,240, distributed among the provinces as follows: Province of Pinar del Rio, 18,072; province of Havana, outside of the city, 23,181; city of Havana, 26,478; province of Matanzas, 18,344; province of Santa Clara, 39,659; province of Puerto Principe, 11,122; and province of Santiago de Cuba, 49,384.

September 16.—Governor Roosevelt's letter accepting the Republican nomination for the Vice-Presidency is made public.

September 17.—Colorado Republicans nominate Frank C. Goudy for governor.... Missouri Populists indorse the entire Democratic State ticket.... President McKinley's instructions to the Philippine Commission are made public.... William J. Bryan's letter accepting the Democratic nomination for the Presidency is made public.

September 18.—Texas Republicans nominate George W. Burkett for governor.

September 20.—The withdrawal of Senator Donelson Caffery from the Presidential ticket of the National party is announced.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

August 22.—The Indian Government is compelled to remove the Maharaja of Bharatpur from power owing to his vicious and intemperate habits....The trial of twenty-five prisoners concerned in the Cawnpore plague riots takes place at Allahabad....Earl Beauchamp resigns the governorship of New South Wales, in view of the proclamation of the commonwealth.

August 25.—The Marquis Ito issues a manifesto at Yokohama setting forth the aims of his new Japanese party.

August 29.—Gaetano Bresci, the assassin of King Humbert, is tried, found guilty, and sentenced to life imprisonment.

September 5.—Lord Amthill is appointed governor of Madras.

September 7.—The lower house of the Austrian Reichsrath is dissolved and a new election ordered.

September 10.—The triennial elections to the Norwegian Storting are completed; the political complexion of the membership remains essentially unchanged.

September 18.—The Netherlands States-General is reopened by Queen Wilhelmina.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

August 22.—King Oscar, of Sweden and Norway, consents to act as arbitrator of the claims for losses sustained by British and German subjects and American citizens in Samoa....It is announced that a treaty of amity, commerce, navigation, and general intercourse has been signed provisionally by the representatives of the United States and Spain.

August 25.—The Czar of Russia receives Dr. Leyds, of the South African Republic, in audience at Peterhof.

August 27.—The Vatican appeals to the Catholic powers of Europe for relief from Italian rule; and declares that Victor Emmanuel will be recognized only as King of Sardinia....Roumania demands of Bulgaria that the Macedonian Revolutionary Committee be suppressed.

August 29.—As a result of friction between the two governments, the Bulgarian diplomatic agent to Roumania is recalled.

August 31.—A frontier conflict takes place between Roumanian and Bulgarian peasants, in which two Bulgarians are killed and many of both parties wounded.

September 4.—The ratifications of the peace-confer-

ence treaties are placed in the archives of the Foreign Office at The Hague.

September 8.—Ex-President Harrison accepts President McKinley's appointment as a member of the International Board of Arbitration under the treaty of The Hague; ex-President Cleveland declines an appointment.

September 12.—Chile rejects Bolivia's claim to a port on the Pacific....A commercial treaty between France and Haiti is sanctioned by the Haitian Legislature.

THE CRISIS IN CHINA.

August 21.—Li Hung Chang's peace proposals are rejected by the United States....Colonel Marchand is appointed member of the French corps for China.



August 22.—The Russians having destroyed the lock-gates on the In-Tai Canal, river transport is seriously impeded; the cable between Chefu and Taku is working, but the line from Taku to Tientsin and beyond is not; the Japanese alone have an effective mail service.

August 23.—An important letter is addressed by Yang Yu, Chinese minister to Russia, to Baroness von Suttner on the question of missionaries in China.... The Japanese hold the wall round the

THE DUKE OF ABRUZZI.

(Who returned in September from an Arctic expedition in which he reached a point slightly nearer the Pole than Nansen's "farthest north.")

innermost part of the "Forbidden City" in Peking; they have not forced their way into the palace.

August 24.—Chinese villagers are flocking into Tientsin at the rate of 1,000 daily; food supply is bad; there is every prospect of a famine....The Japanese protect the palace at Peking; the Japanese Government renews its assurances to protect the persons of the Emperor and Empress.

August 28.—The allied forces march through the "Forbidden City" in Peking.

August 30.—Three hundred men of the Sixth United States Cavalry defeat 600 Boxers at Hunting Park, 11 miles from Peking, killing 30 of the enemy and taking many prisoners.

September 1.—Russia denies any intention to make acquisitions of territory in China, and declares that the Russian troops will be withdrawn from Peking to Tientsin as soon as order is restored.

September 4.—Li Hung Chang, Yung Lu, Hsu Tung, and Prince Ching are appointed peace commissioners by imperial edict to negotiate with the powers.

September 8.—An expedition consisting of 4,000 troops



JUDGE LEO RASSIEUR.

(New Commander-in-Chief G. A. R.)

of the allies leaves Peking for Pao-Ting-Fu, 80 miles southwest.

September 10.—Italy proposes the evacuation of China by the powers and the reëstablishment of the present dynasty.

September 12.—The United States War Department orders that supplies be not sent beyond Tientsin, in anticipation of the withdrawal of the troops from Peking....Great Britain, replying to Russia's proposition for the withdrawal of troops by the powers, declines to evacuate Peking prior to receiving satisfactory guaranties from the Chinese authorities.

September 17.—Prince Ching requests the powers to instruct their ministers in Peking to begin peace negotiations immediately.

August 28.—General Buller's troops occupy Machadodorp, Krüger's latest capital.

August 30.—Major Leo Rassieur, of St. Louis, is elected commander-in-chief of the G. A. R. at Chicago.

September 1.—The steamship *Deutschland* completes the run from Cherbourg to Sandy Hook in 5 days, 12 hours, and 29 minutes.

September 2.—Fifteen persons are killed and 42 injured by a collision on the Bethlehem (Pa.) branch of the Philadelphia & Reading Railway....A party of Russians ascends the Great Ararat Mountain in Armenia.

September 5.—The annual meeting of the British Association (Science) opens at Bradford.

September 6.—The Duke of Abruzzi's polar expedi-



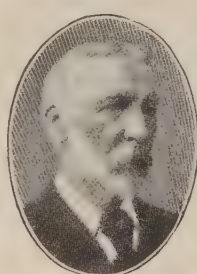
Prof. Sir William Turner.
President of the British Association, 1900.)



Joseph Larmor, M.A., D.Sc.
(Mathematical and Physical Science.)



Prof. W. H. Perkin.
(Chemistry.)



Dr. R. H. Traquair.
(Zoology.)



Prof. W. J. Sollas.
(Geology.)



Sir G. S. Robertson, K.C.S.I.
(Geography.)



Major P. G. Craigie.
(Economic Science.)



Sir Alexander R. Binnie.
(Mechanical Science.)



Prof. John Rhys.
(Anthropology.)



Prof. Sydney H. Vines.
(Botany.)

PRESIDENTS OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION AND SECTIONS, SEVENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING, BRADFORD, SEPTEMBER 5.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

August 22.—A mob at Akron, Ohio, incensed by a negro's assault upon a little girl, burns the City Hall and other property.

August 24.—Lieut. Hans Cordua, the Boer officer convicted on the charge of conspiracy and violation of his parole at Pretoria, is shot by order of Lord Roberts.

August 25.—The Grand Army of the Republic opens its annual encampment at Chicago.

August 26.—Gen. Bruce Hamilton captures General Olivier, of the Boer army, at Winburg.

August 27.—It is reported from India that the natives are dying from cholera at the rate of 3,000 a week.... Three cases of bubonic plague at Glasgow are taken in charge by the medical authorities....General Buller's troops capture Bergendal, a strong position west of Damanutha Railway Station.

tion, on the *Stellar Polare*, passes Hammerfest, Norway, on its return, reporting that it reached a point 86.33 degrees north.

September 3.—A West Indian hurricane does frightful damage along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico; the city of Galveston is inundated; 6,000 lives are lost; property to the value of \$12,000,000 is destroyed; communication with the rest of the world is cut off for 30 hours; 5,000 families are rendered shelterless and destitute; damage to the cotton crop is estimated at \$3,000,000.

September 9.—The steamship *Deutschland* arrives at Plymouth, England, 5 days, 7 hours, and 38 minutes from the port of New York.

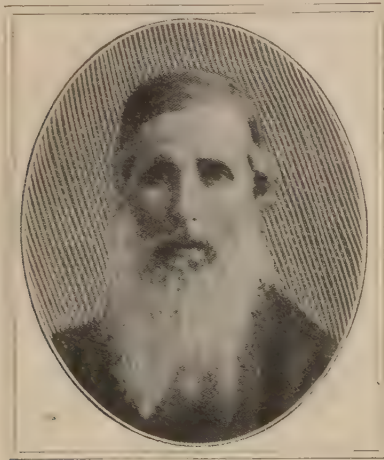
September 11.—President Krüger, of the South African Republic, arrives at Lourenço Marques.

September 12.—A general strike of the miners in the

anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania is ordered by President John Mitchell, of the United Mine Workers.

September 13.—A monument to the memory of Gen. Henry W. Lawton is dedicated at Fort Wayne, Ind.

September 17.—The strike of the coal miners in the anthracite district of Pennsylvania begins; more than 100,000 men quit work....Detachments of the Fifteenth and Thirty-seventh Infantry in the Philippines, 90 men



THE LATE PROF. HENRY SIDGWICK.
(Of Cambridge, England.)

all told, meet a force of 1,000 Filipino insurgents, armed with rifles and intrenched; the American loss is 12 killed, including Capt. David D. Mitchell, of the Fifteenth Infantry, 26 wounded, and 5 missing.

OBITUARY.

August 21.—Judge Charles H. Berry, of Winona, Minn., 77....Judge John Cromwell Orrick, of Missouri.

August 23.—Thomas Faed, the British artist, 74.... Carl Rohl Smith, the sculptor, of Washington, D. C.

August 23.—Gen. Gustave Paul Cluseret, veteran of the Civil War, member of the Paris Commune.

August 25.—Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche, the German philosopher, 56.

August 26.—Rev. Royal H. Pullman, of Baltimore, Md., a leading Universalist clergyman, 74.

August 29.—Prof. Henry Sidgwick, of Cambridge University, England, 62....Lieutenant-Commander

John A. Shearman, U.S.N., commended for gallant conduct during the Samoan hurricane.

August 31.—E. S. Washburn, president of the Kansas City, Fort Scott & Memphis Railroad, 56....Sir John Bennett Lawes, noted for his discoveries in scientific farming, 86.

September 3.—Ex-Gov. L. D. Lewelling, of Kansas, 54.

September 4.—Rev. Erastus Milo Cravath, one of the founders and for many years president of Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., 67.

September 5.—Arthur Sewall, of Maine, the Democratic candidate for the Vice-Presidency in 1896, 65.... State Controller William J. Morgan, of New York, 60.

September 9.—Allan Hay, one of the promoters of the West Shore Railroad, 88.

September 10.—Col. Inness N. Palmer, U.S.A. (retired), a veteran of the Mexican and Civil wars.

September 14.—Rear-Admiral Montgomery Sicard, U.S.N., 64....Prof. Thomas Davidson, a well-known author and lecturer, 60.



DISTRIBUTION OF AWARDS AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION.

September 19.—Rev. Father Clarence A. Walworth, of Albany, N. Y., 80....Dr. Hunter McGuire, an eminent surgeon of Richmond, Va., 65.

September 20.—Gen. John A. McClernand, one of the Union corps commanders in the Civil War, 88.



Sir F. M. Durand.
(Ambassador to Madrid.)



Mr. E. C. Phipps, C.B.
(Minister to Brussels.)



Sir W. Conynghame Greene.
(Minister to Teheran.)



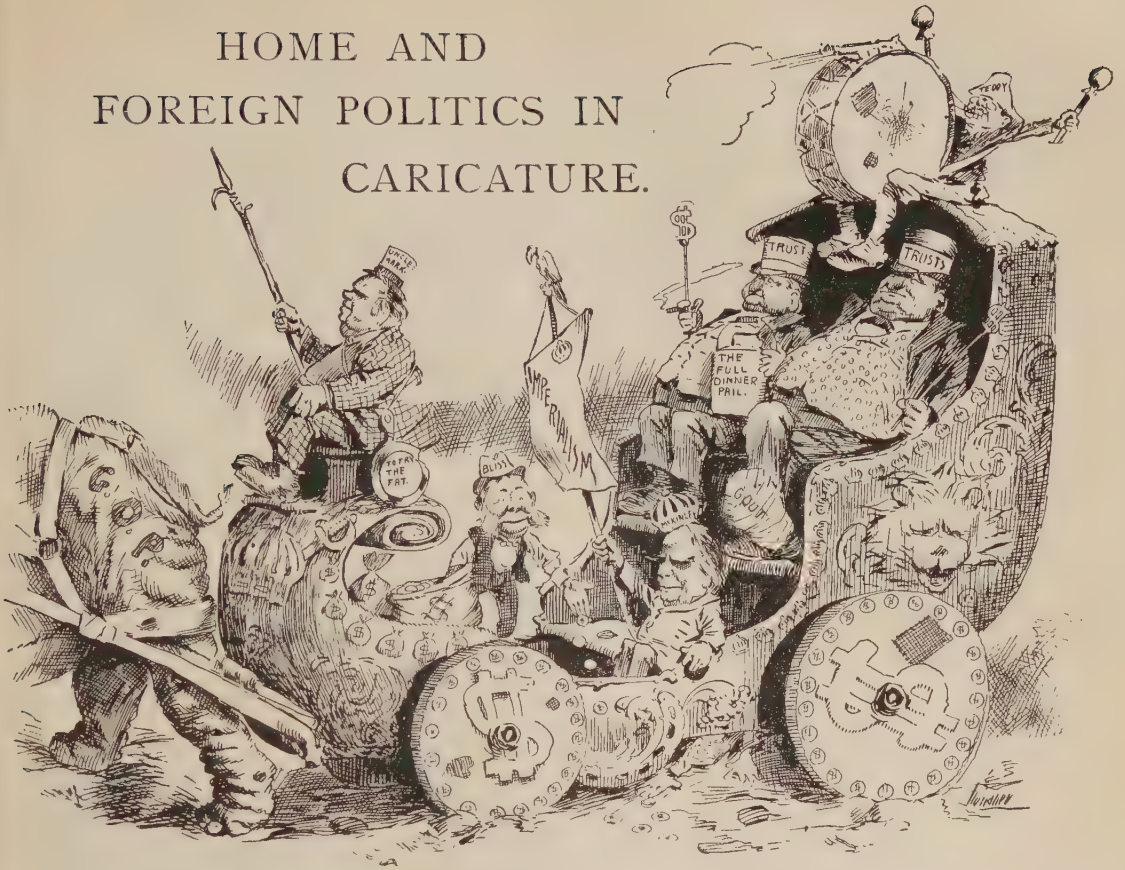
Sir Francis Plunket.
(Ambassador to Vienna.)



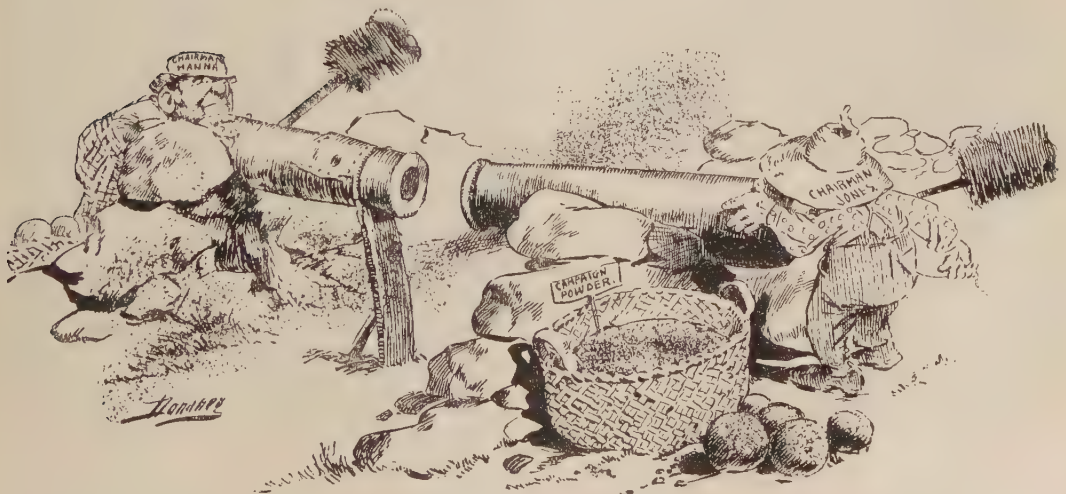
Sir Henry Nevill-Dering, Bt.
(Minister to Rio de Janeiro.)

FIVE NEW BRITISH DIPLOMATIC APPOINTMENTS.

HOME AND FOREIGN POLITICS IN CARICATURE.



THE GOLDEN CHARIOT.—From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland).

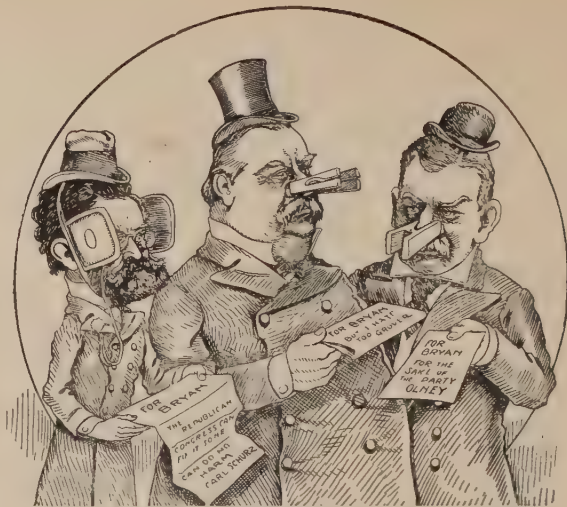


GETTING READY TO FIRE.—From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland).



A SURPRISE FOR TOM.

TOM REED: "B'gosh! don't seem as if they missed me a bit."—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



THE HOLD-YOUR-NOSE-AND-VOTE DEMOCRATS ARE READY.
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

THE pith and wit of the American political cartoons on this page and the one facing it are too obvious to require comment. The Bryan revival meeting, with the returned backsliders on the front benches, will amuse the Democrats quite as much as the Republicans; while "Bart's" selection of a cabinet for Mr. Bryan may be regarded as a test of that excellent cartoonist's political sagacity.



THE ALLIED EMPERORS.

SULTAN OF SULTAN: "Certainly; your flag shall flutter be side mine at \$1,000 per flutter."

From the *Times-Democrat* (New Orleans).



THE GERMAN VOTER.

He emigrated from Germany to escape imperialism and militarism. Ought there be any doubt about him now?
From the *Verdict* (New York).



"WHILE THE LAMP HOLDS OUT TO BURN," ETC.

BRYAN: "All who again see the true political light will please rise and proclaim it."—From the *Evening News* (Detroit).



BRYAN'S CABINET IN SESSION.

How would you like to trust the country to an administration like this?—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



IMPERIALISM.

The paramount issue in New York.

From *Harper's Weekly* (New York).



DEMOCRATIC IMPERIALISM.

Government without the consent of the governed.
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).

The assertiveness of Richard Croker, the ruler of New York City and the boss of Tammany, is a very marked feature of this campaign and a very fit subject of caricature. He exercised the balance of power in the National Democratic Convention at Kansas City, and absolutely controlled the New York State Convention at Saratoga.

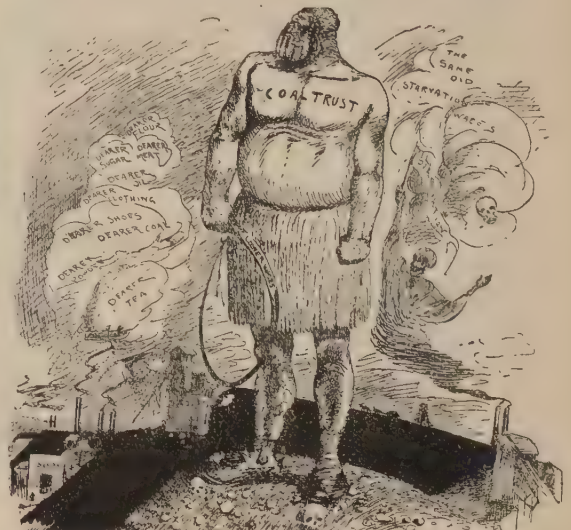
Mr. Bryan's alleged embarrassments, growing out of the conflict of issues, continues to form a favorite topic for the Republican press, as reflected in several cartoons on the opposite page. The Democrats in turn charge against the Republican administration a home alliance with trusts and a foreign alliance with England.



THE ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY.

Follow blindly where John Bull leads.

From the *Journal* (New York).



THE SITUATION IN PENNSYLVANIA.

HANNA: "The question of Trusts is a business question, and should not have been brought into politics at all."

From the *Journal* (New York).



CARL SCHURZ: "Mister, don't you want to buy a dog? He's tame as a kitten (if you keep the muzzle on)."

UNCLE SAM: "Carley, you may not know it, but you're an awfully funny feller."—From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).



UNMASKED.—From the *Tribune* (New York).



"BE SURE YOU'RE OFF WITH THE OLD LOVE BEFORE YOU'RE ON WITH THE NEW."—From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco).



THE GHOST: "Tell me, William, what Dems-Pop was it who helped ratify me?"

BRYAN: "Why! O goodness!! The-the-the-tut-tut-ba-ba-ba-it-was-me."

THE GHOST: "Then you are SOME to blame, aren't you?"

BRYAN: "Ya-ya-ya-ye-ye-YES."

From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).



BRYAN: "Say, will you close your mouth while I am talking to the East?"—From the *Herald* (New York).



CITIZEN OR SUBJECT—WHICH?

"Do I represent the idea of popular government to ten million of these Filipinos, or am I simply a trade-mark for goods of American Trust manufacture?"

From the *Verdict* (New York).



THE TWO TEDDY ROOSEVELTS.

HE WASN'T AFRAID

To be independent of Platt,
To punish canal thieves,
To refuse the Vice-Presidency,
He hasn't been independent of
Platt.

BUT

He let the thieves get away,
And he's breaking his neck for
the Vice-Presidency,

BECAUSE HE'S AFRAID OF PLATT.

From the *Verdict* (New York).



MARCUS AURELIUS TO THEODORIUS: "That general must be ousted, or we'll fall without the breastworks."

From the *Times* (Minneapolis).



THE OPENING OF THE REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN.

From the *World* (New York).



PORTRAIT OF HIS MAJESTY WILLIAM II. IN THE RÔLE OF CIVILIZER.—From *Le Cri de Paris* (Paris).



THE MAILED FIST OF THE EMPEROR AND ITS LONG THRUST.

From the *Amsterdammer*.



THE GERMAN EMPEROR'S SPEECH TO THE TROOPS RECALLS
ATTILA'S APPEAL TO HIS HUNS.

From *Flo'h* (Vienna).



THE TROUBLES OF A RULER OF AFRICA AND ASIA.—From the *Amsterdammer*.



INTERNATIONAL CARABINEERS WHO ALWAYS ARRIVE TOO LATE TO SAVE THEIR OWN PEOPLE.

From *La Silhouette* (Paris).



AN INDIAN VIEW OF THE SITUATION.

EUROPA (to Chinese Emperor): "If you can't put your foot down on him, I will!"—From the *Hindi Punch*.

GOING TO STAY A WHILE.—From the *Evening News* (Detroit).

The new diplomatic phases of the Chinese problem have interested cartoonists, during the past month, in America as well as in Europe. The association of the United States with the European powers in military and diplomatic adventures in the heart of the ancient Asiatic empire might well inspire the pencils of our clever cartoonists to their most telling work. The two reproductions on this page are from drawings made for the *Evening News* of Detroit by an artist whose humor and ability speak for themselves, and another of whose cartoons relating to American politics will be found on page 413. The baggage-wagon with the big trunks at the door of China indicates the purpose of the unwelcome foreign guests to spend the winter, at least. Since this cartoon was drawn, however, Uncle Sam has shown a very decided disposition to curtail his stay at Peking; and for this let us all be thankful. The smaller cartoon on this page relates to a matter about which not nearly enough has been said. At the capture of Tientsin by the allied armies, the soldiers of all nations were permitted to exercise the medieval military privilege of looting private property. By common consent, for a day or two the soldiery of the great nations of Christendom, sent to China to rescue missionaries and

uphold a higher civilization, became thieves and plunderers. Authentic descriptions of the looting of Tientsin are enough to provoke a unanimous moral indignation meeting in Sing Sing Prison. Uncle Sam had to join Europe in the march to Peking, but he will not be excusable if he stays very long in that sort of company. We believe it to be true that our soldiers took no leading part in the carnival of plunder at Tientsin.



NEW IN THE BUSINESS.

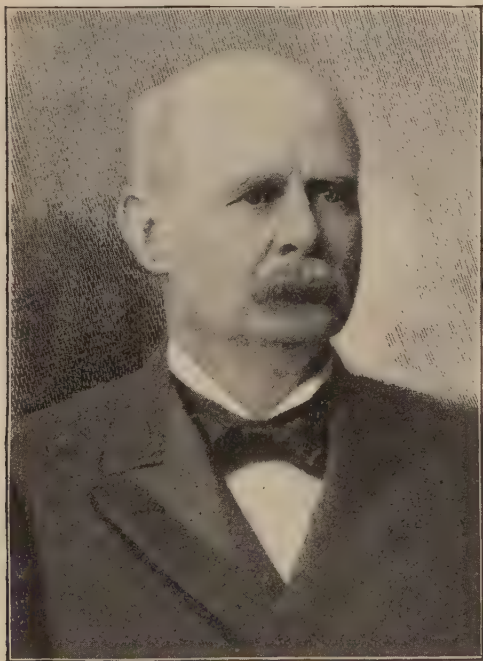
UNCLE SAM: "I'm afraid some one will see me doing this."

THE OTHERS: "Don't get nervous, uncle; you'll get used to it if you keep on traveling with us."—From the *Evening News* (Detroit).

MR. STEVENSON, THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

BY THE HON. JAMES S. EWING.
(Formerly United States Minister to Belgium.)

LAMARTINE said, "From the Gracchi to Mirabeau and Jefferson, the greatest friends of the people have sprung up from the ranks of the patricians."



HON. ADLAI E. STEVENSON, OF ILLINOIS.

(Democratic and Populist nominee for the Vice-Presidency.)

This is epigrammatic, but it is not true. The O'Conors, Garrisons, Lincolns, and Bryans have not sprung from the ranks of noble birth, but from the ranks of the people—"the plain people," as Mr. Lincoln called them. The man who aspires to be a leader of the people must know the people; must know their wants and needs; their modes of thinking and living; their aspirations and hopes; their economic and political conditions; and he must be in honest sympathy with them. This knowledge and sympathy is not acquired; it is largely inherited—the growth of generations, inbred into the warp and woof of a generous nature. Then the product is the genius of leadership. It is for this reason the

public love to know the ancestry, the youth, the private life, and the personal characteristics of a public man.

The line between eulogy and biography is not always clearly discernible. This sketch is neither biography nor eulogy, but an attempt to give to the public an estimate of the personality and political characteristics of the Democratic candidate for the Vice-Presidency.

Adlai Ewing Stevenson is the son of John Turner Stevenson and Eliza Ewing. The Stevensons and the Ewings were neighbors in Ireland back in the eighteenth century. Both families were Scotch Presbyterians. The two families emigrated to America at the same time, and were again neighbors in North Carolina. Here they were called Scotch-Irish. The Presbyterianism went without saying. In 1814 the Stevensons and Ewings again emigrated from Iredell County, North Carolina, to Christian County, Kentucky, and again became neighbors. Here the subject of this sketch was born, October 23, 1835.

When he was sixteen years old, he came with his parents to Bloomington, Ill. From that day I have known him in the most intimate relations of life: as a boy working in the field and in the mill; at school, at college; as a law student, as a lawyer, as a politician; as a son, brother, husband, and father; in private life and in high office; and I can say truthfully, that in all these relations, he has met and discharged their obligations bravely, faithfully, and fully.

Mr. Stevenson prepared himself for college at the Illinois Wesleyan University; then in its infancy, and completed his collegiate course at Center College, in Danville, Ky. While at this school he met the lady who afterwards became his wife, Miss Letitia Green, daughter of the president of the college. He was admitted to the bar in 1858, and commenced its practice in Woodford County, Illinois.

The first ten years of his professional life was spent in that judicial circuit. His ability and industry met almost immediate recognition. He was appointed master in chancery, which office he held for two years. He was then elected prosecuting attorney for the district, which office

he held until his removal to Bloomington, in 1868. During the Woodford County decade there were great lawyers in attendance upon that bar, among whom Robert G. Ingersoll, Judge Samuel L. Richmond, Mark Bangs, Judge John Burns, Hon. Clark Ingersoll, and Judge Thomas M. Shaw were prominent. Mr. Stevenson made lifelong friends of these men. His training there, both legal and political, was invaluable. In 1868 Mr. Stevenson formed a law partnership with the writer of this sketch, which continued until after his election as Vice-President of the United States in 1892—just a quarter of a century.

AS A LAWYER.

His law practice was extensive, both as to the number and the character of the suits tried. A country lawyer cannot select his practice. He cannot be a specialist. He must be prepared to try an ejectment suit one day, a chancery suit the next, a criminal case the next or the same day. In this rough-and-tumble law practice, at home or on the circuit, he must be familiar with all branches of the law, and prepared to try all kinds of cases. Mr. Stevenson's practice extended to the surrounding counties in central Illinois, to the United States district and circuit courts, and to the State appellate and supreme courts. The cases tried were not always of great importance, but many of them were, and the questions involved oftentimes new and intricate. Mr. Stevenson's success at the bar was marked. As an advocate he had few equals. He knew the strong and weak points in a case intuitively, prepared his cases, and tried them well. He was always courteous to the court and members of the bar, and had the respect and goodwill of every lawyer with or against whom he ever tried a case. Mr. Stevenson's knowledge of the law is philosophic; that is to say, he knows it as a system whose rules are founded on reason, and whose purpose is the conservation of property and personal rights. His legal education has largely inspired and colored his political convictions.

IN ILLINOIS POLITICS.

A Democrat by heredity, by disposition, by natural impulse, loyalty to his party has been a pleasure rather

than a duty. In early life the friend of Stephen A. Douglas, he canvassed the State for him in the great contest of 1860. He was an elector on the McClellan ticket in 1864. In 1874 he was elected to Congress in a district which had hitherto given 3,000 Republican majority. In this (the Forty-fourth) Congress, he served on the Committees on Territories and the District of Columbia. In 1876 he was defeated; his opponent being elected by a majority of 242, while the district gave Mr. Hayes, for President, a majority of 2,000. In 1878 he was again elected by a majority of 1,812. In his political contests he has always commanded much more than his party strength. The Republicans of McLean County have twice honored him with non-partisan receptions; and I doubt if any public man of this day has more warm personal friends in the ranks of his political opponents. This does not arise from timidity of opinion or mildness of expression. Few men have firmer political convictions, or in a greater degree the courage of them. But it is attributable, I think, rather to the fact that in all controversies the contest has risen to the high level of the question itself, while all personalities and coarseness were left in the valley below.

IN THE FIRST CLEVELAND ADMINISTRATION.

Mr. Stevenson came into national prominence after his assumption of the duties of the office of first assistant postmaster-general under Mr. Cleveland's first administration. To understand why any particular importance should attach to



RESIDENCE OF HON. ADLAI E. STEVENSON, AT BLOOMINGTON, ILL.

a man holding such a position as this, we must revert to the circumstances and political conditions of the time. When Mr. Cleveland was elected in 1884, and the Democrats came into power after a political vacation of a quarter of a century, their joy knew no reasonable bounds. For almost a lifetime they had wandered in the wilderness of defeat. They had now passed through the valley of humiliation to the mountain of triumph. All along the line they were singing the song that Miriam sang. To them there was something miraculous in their deliverance. Towards Mr. Cleveland their feelings were of mingled gratitude, love, and admiration — gratitude, love, and admiration that were not exhausted by the sacrifices of three Presidential campaigns. To him they gave the gift of their splendid loyalty and more than Jewish faith. Then, in the very crowning of their rejoicing, came Mr. Cleveland's civil-service message, and there were whisperings that after all there was to be no fruitage to their victory; that the Republicans were to retain the offices—at least the smaller and more numerous ones; especially the post-offices, about the only "outward and visible sign" the people ever see of a federal government.

And so it came to pass, that the first assistant postmaster-general, who had the disbursement of 40,000 post-offices, became an object of the greatest anxiety. Who would he be? What could he do? Mr. Stevenson, I think, understood this feeling better than Mr. Cleveland, and realized what a political blunder it would be to disappoint the universal expectations of his party. And so, when the axe began to fall, the hearts of the Democrats went out to him until he became the heir to what was left of the gratitude, love, and faith not already given to Mr. Cleveland. The duties of this office brought him in personal contact and acquaintanceship with the public men of every State and of every Congressional district, Republicans as well as Democrats. He studied and came to know the political conditions of every State—the men who dominated their politics; the inside of the contests for supremacy; the men who could be trusted and

those who could not. Few public men know intimately so many of the political leaders of the day as Mr. Stevenson.

From the settlement of the slavery question to the present campaign, there have been no questions agitating the American people involving a sentiment appealing to the nation's conscience. Politics has been along the lines of economic questions. On these questions, Mr. Stevenson has usually been in accord with the position taken by his party.

Believing that a "tariff for protection" is class legislation of the worst sort—that it is in the interest of the few at the expense of the many; that it is unequal and unconstitutional legislation; that its tendency is to enrich the few and impoverish the many; that it makes possible gigantic monopolies and trusts,—he has antagonized the doctrine at all times. Believing there was safety in economy, he has always advocated an economic expenditure of the people's money. Believing that submission even to wrong was better than civil war, he voted for and advocated, as a member of Congress, the law creating the electoral commission to determine the dangerous question of the Presidential succession in 1877.

POSITION ON THE SILVER QUESTION.

Mr. Stevenson is a bimetallist. He believes that gold and silver should both be used as cir-



MR. STEVENSON AT THIRTY
YEARS OF AGE.



MR. STEVENSON AT EIGHTEEN.

culating mediums, and that there should be no unjust discrimination for or against either, in the interest of any class or section. In the campaign of 1892 there was a singular unanimity of political opinion upon this subject. The platforms of the two great political parties were on this point almost identical. The letters of ac-

ceptance of Mr. Cleveland and General Harrison indicated no substantial difference of opinion, and Mr. Stevenson found himself in accord, not only with his own party in their platform adopted at Chicago, but with the platform adopted at Minneapolis, on the currency question.

The declaration of the Democratic party was :

We hold to the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, and to the coinage of both gold and silver, without discriminating against either metal or charge for mintage ; but the dollar unit of coinage of both metals must be of equal intrinsic and exchangeable value or be adjusted through international agreement or by such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the parity of the two metals and the equal power of every dollar, at all times, in the markets and in the payment of debt, and we demand that all paper currency shall be kept at par with the redeemable in such coin.

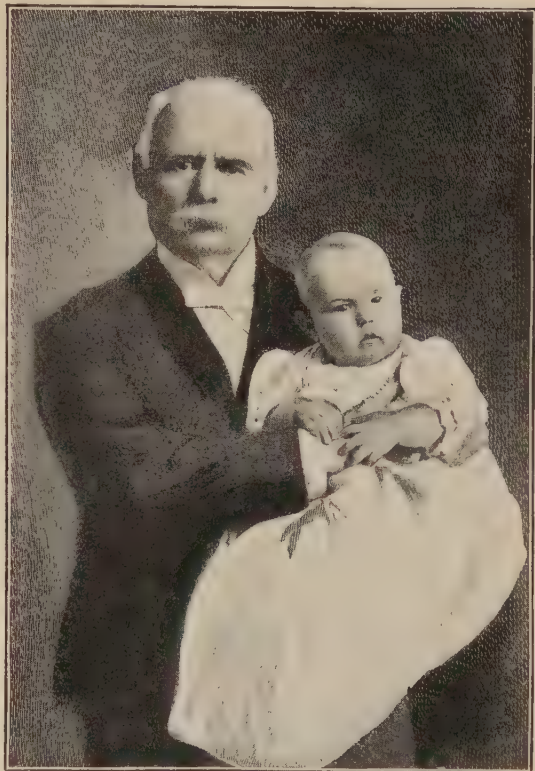
Mr. Stevenson, in his letter of acceptance, said :

To this plain and unequivocal declaration in favor of sound, honest money I subscribe without reservation or qualification. A safe circulating medium is absolutely essential to the protection of the business interests of our country, while to the wage-earner or the farmer it is all important that every dollar, whatever its form, that finds its way into his pocket shall be of equal, unquestioned, and universally exchangeable value and of equal purchasing power.

As a member of the commission appointed by President McKinley to secure an adjustment, through international agreement, of the currency differences, Mr. Stevenson gave his earnest, honest, and sincere efforts to accomplish what he believed was the real honest purpose of the commission, and was in complete sympathy with the movement.

AS VICE-PRESIDENT IN CLEVELAND'S SECOND TERM.

Mr. Stevenson was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention in 1892, and chairman of the Illinois delegation. He was an earnest advocate of Mr. Cleveland's nomination, and cast the forty-eight votes of Illinois for him. When Mr. Cleveland was finally nominated, after an exciting all-night session, the convention took a recess. Upon reassembling, the remaining business was the selection of a candidate for the Vice-Presidency. By unanimous vote of the Illinois delegation, Mr. Stevenson's name was proposed. This, seconded by New York, secured his nomination over three distinguished competitors on the first ballot. As the candidate of his party he made speeches in most of the doubtful States. The relations existing between Mr. Cleveland and himself were of the most cordial character. They were in frequent consultation during the canvass, which resulted in an overwhelming



MR. STEVENSON AND GRANDCHILD.

Democratic victory—the greatest the party had known since the election of Pierce in 1852.

How well the duties of presiding officer of the Senate were discharged by Mr. Stevenson, is a matter of history. In only two instances were appeals taken from his decisions, in both of which his rulings were sustained by the Senate. Upon his retirement, Senators of all parties gave expression of their appreciation of the dignified and impartial manner in which he had discharged the delicate duties of the great office.

MR. STEVENSON'S VIEWS ON THE ISSUES OF 1900.

The nomination of Mr. Stevenson by the late Kansas City Convention was unsought. He was not in attendance upon the convention, and was in no sense a candidate.

Mr. Stevenson, like Mr. Hill, is "a Democrat" with all the term implies in its best sense. He has confidence in the ability of the people of the United States to govern themselves. He believes in the fullest liberty to the individual consistent with public safety. He believes that political power goes up from the people and not down to them ; that a republic cannot, from its very nature, be a colonizing power ; that free

men cannot hold other men in subjection. He believes that, if we do not want the inhabitants of any other country for fellow-citizens, we have no right to their lands; that popular sovereignty is not the subject of barter and sale. He is satisfied that the warnings and teachings of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Lincoln are worth considering; that the Monroe Doctrine is worth preserving; that national honor is worth more than Oriental possessions, and that a republic is better than an empire.

Mr. Stevenson, in his speech of acceptance at Indianapolis, August 8, has expressed very clearly his views on this issue, as follows:

If ultimate statehood for these remote islands—and others yet to be conquered—be disclaimed, how then, are they to be held and governed? The only alternative is by force—by the power of the army and of the navy; and this is not for a day or for a year, but for time. What then becomes of the bedrock principle, that “governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed?” If they are to be held permanently as conquered provinces, it will not be only outside of the Constitution, but in direct antagonism to the letter and spirit of our Declaration of Independence. It is no less true now, than in the days of our Revolution, that “government by arbitrary power is still despotism.” The attempt, then, either to give these people American citizenship or to hold them as subjects is, to us, fraught alike with peril. Should there not be an immediate declaration by our government of its purpose toward them? They should be given unmistakable assurance of independence. Protection by our government should not now be withheld against outside interference.

The same protection should be theirs heretofore extended to the little states of Central and South America. Under existing conditions, there should be no hesitation upon our part in giving them protection against the cupidity or aggressive spirit of other nations. All this, not to the end of subjugation or of conquest upon our part, but to that of the full enjoyment by them of liberty and of the ultimate establishment of stable government fashioned by their own hands. Against this policy stands imperialism. In American politics the word is new; fortunately, the policy is new. We are to-day becoming familiar with its meaning, with its forebodings; and the end is not yet. It means a permanent departure from all the traditions of the past, from the high ideals of the founders of the republic. It abrogates the holding of our great court that the Declaration of Independence is the spirit of the government, the Constitution but its form and letter.

Imperialism knows nothing of limitations of power. Its rule is outside the Constitution. It means the establishment, by the American republic, of the colonial

methods of European monarchies. It means the right to hold alien people as subjects. It enthrones force as the controlling agency in government. It means the empire.

As a necessary corollary to imperialism will come the immense standing army. The dead hand of militarism will be felt in the New World as it is in the Old. The strong arm of power will be substituted for the peaceable agencies which for more than a century have made our people contented and happy.

Mr. Stevenson is not an untried public servant. His large experience and knowledge of public affairs, his natural conservatism and patriotic desire for the good of the whole people, furnish a pledge that whatsoever influence the presiding officer of the Senate may have in shaping the policy of an administration will be in the direction of conserving those things that make for the good of the republic. He is the second in command of one of the armies now forming in battle line for the great contest of 1900.

A Presidential campaign, rightly considered, is a splendid spectacle. It is the returning into the hands of the people the political power which, for a season, has been intrusted to their servants. It is the public acknowledgment that all civic power is inherent in the people, whose rulers are servants and not masters. It emphasizes the difference between a republic and an empire. And, whatever the result, the victor takes his commission from a nation of free men, and the vanquished bow to the popular will.

In this present contest, all Democrats, all Independents, and many Republicans believe to be involved, issues vital to the welfare of the republic. The prizes are well worthy the contestants. On the one hand, expanding empire, world markets, multiplied trade, commercial supremacy, colonial possessions, Oriental conquests, and a place among the powers of the earth. On the other, the preservation of the republic pure and simple, keeping its foundations on the solid rock of absolute political and legal equality, continuing it a government without a king, or cast, or pride of birth; where no man is master, where there is no royal road to distinction, and where honest worth is better than coronet or patent of nobility.

However this battle royal may result, patriots of all parties will hope that out of it all may come a renewed patriotism, a firmer love of liberty, a more unselfish public service, and a more stainless public honor.

A GREAT LAWYER AND HIS CAREER:

A CHARACTER SKETCH OF THE LATE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND.

BY W. T. STEAD

THE death of Lord Russell of Killowen brought forcibly to mind the characteristics of one of the best-known men in the British empire. But to how many, I wonder, has the contemplation of the career of the Lord Chief Justice suggested the obvious remark that it is about time the public readjusted its conventional conception of the Irish character? In the last ten years, two great Irishmen occupied foremost positions in the arena of British law and British politics. No two men differed more absolutely than Charles Parnell and Charles Russell; but both of them agreed in this: that, although they were the foremost Irishmen of their time, neither of them had even the faintest resemblance to the typical Irishman of the English populace.

TWO NOTABLE IRISHMEN.

Charles Parnell, silent, austere, commanding the obedience rather than inspiring the love of his well-disciplined legions, was the very antithesis of the Irishman of popular fiction and of the stage. Cold in aspect, more reserved than the conventional Englishman of Continental caricature, without even a gleam of humor in his eye or a flash of wit upon his tongue, Mr. Parnell was nevertheless, as much as O'Connell ever had been, the uncrowned King of Ireland.

Charles Russell, a man genial, full of *bonhomie*, constantly mingling on equal terms with all sorts and conditions of men—a man who never moved his lips from the beaker of life until the vessel broke in his eager grasp—was quite as little of a stage Irishman as Mr. Parnell. He was not devoid of humor; but he was totally devoid of the rollicking carelessness with which the idle Celt confronts the world and its cares. The tributes paid to him at his death by the bench, the bar, and the press concur in attributing to him just those qualities on which the English particularly pride themselves. He stands before us the typical Chief Justice of England, a splendid figure of a man—stately, dignified, a worthy personification of Themis; a terror to evil-doers, a praise to them that do well. His magnificent power of concentration, his unwearying industry, his impatience of rhetoric, his direct thrust to the very



THE LATE LORD RUSSELL.

(From a photograph of the famous portrait by the American artist, J. S. Sargent, that appeared in this year's London Academy.)—*The Illustrated London News*.

heart of things, his intense practicality,—all the traits which the English most desire to see in their great judges were embodied in Charles Russell.

“SO ENGLISH, YOU KNOW.”

Yet he, the Lord Chief Justice of England, was not an Englishman. He was not even a Scotchman. He was an Irishman through and through—Irish in birth, Irish in descent, Irish in politics, and Irish in religion. But for thirty years Russell was almost as supreme in the English bar as Parnell was over the Nationalists of Ireland.

The conceit of race, which so often makes Englishmen disagreeable to their fellow-subjects,

is proof against all argument. It will be affected as little by the demonstrated superiority of Charles Russell at the bar as by that of another Irishman, Lord Roberts, in the field. But it may be hoped that the swelled-headedness of the Englishman may be somewhat abated by the fact that of late he has been as conspicuously outclassed both in peace and in war by the representatives of the race whose claim to the right to manage their own affairs he still contemptuously ignores.

HIS EARLY CAREER.

It was no small achievement for the Irish solicitor, who, at the prompting of the young and ambitious lady who afterwards became his wife, burned his boats in Ireland and came to England without friends or influence of any kind, to push his way in a strange land. Born at Newry in 1832, when eighteen years old he gained the prize for an essay on "The Age We Live In: Its Tendencies and Its Exigencies." He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and then articulated as attorney's clerk in Belfast. He soon afterwards decided to go to London and try his fortune. While still studying law and making a living by desultory journalism, he married, in 1858, Miss Muiholland—a step which had everything to do with his success and happiness in life.

Long after he had attained the summit of his career, Lord Russell contributed to a London magazine a paper on "The Bar as a Profession," in which he gave the world the benefit of his wide and varied experience.

HIS STUDIES FOR THE BAR.

He advised every one who aspired to the bar to regard a career in Parliament and on the bench as the legitimate outcome of the success they set out to gain. "All who can ought to have University training and a University degree; and those who are not able to obtain these advantages will find the want of them, in a greater or less degree, throughout their public lives."

After leaving the University, a year spent in a solicitor's office is almost indispensable and most useful. Of his own studies he said:

One special subject in reading for the bar I would name—because, in my experience, I have found it invaluable; and that is a study of the *Corpus Juris*, or the body of the Civil Law. I had the signal advantage of being a student in the days when the late Sir Henry Maine was professor of civil law to the Inns of Court; and under him, as in University classrooms, we read no inconsiderable part of the civil law. After all, a great body of our law finds its source in the Roman law; and in the *Corpus Juris* law is systematized in a way for which our English law has no parallel. Its reading

gives to the attentive student a knowledge and a grasp of principle, hardly otherwise attainable, which he will always find useful throughout his life.

What, he asks, are the considerations which should determine the choice of the bar as a profession? He replies—a love of the profession in the first place, and ample physical health and energy in the second:

Its pursuit involves long hours of close confinement, often under unhealthy conditions; and the instances of long-continued success at the bar, and of lengthened usefulness on the bench, in the case of men of weak physique, are few and far between.

THE SECRET OF SUCCESS IN THE LAW.

The quality which most of all commands success at the bar is clear-headed common sense:

I place this far above grace of imagination, humor, subtlety; even commanding power of expression, although these have their due value. This is essentially a business, a practical age; eloquence in its proper place always commands a high premium, but the occasions for its use do not occur every day; and the taste of this age, like the taste for dry rather than for sweet champagne, is not for florid declamation, but for clear, terse, pointed, and practical speech. Common sense and clear-headedness must be the foundation; and upon these may safely be reared a superstructure where imagination and eloquence may fitly play their part. In fine, business qualities, added to competent legal knowledge, form the best foundation of an enduring legal fame.

Ability to wait he also included in the conditions of success. He had not long to wait. He was called to the bar in Lincoln's Inn. From 1859 to 1865 he led the life of a struggling barrister, often briefless, who utilized his leisure in studying law. He went down to Liverpool and began to build up a practice in the Northern Circuit. There is a pretty legend, which as Lord Russell told it is true enough, but which has been twisted in the telling of it so as to make it quite untrue. Here is the correct version:

I myself recollect, when I was a struggling junior of four years' standing on the Northern Circuit, dining in frugal fashion as the guest of two able young men of my own age, members of my circuit, in one of our assize towns. They were almost in the depths of despair, and one of them was seriously considering the question of migration to the Straits Settlements; the other was thinking of going to the Indian bar. Where are they now? One of them, as I write, Lord Herschell, has held twice the highest judicial office in the land; the other, Mr. Gully, became the leader of his circuit, and is now Speaker of the House of Commons.

RAPID ADVANCEMENT.

It is a very pretty story, but in the newspapers of last month it was quoted as if Lord Russell himself had been in the depths of despair. That this could not be true is evident from Lord

Russell's own story of his early earnings. Speaking to an interviewer from *Cassell's Saturday Journal*, who asked him how he was able to push his way at the beginning, he replied :

By deviling for men in good practice. By the way, the fee for my first consultation I never got paid. It was a knotty point connected with a will made before the Statute of Wills—a matter upon which I should find some difficulty in expressing an opinion now ; and, I fancy, the man who came to me with it made a chance hit. I had just come out first in the certificate list of the year, and he took me just because I stood first, and he didn't mean to pay for it. However, it led to a valuable introduction—Mr. Yates, of Liverpool, and the late Mr. Aspinall, recorder of Liverpool—a very able man, for whom I did a great deal. My first year I made 240 guineas, and in each of the two succeeding years I doubled my income ; that is to say, the second year I made 480 guineas, and the third year just about 1,000.

A "struggling junior" who is making £1,000 a year in his third year can hardly be regarded as in such a parlous case as to justify his accompanying Herschell and Gully to the "depths of despair."

HIS FIRST HIT.

It was four years before the alleged conversation in the North Country inn that he first made his mark at the Guildhall, when before Mr. Justice Compton he persisted in defending a client after his leader, Mr. Edwin James, had thrown up his brief. "Don't you know, sir, that your leader has left the court ?" "I do," said Russell ; "but there are some points which I think it my duty to lay before the jury." "Oh ! go on," said the judge. "What is your name ?" "Charles Russell," said the young barrister, quietly, and proceeded with his speech. He did not win his case, but he extorted from the judge a confession in his charge to the jury that he had thought Mr. Russell at first guilty of great impertinence in putting himself forward to address the jury after his leader had abandoned the case, but that he had entirely justified himself by his ability and skill.

He was not as overwhelmed with work at first, no doubt, as he was afterwards. He referred in his last speech in London to the time when he had ample leisure for the study of the fine arts, and utilized it by a punctual attendance at the theater. In those early days he made the acquaintance of Sir Henry Irving, and declared that he preferred him in the Jeremy Diddler parts of forty years ago to the rôles which have made the Lyceum famous.

IN PARLIAMENT.

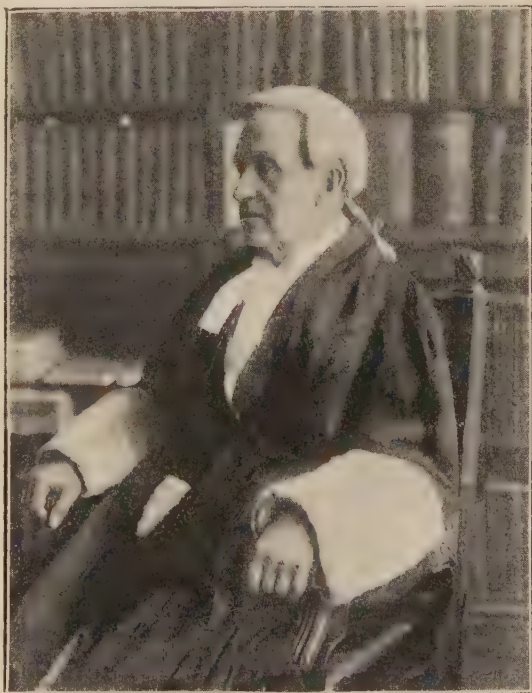
When Mr. Russell was thirty-six, he attempted to enter Parliament as Liberal candidate for the Irish borough of Dundalk. He was defeated.

In 1874 he renewed the attempt, and was again defeated. It was not till 1880 that a third effort landed him in the House of Commons. He had declined a county court judgeship in 1872, and he refused a puisne judgeship which was offered him in 1882. His mind was set on higher things.

His first notable political success was not parliamentary, but journalistic. In the autumn of 1880 he contributed to the *Daily Telegraph* a series of letters on the "Land Question in Ireland," which did much to facilitate the amendment of the Land Act in the following year. I well remember the joy that reigned in the *Pall Mall Gazette* office in Northumberland Street when "Charles Russell" began writing in the *Daily Telegraph* in support of the cause of which, up to that time, Mr. Morley had been the most distinguished journalistic advocate. Before the publication of these letters, Russell's contributions to the press had been chiefly anonymous.

HIS ARTICLES IN THE MAGAZINES.

When at Liverpool, he had published a small legal book on "The Court of Passage ;" but that and his "Letters from Ireland" remain his only contribution to the world of books. In his late years he contributed occasionally to the English



LORD RUSSELL.

(From a very recent photograph.)

and American magazines. In September, 1894, he published, in the *North American Review*, an eloquent tribute to his predecessor in the lord chief justiceship, Lord Coleridge. He published another article—the report of an address, I believe—on “International Arbitration” in the same periodical. In the *Strand* of April, 1896, he wrote on “The Bar as a Profession,” from which I have already quoted. To the *Irish Monthly* he contributed his reminiscences of John Mitchel, of '48. As a boy, Russell had once traveled from the north of Ireland to Dublin with the famous revolutionary leader, whose combination of the journalist and politician inspired him with admiration. He wrote :

I still think him the most brilliant journalistic writer I have ever known. Occasionally in a sentence he could condense a world of argument. For instance, “The Pope may be Anti-Christ, but, Orangemen of the North, he serves no ejectments in Ulster.”

It was with the spirit of Mitchel, and with much of his literary capacity, that Russell descanted in the columns of the *Daily Telegraph* upon the wrongs of the Irish tenant.

Returning to Westminster, he found himself the most conspicuous Irish Liberal in the House of Commons. He opposed Mr. Forster's coercion bill, and as warmly supported Mr. Gladstone's land bill ; but as he was not a Parnellite, his position as M.P. for Dundalk was somewhat precarious.

HIS REPUTATION AT THE BAR.

Mr. Justice Wills, after his death, bore witness that with all the power which the late lord chief justice had wielded at the bar and on the bench he never used it tyrannously. He said :

He was a most faithful colleague and most loyal to those who had to act with him. His desire to do right was beyond all praise, and if he was at times a little impatient, either with his colleagues or with his friends at the bar, it was from his extreme quickness of comprehension ; and if he ever thought he had hurt anybody in that way, there was nobody so quick and so candid to own it or to regret anything of that sort, and so manly and considerate in making everything right again. There never was any real friction, either between himself and his colleagues or between himself and the members of the bar.

HIS METHOD WITH JURIES.

As a counsel he was often eloquent, but his chief strength lay in the directness and lucidity of his exposition :

Sir Charles Russell (said an interviewer) is of opinion that mere eloquence is of less importance than is commonly supposed. There are cases, in which eloquent advocacy has its value ; but he is inclined to think that

the importance and the power of it are very much over-rated. It is a mistake, in his judgment, to suppose that juries are very easily dazzled by oratorical fireworks. He has a great respect for juries, and he declares his emphatic belief that upon an average the ability of juries to arrive at sound judgments upon facts before them (apart from cases in which strong prejudices may exist) is quite as high as that of judges, and that it is not so easy to throw dust in their eyes as is often assumed. They don't want oratorical flourishing ; they want facts put before them in a clear, telling, forcible way ; and the power of thus putting facts, Sir Charles Russell believes, is of much greater importance than the ability to make a fine speech.

“And here, by the way, I may give you a very simple rule, which is really a great secret of success, in making a jury grasp the facts of your case. However intricate and complicated it may be, if you will just lay your facts before the jury in the order of their dates, you will find it will all become plain sailing.”

“But, after all,” declared Sir Charles Russell (and I thought it showed very strikingly the clear-headed, impartial judgment of the man), “far less depends on counsel than the public generally suppose. Verdicts generally go by the weight of evidence ; and I can hardly recall a single case of any importance in which the result would have been different if other men had been engaged in it.”

“THOUGHTS, THOUGHTS, THOUGHTS.”

Quite recently, Lord Russell delivered himself of his own judgment on the matter in the following significant sentences :

For his own part, the person who made the least impression upon him was the person who talked the most glibly. He infinitely preferred, so far as it had an effect upon his mind, to listen to a man who first stammered and hesitated for the choice of a particular word to express the particular shade of meaning which he desired to express, but who showed that thought was accompanying his attempted utterance. He would rather hear such a man than one who, never pausing for a word, gave the idea that he was washed away before the flood of his own eloquence. What was wanted was not words, words, words, but thoughts, thoughts, thoughts. A well-thought-out speech packed with information and packed with thought well digested was worth a dozen speeches in which there was a cloud of words, but in which thought bore about the same proportion to the volume of words as in the celebrated classic case the bread bore to the quantity of sack. Thought was the first essential ; and when they had achieved that position, then he thought facility of speech was a matter of comparative easy acquirement.

On another occasion, he said :

I always had a high opinion of the force of brevity in advocacy. Since I became a judge, I have had to listen. My faith in brevity is greater than it ever was before.

Nevertheless, when Lord Russell pleaded before the Parnell Commission, he spoke six days on end, and the report of his speech occupies 600 printed pages.

THE PIGOTT EXPOSURE.

During the Pigott exposure, it was my good fortune to meet Lord Russell almost daily. I sat on the bench immediately in front of him, Mr. Parnell sitting on my right hand; and Mr. Walter, of the *Times*, on my left. I had a close personal interest in the affair, for Mr. Houston had tried to plant the forgeries upon me. It was, therefore, with no ordinary feeling that I heard the great advocate demolish the fabric of falsehood and forgery, constructed of such flimsy materials by Pigott, behind which the *Times* and the whole Unionist party had taken shelter for months past.

It was a thrilling moment when Sir Charles Russell, standing up to begin his cross-examination, startled every one by handing Pigott a piece of paper, saying: "Take that:"

Pigott took it (says Mr. Lucy)—gazing the while at Sir Charles in blank bewilderment. Everybody in court glanced at every other. "He has him," a barrister whispered, turning round to me. "Write down 'livelihood,' 'likelihood,' your own name, 'proselytism,' 'Patrick Egan' and his initials, and 'hesitancy.'" Which Pigott did, smiling the while, foolishly, and with a flushed face. It will be remembered that in one of the forged letters Pigott had spelled the last word "hesitancy."

It was not till the next day that the result of this spelling-bee exercise was made known. Pigott had repeated the misspelling, and had written "hesitancy" with an "e." There was a feeling of surprise and of doubt in the court—a murmur of curiosity and wonderment as we watched the doomed wretch laboriously supply the evidence of his own identity with the forger. But there was a shade of disappointment visible when, ignoring the paper in which Pigott had written the fatal word, the great advocate proceeded with his cross-examination. I described it edition after edition in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, being warned every now and then that my license of critical reporting would inevitably lead to my being committed for contempt of court. The game, however, was up. Pigott was in the toils. Another day or two and the poor wretch was to flee the country and end his existence by a pistol-shot at Madrid. Of this we knew nothing; but the sympathetic heart of at least one eminent onlooker winced and shuddered as the merciless unstripping of the masks of a lifetime went on hour after hour. "It is like the Day of Judgment!" she cried. "How terrible to be compelled to confront the gaze of the world with all his lies in his right hand!"

His cross-examination was ruthless, searching, and masterly. But it must be admitted that Pigott was easy game, he had given himself

away so completely. Ample time and opportunity had been afforded the defense to prepare all the traps and pitfalls into which the wretched victim was flung naked and helpless. Sir Charles Russell reveled in the opportunity. Speaking years afterwards, he said:

Cross-examination rarely hurts a really honest witness. People think that anything can be done by cross-examination; but, as a matter of fact, if a witness is honest, it can do very little. Speaking for myself, I can say that I never rise to cross-examine a witness with any heart or interest unless, from something I know of him from my brief or from his demeanor in the box, I have reason to believe that he is not telling the truth.

He rose to examine Pigott with plenty of heart and interest, for he knew he was confronted with the original liar upon whose forgeries the *Times* had traded for years.

POLITICS AND PLAY.

The writer of his obituary notice in the *Times* well says:

Each of his cases was for him, whatever might be the verdict, a victory. His courage, his thoroughness, his strenuous devotion to his client, his relentless cross-examination, his mastery of details, his sound sense, were too conspicuous to be ignored; one rival after another was caught up and then passed; and for nearly twenty years the history of the common-law bar was his history. In almost every case of magnitude he was engaged; and in libel actions he was indispensable.

What was more remarkable was that, during most of the years when he was crowded with briefs and overwhelmed with legal work, he was constantly busy in the House of Commons and on the platform. Russell would go anywhere to speak in support of his principles or of his party. After long days spent in court and laborious hours passed in consultations, he would turn up at an out-of-the-way London meeting and discourse for an hour on the party questions of the day. No political hack was more ready to rush off to any platform than the leader of the English Bar. He seemed to be made of iron. He crowded two busy lives into one, and then added a third of play as a corrective to the excess of the other two. He made money rapidly and squandered it as quickly. No man made more money at the bar; very few had less of it available for subscriptions and public munificence. He loved the green table and the green turf; and, although he played well and had an Irishman's good eye for a horse, you heard more of his debts than of his savings. How he managed to get through all his work and to combine it with his play, only those can understand who have learned how much rest is to be found in complete change of occupation. At 5 o'clock he shut the door of his mind upon his

briefs—put it to sleep, so to speak; and then, waking up the section of his mind that attended to politics, he began quite fresh to attend to his parliamentary duties. His wife spared him all domestic or business worries. She was his factotum, and she has been appointed his sole executrix.

HIS POWER OF CONCENTRATION.

The great secret of his success was in his faculty of concentration. What his hand found to do, he did with all his might. His biographer in the *Times* says:

One, and perhaps the chief, of the secrets of his success was the earnestness with which he plunged into every case, trivial or not. "What a fool I am; knocking myself to pieces about a twopenny-halfpenny dispute!" he was heard to say, as he flung his wig on the robing-room table and threw himself exhausted into a chair. And he returned to court to repeat, do what he would, the same folly in regard to his next case, perhaps equally trumpery.

He wore himself out before his time, perhaps. But he lived to be sixty-eight, and he died of an internal complaint which had no apparent connection with excessive mental strain.

ON THE BENCH.

Of his career as a judge, it is unnecessary to speak. His praises are in every mouth. He was a splendid example of that unflinching integrity which he claimed as the most important element in the character of a judge. He was impatient of the law's delays, and rode roughshod over many time-honored traditions which impeded the dispatch of business. He was an honest man, and his last crusade was an attempt to extirpate the practice of giving secret commissions which is eating like dry-rot into our commercial integrity. He made a famous protest on behalf of integrity in business, even in the business of the financier and company promoter, when he welcomed the present lord mayor to the law courts. Everywhere, on the bench and off the bench, he was punctual in the discharge of duty and prompt to respond to all appeals for justice. There have been few more characteristic stories told of him than that of his sermon on punctuality to the London Irish Football Club:

In October, 1898, when that club was matched to play Hammersmith Club; Lord Russell was invited, and consented to kick off the ball. On arriving punctually at the hour appointed, he found that some of the members of the London Irish team were not on the ground. He waited patiently for some ten or fifteen minutes, until all the players were assembled, and then called up Mr. Dyas, the captain of the London Irish, and delivered the following homily: "Captain Dyas and members of the London Irish Football Club: I desire to point out to

you that one of your cardinal rules in life should be punctuality. Unless you study that rule, whether in business or play, you will never be successful men; and I hope that you will take to heart the lesson I am now reading you." The lord chief justice, with the utmost gravity, then proceeded to kick off the ball.

There was a wonderfully imperturbable expression of utmost gravity about his massive and impressive features. He was as witty as he was wise, and the papers have been printing some of his *bon-mots*; but they cannot recall the genial smile and hearty simplicity which characterized the man.

A HOME-RULE PERORATION.

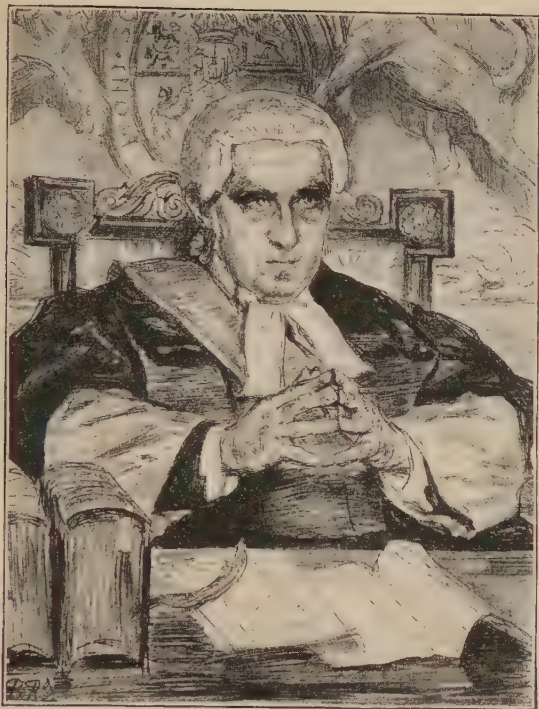
Of his oratory not much will survive. But two passages may be quoted as specimens of his different styles. The first is the peroration with which he concluded his last speech on the third reading of the Home-Rule Bill of 1893. He said:

This bill may fail to-day; but there is not a man opposite who does not believe in his heart of hearts that it must ultimately pass. . . . I do not believe this bill will bring the millennium to Ireland. Much will depend on the Irish people themselves—on their courage, resolution, and firmness; on their grasp of the great and noble duties that devolve upon them in the new era opening for their country, to teach all classes to use that priceless gift of self-government, not for a section, but for the whole community. The claim of Ireland to self-government has survived many calamities. It has survived emigration, which drained the life-blood of the country; it has survived coercion in all its hateful moods and tenses; it has survived the mistakes of its friends. It is vain to hope that, espoused by a great historic party, the great instrument of popular reform in the past, it will die now; and grave is the responsibility of the party and the men who would delay this settlement, who would by that delay rob it of all its grace, and relegate it to that long category of measures dealing with Ireland which were yielded from necessity and not from a willing sense of justice.

A LAW SCHOOL FOR LONDON.

The other passage is that with which he closed his great plea for the reform of our system of legal education. In this he speaks as a lawyer and as a Londoner, in a manner worthy of his profession and of the great city in which he spent so much of his life:

Never at any time, in any state, has there existed such a conjunction of circumstances as marks London preëminently to-day as the seat of a great school of law. We are here at the very heart of things, where the pulse of dominion beats strongest, with a population larger than that of many kingdoms—a great center of commerce, of art, and of literature, with countless libraries, the rich depository of ancient records, and the seat at once of the higher judiciary, of Parliament, and of the sovereign. From this point is governed the greatest empire the world has known. From our midst go forth to the uttermost ends of the earth not merely those who



LORD RUSSELL.

(From a drawing from life, in court, by Paul Renouard.)

The Graphic (London).

symbolize the majesty of power, but, happily, with them those who represent the majesty of law—law, without which power is but tyranny. It has been well and truly said that there is hardly any system of civilized law which does not govern the legal relations of the Queen's subjects in some portion of the empire. In parts of Canada French law, older than the First Empire, modified by modern codification, prevails—in other parts, the English system; in Australia, English law modified by home legislation in those self-governing communities; in parts of Africa, Roman law with Dutch modifications; in the West Indian colonies, Spanish law modified by local customs; in India, now the Hindoo, now the Mohammedan law, tempered by local custom and by local legislation. Surely these facts suggest great possibilities and great responsibilities. Is it an idle dream to hope that, even in our day and generation, there may here arise a great school of law worthy of our time—worthy of one of the first and noblest of human sciences—to which, attracted by the fame of its teaching, students from all parts of the world may flock, and from which shall go forth men to practise, to teach, and to administer the law with a true and high ideal of the dignity of their mission?

In this passage Lord Russell struck a higher note than is usually found in his oratory. He was no highfalutin imperialist; but no man of his imagination could fail to be touched by the position of London—the city on the Thames whose goings out are to the ends of the earth.

ANGLO-AMERICAN ARBITRATOR.

He was stoutly opposed to Anglo-Saxondom, which ignored the Irish, Scotch, etc., and protested vehemently against Lady Randolph Churchill's *Anglo-Saxon*, as involving a recognition of the hated fallacy that all English-speaking men were Anglo-Saxon. But he was a good English-speaking man, and one of the few notable Englishmen who are as well known in America as in Britain. He took a leading part in two great international arbitrations—as counsel in the Bering Sea dispute and as arbitrator in the Venezuelan affair. A few months since I met one who had shared with him the responsibilities of adjudicating that complicated dispute. I asked him how he got on with Lord Russell. "He is a very able man," he said, "but very vehement, and sometimes even more than vehement. We had great trouble to arrive at a unanimous award. He was very difficult. On one occasion he slammed to the atlas in a temper, and we almost despaired of bringing him round. But in the end his sense of justice and his great common sense triumphed."

HIS DEVOTION TO ARBITRATION.

He would probably have been nominated as one of the picked arbitrators whose names will have to be placed on the roster of the International Tribunal constituted by the Hague Convention. He was a warm supporter of the principle of international arbitration, and was the only judge, if I remember aright, who came forward and addressed a public meeting in support of the peace crusade. He was much taken with M. de Nelidoff's suggestion of borrowing the institution of seconds from the practice of the duello as a means of averting war. His address to the American Bar Association at Saratoga was a noble and eloquent plea for the establishment of peace by mediation and arbitration as the necessary crown of the work of civilization. He said:

What, indeed, is true civilization? By its fruit you shall know it. It is not dominion, wealth, material luxury—nay, not even a great literature and education widespread, good though these things be. Civilization is not a veneer; it must penetrate to the very heart and core of societies of men. Its true signs are thought for the poor and suffering, chivalrous regard and respect for woman, the frank recognition of human brotherhood, irrespective of race or color or nation or religion, the narrowing of the domain of mere force as a governing factor in the world; the love of ordered freedom, abhorrence of what is mean and cruel and vile, ceaseless devotion to the claims of Justice. Civilization in that, its true, its highest sense, must make for Peace.

Lord Russell, it is noted with some satisfaction, was the first Roman Catholic who held the post of chief justice since the Reformation. Statutory disabilities barred the way to the woolsack. A Papist can be a prime minister, but he cannot be lord chancellor. But even the bitterest bigot of Orange Belfast would in vain endeavor to discover in the career of Lord Russell, either on the bench or at the bar, any instance in which the religious faith of the lord chief justice deflected his sense of justice, or had results detrimental to the interests of Britain or of Protestantism.

The papers have teemed with *ana* about Lord Russell. Journalistic chronicles have told us about his unique collection of snuffboxes; and they have also told us where he bought the favorite mixture, how much he paid for it, and the exact number of pounds he consumed every month.* He was fond of riding, and attributed much of his robust health to the hour which he was wont to spend on horseback before he went into court.

TRIBUTES TO HIS MEMORY.

His fellows on the bench and his former comrades at the bar have vied with each other in paying tribute to the sterling qualities of Lord Russell. Mr. Justice Wright acclaimed him not only as the greatest advocate of our time, but "as a worthy successor of a great line of chief justices of this country—a man of singular force, power, and eloquence, combined with single-minded devotion to duty and the public good. He was, in private as in public life, the kindest and most tolerant of men." On the Northern Circuit, said Mr. Justice Kennedy, "a kinder friend, a more generous opponent, and a brighter example of what a leader should be will not be found among those who figure in the records of that circuit." Mr. Justice Darling, who had fought two hotly contested political elections with him when he was Sir Charles Russell, member for South Hackney, said:

In those contests, I have over and over again recognized how magnanimous an opponent he was. Nobody knew better than himself that he was dealing with a much younger and with a far weaker man, but he never took any advantage of that fact; but, on the other hand, he treated me with a magnanimity which could not be surpassed.

* His favorite brand of snuff was the "Bureau Mixture," obtained from a tobacconist in Haymarket for many years. He consumed a quarter of a pound weekly, and never went anywhere without his pungent stimulant. His clerks took particular care to see that their master was always supplied. The "Bureau Mixture" cost 12s. per pound, and was almost black in color.—*Daily Express*.

These tributes from the bench were warmly echoed from the bar. Sir E. Clarke, the only man left among our advocates with whom he may be compared, said:

Lord Russell was for years my companion and my rival at the bar, sometimes my antagonist, and always my friend. When Charles Russell was at the bar we were all very proud of him. He was a great advocate, an intrepid advocate, sparing nothing to serve his client—a man of great energy, of inexhaustible industry, a brilliant speaker, and one whose oratory was informed and heightened by literary associations. And when he passed from our ranks and became a judge, we were in no way surprised to find that he displayed the even greater qualities required of a judge. There was still the same energy, the same intrepid desire that justice should be done; and he had in him all the qualities of a great judge. His death is a national loss.

HIS HATRED OF THE WAR.

Lord Russell's closing years were darkened by the shadow of national crime which has fallen athwart our unhappy land. He was not merely lord chief justice in name; there was in him, from his boyhood, an ineradicable love of justice—especially of national justice. And it was to him a matter of deep grief and ill-repressed indignation that the country in which he was the foremost representative of justice should have become, in the eyes of all men, the most conspicuous representative of injustice. His high office sealed his lips. He could not publicly denounce the infamy of the pretexts by which a sophisticated press had glozed over the essential villainy of the war now being waged in South Africa. But to those to whom he could speak without the reserve imposed by his high station, he expressed himself with a passion of noble wrath against a shameless crime in terms which bore eloquent testimony at once to his generous enthusiasm and his unerring judgment.

Lord Russell died with the praises of all men surrounding his memory. Bramwell Booth, the representative of the strictest sect of the Puritan religion, wrote me in heartfelt sorrow expressing his conviction that the lord chief justice, who had always been a good friend of the Salvation Army, despite all that conflicted with their notions, was a deeply religious man, who sincerely endeavored to do the right. And on the day after his death, Cardinal Vaughan sent round to his clergy the following letter:

"The prayers of the clergy and of the faithful are earnestly requested for the repose of the soul of Lord Russell of Killowen, Lord Chief Justice of England, a faithful son of the Church, who, after a life of distinguished public service, died yesterday, fortified by the Holy Sacraments.

Requiescat in pace.

THE PRACTICAL BRYAN POLICY FOR THE PHILIPPINES.

BY EDWARD M. SHEPARD.

WHAT could a President Bryan practically do with the Philippines different from what President McKinley is now doing and proposes to do? Concede, it is said, to the Democratic candidate firmness of will, courage, and a complete loyalty to the promises upon which he has asked the suffrages of the American people; concede that his theoretical propositions about government by consent of the governed are true,—still, how could he practically change the present policy of the United States? Anti-imperialist criticism is said by the President, in his letter of acceptance, to be a matter of “phrase-making,” by which he means theoretical, impractical, or insincere talk.

To this I now reply that the McKinley programme and the Bryan programme with respect to the Philippines are, in practice as well as in theory, far different, and would lead to diametrically opposite results. For, when all political philosophy and splendid generalizations on one side or the other are brushed aside, this concrete thing remains: That President McKinley proposes, with the military force of the United States, to complete the conquest of these Asiatic islands, and in future to hold their inhabitants as subjects, with no rights except such as may be granted them by the United States, and with no share, therefore, as matter of right, in the Constitution of the United States. So much is clear; and another thing is equally clear: That Mr. Bryan proposes a reversal of the policy of conquest; that, if elected, he will make no further effort to conquer the islands, unless Congress shall constrain him by resolution or act passed over his veto,—a contingency obviously not worth consideration, for it implies that, though successful at the polls, Mr. Bryan will not have the support of one-third of either house of Congress; that the American troops will, with his approval, remain for no other purpose than to promote the properly expressed views of the Filipino people with respect to their islands; that the Filipinos will be freely permitted, and, so far as may be, aided by American means, to create government in place of that which we have destroyed or suppressed; that Filipino independence will be recognized as soon as there shall appear any government sufficient for recognition which

fairly represents the 5,000,000 of civilized natives; that a treaty will then be negotiated, under which the United States will secure proper commercial rights and reasonable guarantees (that is to say, guarantees which are reasonable in view of the distressed condition of the Filipino people) for the protection of American and other foreign rights; and that the port of Manila will be retained by us and conceded by the treaty. Manila is largely European in population and interest; it was conquered from Spain by the United States, and has since remained in its possession; it was never in possession of the Filipinos; it is a proper naval and coaling station; and it is necessary to any protectorate by the United States.

There are difficulties, many difficulties, of detail in this programme, and more of them than there were in 1898. But it has the supreme advantage of being in accord with the American theory of government and the sound and permanent interest of the United States and of its people; and its difficulties, practical as well as theoretical, are vastly less than the difficulties of continuing the present programme. I shall not here argue (I have elsewhere argued) our general obligation, which was, from 1776 to 1898, conceded in our republic *semper, ubique et ab omnibus*, to hold to government by consent of the governed. I am instructed to here assume that that rule is, to the uttermost practical, to be applied to the Philippine problem. I concede that we cannot ignore existing conditions. Whatever has been done since the initial blunder, whether right or wrong,—no matter how wrong, no matter how right,—is to-day a factor in the problem. It is clear enough that, except as such factors have changed the problem, we should now do what we should have done at the time the Paris Treaty was negotiated, in 1898. To that time we must, therefore, recur. Whatever principles of right and rules of national policy it was then our duty to observe, we must now observe so far as we are able. We may limit or modify those principles and rules only as later events now constrain us, and only when there is less danger to our national welfare in surrender to that constraint than in violation of the fundamental policy of our Government and civilization.

For practical answer to the practical question, it is thus necessary to first clearly perceive what we should have done at the outset. What, then, was the situation when the American and Spanish commissioners were, two years ago, welcomed by the French president in 1898? We were at war with Spain for the sole avowed purpose of giving independence to Cuba. As an incident of the war our fleet had destroyed the Spanish fleet at Manila. We were in possession of that port, really conquered by our own force, although we had welcomed Filipino coöperation. The civilized natives, with Aguinaldo at their head, were generally in practical control of the rest of the archipelago—not a final control, perfect in detail, but one at least equal to that which Spain had enjoyed, and which, by our treaty with Spain, we conceded to have been sufficient for political sovereignty. The Spanish troops, wherever they were stationed, were under siege, so that Spanish control was practically succeeded by native control. We, at least, cannot for a moment dispute the fact of the control, since it has cost us long campaigns and bloody battles with large armies to effect an incomplete destruction of it. As to all this there is no dispute and can be none.

Not only were the Filipinos themselves in practical possession, but they had established a government which was, for the time, the only *de facto* government, and which was, at least for the time, successful in the maintenance of order. As to this also there is no dispute or even semblance of dispute. Mr. Barrett, our late minister to Siam, who is a duly authorized and the most active, if not the principal, spokesman of the administration, in his address at Shanghai delivered on January 12, 1899, after his visit to Luzon, said of the Filipino government that it had "practically been administering the affairs of that great island (Luzon) since the American occupation of Manila;" that it was "certainly better than the former (Spanish) administration," that it included a "popularly formed cabinet and congress;" that their members "in appearance and manners would compare favorably with Japanese statesmen;" that Aguinaldo had among his advisers "men of acknowledged ability as international lawyers, while his supporters include most of the prominent educated and wealthy natives;" and that all these "*prove possibilities of self-government.*"

Something further is conceded by every report, official or unofficial, which Americans bring us of the Philippines. The civilized natives were in large majority, Professor Worcester says—more than five out of eight millions. Their civilization, though inferior to the European stand-

ard, was quite equal to that of many peoples successful in maintaining independence and the forms, at least, of international respect. The American admiral's testimony is familiar to every one—that they "are far superior in their intelligence and more *capable of self-government* than the natives of Cuba." In his work on the Philippine Islands published by Professor Worcester, a member of both the Philippine commissions, we are told (p. 475):

The important questions which intimately concern the future of the Philippine Islands result from the character of the *five millions of civilized natives* and the conditions existing in the regions which they now inhabit. . . . I think that *the civilized natives show sufficient homogeneity to be treated as a class.*

It is thus the civilized Filipinos, constituting a large majority of the population, who must, as distinguished from the savages, be treated as the Filipino people, just as the European race in the United States, as distinguished from the native Indians, must be treated as the American people. Commissioner Worcester criticises the civilized Filipinos in terms fully applicable to large classes in the most highly civilized countries, and to the masses in the independent states at the east of Europe, and those of Asia, Africa, and South America, and in the southern part of North America. But the commissioner declares that the civilized Filipino (that is to say, the five millions with whom we are at war) is "self-respecting and self-restrained to a remarkable degree;" that "he certainly succeeds much better in controlling himself than does the average European;" that "he seldom repudiates his debts, and if called upon to meet them, does his best;" and that "they are naturally fairly intelligent." He declared (p. 413) as a law formulated by him after an extensive observation among them "that their morals improve as the square of the distance from the churches and other so-called 'civilizing influences' increases,"—a valuable warning against "benevolent assimilation." Speaking of the successful military campaigns by which the Filipinos had secured the control of the islands, capturing many of the Spaniards, he said (p. 20):

When one considers the treatment which has been accorded to captured rebels by the Spaniards, he cannot fail to admire the self-restraint shown by the insurgents during the operations which followed.

The President himself quotes the tribute of his commissioners to the "mental gifts and domestic virtues" of the Filipinos. In this magazine for September, 1900, Major John H. Parker, now in command of a district, wrote that "the preconceived ideas of Americans (e.g., of Gov. Roosevelt in his quite unworthy comparison of them to

the savage, nomadic, and bloodthirsty Apaches) about them are nearly all wrong." He condemns vices of theirs which he says are due to their contact with "unscrupulous strength" (another warning against "benevolent assimilation"), but adds:

They are intelligent, and generally able to read and write; they are a very religious people; they have always been accustomed to a system of law and legal settlements of disputes; they have produced generals, poets, lawyers, painters, and business men of recognized ability—some of world-wide reputation; and they are eager to learn the ways of advanced civilization. . . . Far from being a degenerating race, they are a virile, young, and healthy new stock. . . . Their race type is to their world what that of the Americans is to the Western civilization.

If this testimony—all of it from the administration—be true, who dare say that this people is not ready for self-government,—not the *best* or an *ideal* government,—but *self-government*, with all its self-strengthening growth into stronger, better, more orderly, more honest, more merciful life? If they ought to be deprived of self-government, why ought not Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Venezuela, Brazil, Santo Domingo, Colombia, Mexico, Haiti, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Roumania, Siam, China, and Liberia to likewise forfeit theirs?

Let me, then, recapitulate the facts of late 1898. The civilized people were a majority of the Philippine population. The principal part of the archipelago was in their possession. The Americans held the port of Manila. The Spaniards had a claim of title to the entire archipelago, represented, however, by no possession other than of a few fortified places under siege. We had power to compel Spain to surrender her claim. The population was not only alien to us in race, but was distinctly of a character which we could not advantageously admit to our citizenship. We could never safely admit Philippine states to the American Union. The Filipinos had a government; and they had the gifts and civilization which sustain with success government in most quarters of the world—not government the purest or the best,—not a government free of dishonesty and brutality,—but one in all ages recognized as sufficient. Their country was on the coast of Asia, 8,000 miles away from our nearest shore.

If such were the relevant facts in the Philippines themselves, the all-relevant fact on our side of the Pacific was this,—that we were a people solemnly dedicated from the moment of our independence to the proposition that government must be by the consent of the governed, and that in that proposition we had found not only righteousness and the golden rule of

Christian statesmanship, but an industrial and popular well-being, wealth, and prosperity the greatest ever known by men. We had declined to take any really populated or civilized land (unless Hawaii, a few months before) except on the basis of its becoming an integral part of the American Union, sharing in its government, in its protection and privileges. Democratic self-government was the fundamental note and the glory of our republic. Every exception to it, whether in negro slavery or temporary or local suppressions of liberty, we had regarded as a misfortune, a shame, or a disgrace, which was to be eliminated, not to be extended. We were to steadily approach—never to depart from—the ideal of our government and civilization, the fruits of which, in our own splendid prosperity and in the beneficence of our example, had been so enormous, and promised to be so enduring. To this theory everything done by our Government, whether at home or abroad, must accord.

Such in 1898 was the Philippine problem; such was the rule America had long laid down for the solution of every like problem. What, then, was the duty of the President? He has himself, although but half consciously, made clear, in his letter of acceptance, his own conception of that duty. He said he had used—that is to say, he *meant* to use, he *should* have used—his power "for the *liberty*, the peace, and the prosperity of the Philippine peoples." He adopted the words of his commissioners, that our occupation meant (that is to say, it was, or at least should have been, so *intended*) "the idea of a *free self-governing* and united Philippine commonwealth." Every effort of his, he said, had been made to bring the benefactions of "*liberty* and good government" to these "wards of the nation." He asked whether the American republic would stay in the Philippines "and dispense to their inhabitants the blessings of *liberty*, *education*, and *free institutions* or steal away leaving them to anarchy or *imperialism*."

Now, what do the words "*liberty*," "*freedom*," "*self-government*," "*free institutions*" mean when used by a President of this republic? Were they ever before used by a President or by an American statesman still respected by Americans to mean any other thing than the right to adopt such form of government as the people to be governed themselves prefer? Does England ever pretend that her benefactions to India include any of these? The President declares the Declaration of Independence to be an "immortal instrument of the fathers" which "remained unexecuted until the people under the lead of the Republican party . . . wrote into the Constitution the amendments guaranteeing

political equality to American citizenship." The President, if this be sincere, and not a mere rhetorical catch-phrase, means, and can only mean, this: That, in his opinion, the Declaration of Independence is a fundamental instrument which should be held "immortal,"—that is to say, which Americans should never let die or cease in operation,—but that it remains unexecuted unless those who are within its purview have the power to vote for those who shall govern them. The President thus conclusively concedes self-government to be fundamental with us; he has the same understanding of self-government that his critics have—namely, that it implies the right of a people to determine their own government, whether for better or for worse, and not to have it determined for them, whether for better or for worse, by an alien people or ruler.

It is with an audacity the cleverness of which depends on the result to his campaign that the President would rob his adversaries of the word "imperialism." He tells us that "empire has been expelled from Porto Rico and the Philippines by American freemen." And what does "empire" mean when used by an American president or by any American statesman of repute. It plainly means for President McKinley something that an American ought to think evil. Otherwise, surely, he would not, with slaughter and at great cost, expel it from any islands. And is that evil anything other than this: That people are governed against their own will in a manner determined by another people? Empire is not a synonym for dishonesty or brutality, or vice or other wrong. Such things may or may not follow empire; but they are not themselves empire. It is no more than the kind of government in which the will of the governed does not prevail. Supporters of the President sometimes illustrate this sole meaning when they say that they prefer an "honest empire" to a "dishonest republic." Much of England's imperial government is honest, orderly—in itself efficient. Empire does not in itself mean wickedness. Nor would the President, of course, use the word with puerile literalness as meaning government with an emperor such as that of Germany. A self-governing country choosing to call its constitutional chief executive, whether hereditary or not, an emperor is not "empire" in this kind of discussion; it certainly is not the kind of "empire" which the President rejoices to have expelled from Porto Rico and the Philippines. It was with that meaning that Queen Victoria on January 1, 1877, assumed for use beyond seas the title "Empress of India."

The President has, then, conceded in words

from whose force honest escape is impossible that, whatever in 1898 may have been his conception of "destiny," his conception of "duty" was that which is now called anti-imperialist. Those were days when condemnation of "criminal aggression" still lingered on his lips. The United States, he has conceded, could meddle with the Philippine Islands only to give them liberty, freedom, self-government. Without self-government, he warns us, the Declaration of Independence "remains unexecuted;" and the Declaration, he declares, is still the "immortal" charter of our "duty."

Nor will the President yet dare to say that for any American there is doubt what is meant by a government of "freedom" or "self-government." If there be freedom at all, there is freedom to choose what the people governed themselves prefer, whether it be worse or better. The right to choose only what a stranger judges best, with no right to refuse it, would indeed be a Barmecide feast of "liberty." Theologians have disputed over the "freedom of the will;" but no theologian was ever so absurd as to say that the will of a man would be free if he could will only what the Almighty or a fellow-creature should prescribe. If Filipinos were to be *self-governed*, they must themselves say whether they would have an unlimited democracy or a limited one, or an aristocratic republic, or a kingdom. That there were minorities among them does not affect the rule. Popular self-government does not exclude the idea of coercion of the minority of a people by the majority among whom they live. The term is applied to the people of a country, whatever their subordinate diversities, taken as a whole. It does not imply the right of every man to live and act as he pleases. It is no *reductio ad absurdum*.

Now at last there is before us that whole situation in 1898, without realizing which we cannot say what the next President should do. We may now answer what President McKinley should have done in the Paris negotiation; and without this answer we cannot rightly say what his successor can and should do in March, 1901. The answer is perfectly clear and simple: He should have asked the Filipinos to designate their own representatives. If it were not possible to reach all of them, there was, at any rate, a *de facto* and sufficient government, which should have been asked to take part in the Treaty of Paris, so far as the concerns of its own land and people were to be disposed of. If its commissioners could not, because of Spanish susceptibility, be admitted to the conference, the American commissioners should themselves have conferred with them respectfully and intimately. Spain was ready to surrender her sovereignty

because she must; and it did not concern her who received it. The treaty should have required the surrender of the sovereignty to be made to the Filipinos, or if to the American republic, then not to be its property, but upon trust for the Filipinos. This was "plain duty." How was it performed? The President, in his instructions to the Peace Commissioners, talked of "dictates of humanity," of "high public and moral obligations," of the absence from his mind of any "design of aggrandizement" or "ambition of conquest," of our duty to be "scrupulous and magnanimous," of the "plain writing on our growth and career from the beginning" of "the high common pledge of civilization." After all this assertion of nobility of aims, the President stated various alternatives. He truly said that it was "undisputed that Spain's authority" was "permanently destroyed in every part of the Philippines." Affecting to recite all the alternatives, "we must," he said, "either hold them or turn them back to Spain." Was there not another alternative, easier, more righteous, and more American than either? It was to affirm the rightful sovereignty and independence of the Filipinos themselves; that is to say, to recognize and affirm the existing condition. The President said that he could not turn the islands over to one tribe out of eighty. No one has suggested that he should. To speak of the five millions of civilized Filipinos, the large majority of the whole population, as one tribe out of eighty would come measurably near to insincerity or frivolity. It would have been as sensible, 120 years ago, for England to have said that she would not turn the revolted colonies over to the colonists because she could not permit Mohicans, or Cherokees, or Apaches, or Utes to be tyrannized over by one tribe out of eighty. The respect now suggested for the will of the seventy-nine tribes is a mere affectation. The President does not dare to say, and there is not, I believe, in the official record, a scintilla of evidence, that any large body of the Filipinos desired American sovereignty. If they did, it surely was competent to them to express their desire. If they do now, let them be consulted. The American republic could then determine, without violation of the sacred rule of government by the consent of the governed, whether or not it would accept the trust.

Well, then, assume that by the Treaty of Paris Spain had surrendered her sovereignty either to the Filipinos or to us in trust for them; assume that the President had then invited from the Filipinos a reasonable proof—such as they were ready to give and such as they had given in form very creditable to them—of the existence and

authority of their government. The next step would have been the adjustment of relations between the United States, on the one hand, and the Filipino commonwealth on the other. It would have been easy to negotiate a treaty giving to us reasonable commercial privileges, together with the possession of the port of Manila as a naval and coaling station. If it be said that the Filipinos would not have conceded Manila, I answer that that cannot be known, for no such proposition was made. If the Filipinos had turned out to be unreasonable about this, and had sought to wrest Manila from us, we should then, perhaps, have had a just cause of war. Had there been any such war, it would have been a simple, limited, inexpensive affair, in which we would not have been aggressors. But it is clear that, with whatever reluctance, the Filipinos would have conceded Manila. With that and the commercial treaty, we should have had all the advantage which dominion over the archipelago would give us, and practically at no cost beyond that incurred in our war for Cuban freedom.

I believe some kind of protectorate over the Philippines would have been proper, and would have been welcomed by the Filipinos. Nor does the President deny this. Instead, he says in his letter that those favoring a protectorate proposed "to continue our obligations in the Philippines which now rest upon the Government, only changing the relation from principal, which now exists, to that of surety." This statement is far from the truth. The suggested protectorate did not imply, as the President adroitly but not very ingenuously assumes, that we should continue under the obligations involved in sovereignty. Protectorate implies no obligation concerning internal government. If the Filipinos should desire and receive our protection, no doubt there would be external obligations on their part, and obligations to us and other foreigners when in their land. If they should not perform their obligations, we should be at liberty to withdraw our protection. What is the Monroe Doctrine but the assertion of a protectorate by our Government over all other independent governments in America? What obligation would a Philippine protectorate imply greater than those we have assumed with respect to Mexico or Venezuela? We do not guarantee their bonds; we do not meddle with their internal administration. We simply declare that they shall be permitted, free of European interference, to work out their own future in their own way. Is not the same true of the protectorate over Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Greece, the Danubian principalities? In these cases, feeble nations have their inde-

pendence assured by one or several of the great powers. The latter do not guarantee debts or internal obligations. They merely assure the right of self-government and independence. In some cases the protecting power requires—but this is no necessary part of the protectorate—some special privilege or right, which is generally conceded by treaty. There may be added, and no doubt there is implied in the fact of a protectorate, the requirement that the protected state shall not enter into foreign relations against the will of the former. To have offered the Philippine commonwealth such protection, to be maintained at our pleasure, would not only have been gracious in itself, but would have perfectly consisted with American dignity and interests. Nor was there reason to think it would be burdensome to us. There is not the slightest proof that any other country, whether England or Germany, or Russia or France or Japan, would have interfered with the independence of the Philippine Islands after a mere intimation from the American Government that it wished that independence to be respected.

Can anything be clearer than that if this policy of just and generous treatment of the Filipinos had been followed that we should, at little cost, have enjoyed there all the real power we now have, that our trade would have had vastly greater advantages, that the glory of our arms would have been unsullied, and that the American name would have enjoyed prestige and splendor. I little doubt that the President now and then wistfully reflects that, had this been his policy, not only would his reelection be a certainty, but he would have put himself into that category of great Americans which includes Washington and Lincoln. It is a tawdry and Brummagem and fading glory which he has chosen instead.

It will be said that all this does not answer the question put to me—that it does not tell what a President Bryan could do after March 4, 1901, different from what a President McKinley has done and will do. The answer is, however, almost complete. Once perceive truly what was our duty in 1898, we know our duty to-day, except as specific events happening since have altered the situation. But the relevant and important events are these and only these: That we have sent nearly 100,000 troops to the Philippines and now keep there over 60,000; that we have made war upon the Filipinos at a cost of tens of thousands of their lives and of thousands of American lives and of hundreds of millions of money; that we have aroused their hatred; that the moral repute of our nation has suffered; that we have sacrificed the ideal of our civilization

and government; and that the advocates of a President of the United States seeking reelection, instead of asserting the supreme obligation of the "immortal" Declaration of Independence, are now compelled to vindicate the exceptions, lamentable, disastrous, and even disgraceful as they have been, which we have permitted, and our inconsistencies in performing its obligations. Is there, now, in these things reason why in 1901 we shall not accord to the Filipinos that liberty which we were bound to accord them in 1898? If we were wrong and are wrong, are we bound, for the sake of consistency, to remain wrong? If we have injured our national repute, is there any reason why we should not restore it? If we have aroused the hatred of the Filipinos, is there reason why we should not invite their regard? If we have now incurred large annual expenditure, is there any reason why we should continue it? If we have left the ideal of our civilization and government, is there any reason in the events of the past three years why we should not return to it?

The Paris Treaty being, under our Constitution, the supreme law of the land, the constitutional or legal mode of according that liberty to the Filipinos which the President concedes to be due them, or of performing toward them those obligations of the Declaration of Independence from which the President tells us we shall never be free, is of course different from what it would have been. Their relations must be determined by Congress. Whether the legal mode be by joint resolution or law is of little consequence. If in November the people make their will clear, no difficulty will prevent the new President and new Congress from carrying it out. Detail of procedure in the Philippines must, doubtless, be different by reason of the destruction which the American troops have inflicted and the occupation of many places in Luzon and the other islands by the American troops. We not only have defeated the Filipino troops: we have broken up their government. When, therefore, Mr. Bryan proposes, as a first step, to establish a stable government, he plainly does not mean that, if he were President, he or Congress would determine the permanent form or condition of the Philippine commonwealth, or that the United States would impose upon it a constitution. He means simply that there must be a stable—that is to say, a standing or substantive—government with which we can treat, and to which our departing soldiers may relinquish the physical power which, whether rightly or wrongly, we have acquired. As we have broken up the machinery of Filipino initiative, we must, for the time being, ourselves enter upon the ini-

tative which in 1898 we should not have needed to undertake. Assuming a will on the part of the American executive to accomplish this, the details present no real difficulty. The government of our own Southern States after our Civil War was, for a time, in control of the military. Conventions were called and proclamations were issued by generals. Louisiana and Florida, and California and the other territory acquired from Mexico, were for a brief time held in the control of our executive, but merely as a preliminary and temporary step to their own self-government. In none of these cases was there difficulty in gathering representatives of the people, in protecting them, or in ascertaining their will. If the President be sincere in his fear that the Tagalogs will oppress or misrepresent the remaining Filipinos, let him instruct his military subordinates to take care that all civilized Filipinos be permitted to choose their representatives and share in forming the Philippine constitution. Surely we may trust the intelligence and conscience of the officers to certify truly which of the Filipino representatives are truly representative. It would be easy to constitute a government as genuine as was the government of the National Defense of France with which Prince Bismarck negotiated the Treaty of Paris in 1871. If the Filipinos desire Agui-

naldo for their president, they should have him; if they desire some one else, they should have him. All this will require patience, self-restraint, and sympathy and tact no doubt far greater than would have been required two years ago; but there are no insurmountable difficulties. When the new government is established, let a treaty be made. If Mr. Bryan be elected, it is certain that the Filipinos will regard his subordinates with a confidence which they cannot, if they be human, possibly extend to any subordinates of President McKinley. Our commercial rights, our ownership of the port of Manila, and all other details of the relations between the Filipino archipelago and the United States being established, we should withdraw our entire army, excepting such part as may be necessary for the occupation of the fortifications at Manila.

We can never undo the wrong of the past two years. But if there shall be a President Bryan, and if he shall—as I have no doubt he will, if elected,—carry out a policy of justice, having strict and sacred regard to the American ideal of government, we shall come to a power in the Philippines and on the Asiatic coast more fruitful of prosperity to our own people and nobler than any which a blood-stained sovereignty over the Philippines could give us in a thousand years.

MR. BRYAN AND THE TRUSTS: AN ANTI-TRUST VIEW.

BY THE HON. FRANK S. MONNETT

(Formerly Attorney-General of Ohio.)

WHAT can Mr. Bryan do, if elected President, toward controlling or punishing trusts, or curbing the abuses that grow out of a great aggregation of capital?

The above inquiry can be answered under three general heads:

First, what are a President's constitutional and statutory powers purely as an executive officer?

Second, what are his powers, under the Constitution, to effect legislation?

Third, what control or influence can the chief executive exert over the judiciary?

Under these three heads all governmental power or official authority is derived. It matters not whether it be exercised in carrying out a foreign policy, developing an economic theory, or establishing a system of finance.

In the heat of a political campaign, we some-

times lose sight of the limitation of the powers vested in the chief executive of this Government. Voters are sometimes led to believe, by editors and public speakers, that he is an absolute monarch. After the smoke of the campaign has cleared away and the inaugural address has been delivered, and the oath of office taken, he faces the capitol of his country, and finds on his right hand the United States Senate, composed of 90 members, many of them with a quarter of a century's experience in governmental affairs, and learned and schooled probably far beyond the newly installed President. On his left hand he will be confronted with 357 or more members of the lower house, any one of whom, in his own opinion, knows more about the questions of the day, and what is necessary to save the country from "dire ruin," than all

the other departments of government. If he turn toward the Senate restaurant, he will pass a green-baized door, through which, if he will condescend to look, he will observe nine solemn-faced, gracefully robed gentlemen, who at the noonday hour have been seated to take a little hand in the matter of running this government themselves. And in the presence of this body of men, the most potent in our sovereignty, the executive, his cabinet, the Senate, and the House may well take off their hats and listen to the report of the "committee of the whole." After this rude awakening of the Inaugurated, he must confess to himself that his term is only two-thirds that of any Senator, and scarcely a moiety of that of a United States judge; and I can imagine him asking himself, by this time, the same question that you have propounded to me.

THE PRESIDENT'S POWERS AND DUTIES AS AN EXECUTIVE OFFICER.

In order to determine what the President can do toward righting any of these economic abuses, we must see what his constitutional and statutory powers may be. Under that instrument he is a chief executive, or has the executive power of the United States vested in him, "to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." Art. 2, Sect. 3, provides that "he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed," and, to carry out these comprehensive powers, he is authorized and empowered by statute to appoint eight cabinet executive officers to enforce this provision.

Of these eight heads of the departments he has one Attorney-General; in him is vested the power to direct and put in operation the legal machinery of the Government. The office of attorney-general is provided with a solicitor-general and a whole corps of United States district attorneys, with their respective assistants, all directly the appointees of the President and subject to his removal or control, either for unfaithfulness or inefficiency. To further enforce and execute the laws, the President is made the commander-in-chief of the army, navy, and militia. A brief glance at these sources of his strength indicates the potency there is in the office of the chief executive, notwithstanding the constitutional limitations and statutory restrictions imposed upon it.

One of these laws that Mr. Bryan would be called upon to enforce with all this powerful machinery at his disposal, and in compliance with his oath of office—a law that he will find upon the statute-books, viz., the act of July 2, 1890, entitled, "An Act to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies,"—is known to the profession, and to

the citizens generally, as the Sherman anti-trust act.

Space forbids setting forth herein the terms of this law; but it provides for a civil remedy, as well as a penal sentence, to be inflicted upon every corporation or association existing under or authorized by the laws of any of the States, Territories, or the United States, as well as individuals violating its provisions. It declares every contract and combination, in the form of trusts or otherwise, or a *conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the States, illegal and criminal*. It gives equity powers to all the circuit courts of the United States to restrain forthwith every individual, corporation, or association that either in a civil or criminal way violates these provisions. It is made the special statutory duty of the 76 district attorneys, in their respective districts, under the direction of the Attorney-General, to institute proceedings in equity to prevent and restrain such violations. This law, together with the general criminal laws, vests in every circuit court and federal grand jury, United States marshals, and the secret-service agents the right, and makes it their duty, to ferret out every violator of this law and punish them criminally and civilly.

In the ten years since its passage, this law has been before the United States courts at least thirteen times; the three most notable cases being *The United States vs. Trans-Mississippi Freight Association*, *The United States vs. Joint-Traffic Association*, and *The United States vs. Addystone Pipe and Steel Company*. In these now historic cases, the validity and construction of the act have been settled. The legislature has done its duty in this behalf, and the judiciary has fully sustained it. It is no longer an open question, either as to the power of Congress to punish trade conspiracies or to abolish monopolies. If there be good trusts; if there exist holy monopolies; if there live a righteous trade conspiracy,—it is not by the grace of the legislative department of the Government or the lack of power in the judiciary to abolish them; for nowhere can an executive officer read in this legislative act, or discern in the language of the judicial decrees, any such distinction as those for which our political bosses are wont to extend apologies.

The highest court of this land has repeatedly, both under this statute and under its common-law powers, denounced in unmeasured terms the commercial crime of monopoly and trade conspiracy. Then why are these laws a "dead-letter?" It is neither in the fault of the judiciary nor the legislative department—but the victims everywhere justly lay the blame at the executive door.

A President, as chief executive, can energize, by one word, his attorney-general and his 76 district attorneys by reminding them of his own oath and their oath to enforce the criminal and civil laws in their respective districts, including the anti-trust act. So that Mr. Bryan could do the energizing, and, in case of disobedience of his instructions, could secure the electrocuting of a few attorneys-general and district attorneys who, out of the 70,000,000 of people of the United States, are vested with this very important duty in the present congested condition of these economic questions.

In response to an inquiry from Congress, I note from the record that his Honor, John W. Griggs, the Attorney-General, furnished that body with a list of the prosecutions under this act, instituted by the present administration. The first one is *The United States vs. Anderson*, suit begun June 7, 1897, in which the United States failed, the subject-matter being such that the federal court had no jurisdiction. The second one was *The United States vs. Coal Dealers' Association*, filed December 16, 1897. The third is *The United States vs. C. & O. Fuel Company*, begun May 1, 1899, argued and submitted, but not decided. In the same case the grand jury, sitting at Cincinnati, Ohio, under Hon. W. E. Bundy, as district attorney, indicted a few of the coal barons, which case has never been tried or decided; but the cause is pending, on demurrer, to the indictment.

In the four years of this administration we have begun, practically, three cases—one tried and failed, one pending on briefs, and one decided. In the meantime, upward of 406 combinations have been formed, and others that have been in existence since 1876—such as the Standard Oil Trust—have been running full blast. If but two suits are filed and tried in four years, it will take upward of two centuries to undo what has been done in the last thirty-six months.

Mr. Bryan, as chief executive officer, would have many ways, as indicated by the court, of beginning prosecution of each and every trust within sixty days after his inauguration; but that would not be necessary. A wholesale example made of two or three of the outlaws and genteel law violators would have a very beneficial effect on the weaker ones.

The Interstate Commerce Commission has officially called attention to the open and notorious violation by the common carriers of the United States. The National Shippers' Association and other shippers have appealed in vain to the executive officers for relief. A friendly executive could entertain such appeals, and should take cognizance of the official reports of such bodies

as the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the reports of the Industrial Commission, to say nothing of the stench and fumes of monopolistic misconduct that fill the nostrils and are ever present and in full view of the district attorneys and the Attorney-General.

A military general who would permit an insurrection and smile at insubordination, under this same executive department, would be speedily courtmartialed. So that, if Mr. Bryan is elected and is in earnest in carrying out his views to the extent of the constitutional and legislative power vested in him, he could remove the attorney-general and the district attorney who is incompetent, unwilling, or insubordinate, and put faithful men on duty.

What excuse would Mr. Bryan offer, in the face of his public statements and views of the Sherman anti-trust act, and in the light of the Addystone Pipe & Steel Company decision, for permitting the Buckeye Pipe Line Company to continue to operate its monopolistic business of shipping crude petroleum, or the Union Tank Line Company to haul the refined product and exact 100 per cent. more than the law allows them, in open violation of the anti-trust acts, and in defiance of the State's authorities under the claim of doing an interstate business. What excuse could he offer for accepting campaign assessments from such corporations, and what apology could he make for the existence of the sugar trust, or the salt trust, or to the official classification committee of the freight department of the railroads, in view of the powers vested in him and his seventy-six district attorneys?

In the language of Justice Peckham, in the Addystone Steel-Pipe case, in speaking of the effect of the testimony of said federated companies establishing their monopolistic price, "the most cogent evidence that they had this power is the fact, everywhere apparent, that they exercised it."

As President, Mr. Bryan would have the power, and in fact it would be his sworn duty, to enforce these anti-trust laws as faithfully and as promptly as he would punish the violators of the revenue, pension, or land laws of the Government.

WHAT ARE HIS LEGISLATIVE POWERS?

While he is called the chief executive officer, he could also exercise great power in the legislative department by favoring in his messages proper legislation along the lines he has advocated on the stump. The first and foremost is that of his power of veto—the constitutional power of the President to veto laws that do not agree with his views, and that are not in accordance with the public policy of the Government; and the requirement of a two-thirds vote of

each house of Congress is a powerful weapon to defeat extreme legislation on the one hand and to prevent monopolistic favors granted by legislation on the other.

Since only one-half of the total vote plus one is required to pass a bill without his veto, and two-thirds to defeat his veto, the President, in effect, has the equivalent of 59 votes in the House on the negative of any question, which is equal to the full delegation of an average of two and one-half States of the Union. In the Senate this power is equivalent to about 15 out of the 90 votes, or a power equal to seven and one-half States. But this is not his full power in the legislative halls, in the light of illustrious precedent. There is a potency in the use of patronage that has whipped in many a recalcitrant member, and either silenced opposition or forced a favorable vote. The last official roster of postmasters, as given in 1898, gave a total of 73,570, or an average of 206 appointments to each Congressman. And as the minority members do not have much say as to the distribution in their districts of these offices, it becomes quite an important matter of patronage to the Senators of such States. Add to this list the revenue collectors, consulships, United States marshals, and the army of subordinates, also naval and military cadet appointments, and it is apparent that a President can wield a powerful influence in organizing a House of Representatives, in dictating committees that will report or suppress legislation in harmony with his views, and do all things necessary to carry out an administration policy. Then again, in the light of precedent, a President, through his patronage, can mold public sentiment in favor of or against a given proposition or theory of government by filing subordinate places with country editors and bright newspaper men, who will remain loyal to him in their editorial columns or political letters. All this has been considered the exercise of legitimate political power.

And what has been said of the postmasters and their influence may be said of revenue collectors, United States marshals, census enumerators, pension agents, and commissioners on all subjects, who can be ever present in political caucuses, county and State conventions, forcing inducements of whatever economic theory the chief executive may advocate, thereby binding in advance, and, under a gag-rule, forcing members of Congress to support measures directly against the best interest of capital on the one hand or against the consumers and small merchants on the other. With such power, and through these various ramifications, a measure that would be beneficial or that would protect the masses could

be easily advanced by an executive who is a strong and able man.

Mr. Bryan could easily afford to resign or releasing any United States Senator he chose—at least, viewed in the light of precedent. If Mr. Bryan should sell out to the unlawful combinations of wealth, he could fill a capitol of any State with emissaries from his various governmental positions; he could establish telegraphic service and private wires at his favorite's headquarters, and furnish syndicated editorials for every one of the postmasters' papers in order to support, laud, and magnify his criminal plutocrat, if he were running such a character for the Senate; and he could, on the other hand, furnish boiler-plate or telegraphic editorials to his suppliant, editorial postmasters, maligning and vitiating the most worthy aspirant, who would fairly represent the masses and be the real choice of the people. Thus, he could even change the partisan or factional majority of the United States Senate; or, if he chose to carry out his more honorable or laudable aims and remain true to the people, he could prevent and refuse this abuse of his official position.

Space forbids to more than hint at the power Mr. Bryan could have in molding the sentiment of the upper and the lower house, in the four years of his term, for or against this great economic wrong that is manifestly crushing out the life of the man of moderate means and small fortunes.

THE POWER OF THE PRESIDENT IN THE JUDICIARY DEPARTMENT.

The chief executive's influence upon the judiciary of this Government is not so direct, and yet it has long been recognized that the personnel of the various federal courts may influence decisions of a post-political nature. I need but cite the Free-Soil notions of abolition days and the income tax decision of more recent date.

No keen observer can doubt that nine judges could be selected and appointed to fill the position of judges of the Supreme Court who would be of the same opinion as were the five that denied the validity of the income tax. So, likewise, nine equally able men could be found to agree, conscientiously, with the four that voted in the minority. Judges are human, their early education, mental training, and even professional custom being, when appointed to the bench, unchangeably bringing them to a proslavery or an anti-slavery decision, or in favor of or against an income tax, when it becomes a question of constitutional construction. Mr. Bryan, I doubt not, would in the four years have his quota of United States circuit, district, and supreme judges to appoint.

Who will gainsay, in the light of our judicial history, that his selection of judges, schooled in his belief and theory of economics, would honestly charge a grand jury more vigorously, and direct a district attorney more effectively, to bring before him and such grand juries offenders against the Sherman anti-trust act, as well as decide more promptly the various preliminary questions that are frequently interposed to stay proceedings, than would a judge that he might appoint from the ranks of the trust attorneys and from the ranks of the corporation counselors, or from the States where trusts were fattened; and yet these latter men might be equally as learned and conscientious as his former appointees. One set of judges would be active and aggressive in punishing all law violators alike; the other set might

be negative and non-aggressive, and wholly indifferent, either as to charges of grand juries or crowding offenders to trial.

In conclusion, I can but reiterate that Mr. Bryan, as President, can do much affirmatively to destroy trusts and monopolies by reason of his constitutional powers as chief executive proper, and as controlling legislative formation of committees, passing or defeating measures, and can wield indirectly great power through and over the courts; or he can negatively retard, practically, every effort to carry out or to enforce the Sherman anti-trust act, and nullify all of its provisions, by letting it be known through his political managers that campaign assessments will do much to soften the rigors of the law, even while a pretence of enforcement is still maintained.

TRUSTS, IN CASE OF BRYAN'S ELECTION.

BY PROF. J. LAURENCE LAUGHLIN.

(Of the University of Chicago.)

I AM asked, not to discuss the merits or demerits of trusts, but to express an opinion as to what Mr. Bryan could do in the way of carrying out his expressed policy against trusts if he were to be elected.

First of all, it must be recalled that as President Mr. Bryan would be only an executive. This reminder is the more necessary in a Presidential year, because the politicians are, as usual, engaged in the old game of associating all the great issues with this or that candidate for the Presidency, trying to further personal ambitions and perpetuate partisan organizations, when, all the while, the main issues can be settled only by the legislative branch in Congress assembled. Indeed, the Speaker of the House has more power in settling issues that need legislation than the President. Consequently, to know what Mr. Bryan can effect in this matter, it is important to consider how far Congress can be led.

In the next place, the issue of trusts differs from such issues as imperialism and civil-service reform. The policy in the Philippines is, as yet, almost entirely the work of the executive. The position of the President as commander-in-chief of the army and navy gives him war powers of great influence, and as an executive he can do much to embarrass or calm our foreign relations. The executive, also, can entirely control the civil-service appointees (subject to confirmation in certain classes); hence, his power is decisive on this question. But it is quite a different thing to

regulate trusts; for that is not an affair of the executive. Were Mr. Bryan elected, it does not at all follow that his platform will be enacted into law. We have had a very recent and unfortunate illustration of this, when Mr. McKinley was elected on the issue of establishing the gold standard, while to-day Secretary Gage is telling the public that the gold-standard law would not protect us from silver and a panic if Mr. Bryan were elected. The crux of the question, then, lies in what Congress is likely to do—not in what the President alone can do. In order to carry out a new policy against trusts, new statutes must be passed through both houses of Congress. Looking at Mr. Bryan's individual policy of controlling trusts by a constitutional amendment, it is clearly apparent that this is as much more difficult than getting an act through Congress as swimming the Hellespont is more difficult than swimming the Rubicon.

Granting Mr. Bryan's election, there are the following possibilities as to Congress—(1) a Republican majority in both Senate and House; (2) a Republican Senate and a Democratic House; (3) in a few years, a Democratic Senate and a Democratic House. The probability of a Democratic House, in any case, is so strong that if Mr. Bryan is elected, we may assume the first possibility as ruled out. In that event, there is nothing to be said; for no positive legislation could be passed, and Mr. Bryan's influence would end with preventing his opponents

from scoring by the exercise of the veto power. The second, however, would give the President little or no chance for party legislation on trusts. Even if a stringent bill were passed through the House, it would be held up in the Senate; because, as generally understood, that body is likely to act in protection of the large corporations. What influence Mr. Bryan, as President, could have on individual Senators, through offers of patronage, it is impossible to say beforehand—cynical as that may sound; but the political antagonisms are so strong that party fealty would probably defeat any recognized Democratic policy on trusts. To be sure, Mr. Cleveland drove a hostile majority in both House and Senate to repeal the purchase clause of the silver acts; but he had the support of the business community to help him in influencing members of Congress. Mr. Bryan would not have this support in attacking trusts (meaning, of course, large combinations of capital, even if not technically trusts). The Senate, as has been said, has shown itself in many instances friendly to the large corporations, and is not likely to help Mr. Bryan. It checked the full force of the Wilson bill, even when pushed by Mr. Cleveland; sugar and other interests received important favors from the Senate. All in all, even if in position to offer the spoils of office, Mr. Bryan need hope for little from the present Senate; it could cleverly emasculate a House bill on trusts, as easily as it did the House bill on the gold standard, and yet pose before the voters as opposed to trusts.

While keeping in mind the fact that a President is only an executive, still it must not be forgotten that he remains, in fact, a party leader, who can by tact, by adroitness, by bribing Congressmen with appointments (even those of the opposite party), so influence the close votes on critical bills as to gain his point. Moreover, he has at his elbow the successful manager of his campaign, and he can suggest the punishment of irresolute Congressmen who oppose him by threats of withdrawing funds from his district when he is running for reelection. The encroachment of the legislative on the executive branch of the Government is attended by a subservience on the part of the executive in order to gain certain legislation.

The real question arises in considering the third possibility. The election of Mr. Bryan should be properly regarded, not as an isolated phe-

nomenon, but as a sign of the growth of radicalism in the United States. If he were elected, and carried with him a Democratic House, there is reason to believe that this would also be accompanied by sending more radicals to State legislatures. If so, this would show itself in the substitution of radical for conservative Senators in Congress. The present Senate, by common report, is dominated by commercialism; and Mr. Bryan's party represents the struggle of the masses against the plutocrats. Hence, if Mr. Bryan succeeds, it would be regarded as an evidence of the rise of radicalism, which is certain to be felt later in the Senate. What legislation on trusts Mr. Bryan, in the end, could obtain becomes, therefore, a question of the outlook for radicalism in the United States. If one were to judge from the action of the country in 1896, it must be confessed that in no country in the modern world is there a more cautious and conservative element than the business community of the United States; and that whichever way it turns it generally decides the national election.

A radical, as distinct from a liberal, President like Mr. Bryan could, of course, exercise a considerable control over legislation on trusts in a negative way by his veto power; that is, he could prevent new favors to special interests such as have been notorious in the past. Consequently, bills intended to modify or repeal existing trust laws, railway legislation, and the like, could be killed, in all probability, by his veto (especially if one body in Congress were Democratic).

Finally, it remains to mention Mr. Bryan's power to execute the existing national anti-trust law. As an executive, through his attorney-general, he might stir up a good deal of trouble for many organizations. The Sherman anti-trust law is a very extraordinary measure, and its full import may not yet have been clearly understood. It is not clear but that it forbids labor combinations. But without going into the details of a very serious measure, it may be said in general that legal technicalities will, by offering new plans of operation, make it very difficult to prevent the continuance, even by national legislation, of industrial enterprises merely because they are on a large scale. The legal fraternity will find a way. Eventually, large operations must and will be allowed, provided they do not infringe on the rights of others, large or small, be they producers or consumers.

NEW LIGHT ON THE PROBLEM OF TRUSTS.*

BY CHARLES R. FLINT.

“THE Trust Problem,” by Professor Jenks, is a valuable addition to much that is being written on the great economic evolution which is resulting in the centralization of industry.

He describes this movement, which has proceeded from destructive competition to “price agreements,” and finally to consolidation. Intense competition, becoming disastrous, forced agreements on prices. The fundamental disadvantage of such agreements was that they were not lived up to. They offered a premium on bad faith, and finally our lawmakers wisely legislated against “price agreements.” They were declared as in restraint of trade—against public policy. Then relief through centralizing manufacture naturally followed. Instead of a plan under which a reward was secured by breaking agreements, an absolute and permanent identity of interests was created, and it became in the interest of all to work for the common good. In place of an agreement to put up prices as the only relief from disastrous competition, plans were developed to secure more economic production and distribution. Many of the “industrials,” certainly the most successful, while reserving a proper compensation for their stockholders, recognized that their continued success depended upon their giving to the public an opportunity to share in the benefits of the economies thus secured, thereby increasing the volume of business, and still further reducing the cost of production and distribution.

On the other hand, Professor Jenks calls attention to the fact that some so-called “trusts,” under a shortsighted management, take advantage of centralization to increase the prices to the consumers, with the result that through natural laws conditions arise that bring about a war of prices, sometimes between giants, as in the case of the sugar war; and the lesson is taught that continuous success can only be maintained by low prices to consumers, large volume of business, and consequent reduction of the percentage of general charges to production and distribution, and other economies which, as every factory superintendent appreciates, can be secured when the factory runs full time.

Professor Jenks also points out that, while

through combinations men are thrown out of employment, combinations sustain and sometimes advance rates of wages; but it seems to me that he might have gone farther, to advantage, and called attention to the greater certainty and steadiness of employment insured through distributed markets by the enormous increase in the exports of manufactured goods made possible by more economical production secured by centralization. And this great increase of the exports of the products of our factories, which during the past two years of “industrial” organization has been 40 per cent. more than during the previous two years, and ten times what they were in 1860, as against an increase of other exports of less than fourfold, has been made while the wage-earners have been living better than any wage-earners have ever before lived in the history of the world, and at the same time depositing their surplus earnings, so that our savings-bank deposits have reached the great sum of \$2,300,000,000. Through the combination of our natural resources and superior organization, we are sending these enormous exports to countries where the average rates of wages are 40 per cent. of what we are paying to our laborers. These exports will still further largely increase as soon as there is a material reduction in our home demand; and thousands of our laborers who would otherwise be thrown out of work will, during such dullness in domestic trade, find employment in filling foreign orders.

Professor Jenks makes a point that appeals to every merchant: that, while the quality of certain kinds of merchandise is easily distinguished, in other products purchases are made on faith in the trade-marks. Large corporations almost invariably recognize that their most valuable assets are their trade-marks; and, not being under the pressure of intense competition, instead of making inferior, or what might be called counterfeit goods, they adopt the policy of sustaining and often improving the high quality of their products—thus increasing, instead of jeopardizing, their most valuable asset.

In referring to Royal Baking Powder, however, Professor Jenks states that “it may be perfectly pure, but the housewife who insists on using it has probably never tested it in comparison with other brands.” There can be no better “proof of the pudding than the eating of

*The Trust Problem. By Jeremiah Whipple Jenks, Ph.D. 12mo, pp. 298. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co. \$1.

it;" and the general popularity of a trade-mark results from the fact that it has been tested in comparison with other brands, and that it holds its position owing to the fact that it has been subjected to the most practical test—viz., the test of the oven.

Professor Jenks describes, in a most able way, the evils of overcapitalization, and it is to be hoped that at a later period he will publish another volume giving many interesting facts on this subject that did not exist at the time this volume was written. To-day the advantage of centralized industry is generally recognized. The fact that, through the distribution of shares, the profits of manufacturing are being widely distributed to investors and the employees in the different companies is recognized as of general advantage; but what is most interesting to the public is to have suggestions as to how they can discriminate between the good and the bad. In the case of one "industrial," tangible assets were purchased for \$800,000 in cash, and those assets then capitalized for \$4,000,000 preferred stock and \$4,000,000 common stock. At present those securities are selling 60 per cent. below the price at which they were sold to the subscribers. The result is that there is a lack of confidence in that particular company, and such inflation tends to lessen confidence in the sound "industrials." There should be some well-defined rules in capitalizing "industrials." Preferred stock should not be issued in excess of the actual value of tangible assets, except in cases where there is a very large earning capacity protected by patents or trade-marks, as in the case of the Royal Baking Powder and the American Chiclé Co. (chewing-gum).

No preferred stock should be offered to the public until its earning capacity has been demonstrated. In the case of the consolidation of companies that have an established business and a demonstrated earning capacity, the placing of the securities on the market is justifiable; but where the business is a new one,—the exploitation of patents and processes,—the stock should be locked up until the concern has shown its capacity by the actual earning of dividends. Where any other course is pursued, the public may be deceived, and it results to the prejudice of those responsible for the organization. The great responsibility in connection with capitalizing "industrials" is, to my mind, in the issue of senior securities. In the issues of junior securities, notice is given to the public by the word "common" being engraved in large letters across the face of the certificate that such stock is not an investment security; that it represents good-will.

But the responsibility of issuing bonds and preferred stock is a most serious one, because the public interests demand that said securities be put upon a basis sufficiently conservative to justify investment by those who are dependent on income; and where the issues of such senior securities have been offered to the public, and have not been based upon tangible assets or protected earning capacity, to my mind it would appear to be a method of obtaining money under false pretenses. The investor has been very largely responsible for unsound capitalizations, being too careless in buying shares. Most investors have the facilities through banks or bankers of securing the opinions of men of high character who are well informed in regard to "industrial" propositions; and if they had taken the trouble to use such sources, they would have been able to make sound investments in "industrials," but instead of that, they have been attracted by the fact of a large number of shares being procurable for what appeared to be a comparatively small amount of money, and such carelessness has given the opportunity to those who have not been thorough in organizing "industrials" to place securities upon a purely artificial basis.

The common stock of "industrials" to-day occupies the same relation to "industrial" capitalization that the common stock of railroads occupied to railroad development. Most of the railroads were constructed for the amount of the original issue of bonds, and the common stock largely represented prospective value. Time put these stocks in the position of investment securities, and in the case of the well-organized "industrials" the same conditions will prevail; but at present, the public not feeling able to discriminate, good "industrial" securities are sold at a price that shows from 15 to 30 per cent. earning capacity on the present quotations, while railroad securities, having been tried by time, are selling on the basis of from 4 to 7 per cent., and many without any better guaranties for permanency of earnings than are possessed by the good "industrials."

Professor Jenks' work is by no means an academic treatise; it deals with actual facts and conditions, not with mere speculations and theories. The author's position as counsel to the United States Industrial Commission (the report of which is contained in an appendix to the volume) has given him unusual facilities for the acquisition of the freshest and most authentic data. In his treatment of trust legislation, Professor Jenks confines himself to practical propositions now before the people, and his book is an important contribution to current political discussion.

BRYAN'S FINANCIAL POLICY: A REPUBLICAN VIEW.

BY THE HON. GEORGE E. ROBERTS.

(Director of the Mint.)

IN what way would the election of Mr. Bryan be likely to change the financial policy of the Government, and what effect would it probably have upon the money markets of the country, and, through them, upon trade and industry?

The present policy of the Government is to keep all of our money at par with our gold coin, to the end that the word "dollar," wherever it may be used, be it on paper, silver, or gold, or in a bond, a note, an insurance policy, a bank credit, a price-list, or a wage agreement, shall always mean the same value. The attitude of Mr. Bryan towards this policy is well known. He is opposed to all efforts to maintain the gold standard, holding that such efforts enhance the value of gold, and make money too dear.

To maintain this parity, it is necessary that those who desire gold shall be able to obtain it without cost over paper or silver. There is a legitimate and necessary use for gold in our relations with the world—relations becoming daily more intimate and important. Gold is the only money we have that can go abroad and be converted into the money of other countries. If those who require it cannot obtain it readily from their bankers or from the Government, they will bid a premium for it; and a premium on gold means that the parity of our several forms of money is lost. If it occurs under conditions likely to be permanent, it means that about one-half the total stock of money in the country has become a commodity, and is withdrawn from circulation.

It is known by all who were familiar with the situation that the Government was very close to a suspension of gold payments during the last administration of President Cleveland, and that the crisis was only tided over by the bond sales. Such was the public alarm and sense of insecurity that gold was generally hoarded, money-lending practically ceased, enterprise was suspended, and all business operations were contracted to the narrowest scope. The country had an abundance of money, but the danger of a premium on gold made nearly one-half of its stock unavailable for use.

There was entire confidence in President Cleveland at that time. Nobody doubted that, so

long as he was President, gold payments would be maintained. Secretary Carlisle found authority to do what the new monetary act directs the secretary of the treasury to do; namely, replenish the gold reserve by the sale of bonds. But public confidence was not maintained, as everybody knew that the protection given by a friendly administration might be wanting after the Presidential election. The bond sales were unpopular, and were decried by Mr. Bryan and his followers as a regular, necessary, and inevitable accompaniment of the gold standard. The greater the probability of Mr. Bryan's success, the greater was the pressure for the only kind of money he could not depreciate, the greater the necessity for bond sales, the greater the paralysis in financial circles; and all of these conditions were seized upon by him and made capital for his campaign. This experience demonstrated that it is unfortunate to be obliged to resort to bond issues to maintain the gold standard. It is an emergency defense, uncalled for unless the credit of the Government is under strain, and then so subject to misrepresentation as to be perilous to its own cause.

We have seen that while protected by the Cleveland administration as effectually as it could be under any gold-standard law, the country suffered from apprehension of what was threatened. If Mr. Bryan should be elected now, would there, or would there not, be ground for apprehension as to what might follow?

The gold-standard law received 11 Democratic votes in the House. There is greater probability that the next House will be Democratic than that Mr. Bryan will be elected; and, if the latter event occurs, it may be accepted as certain that the House will be Democratic by a much larger majority than 11. The free-silver element will organize the House, elect the Speaker, and control legislation.

In the Senate there are now 54 votes to sustain the gold-standard law, counting one in the Pennsylvania vacancy. But the two Democrats who voted for it, Lindsay and Caffery, will be replaced on March 4 next by free-silver Senators already elected. Seven Republican Senators who voted for it are likely to lose their seats at

the same time, if the sentiment of the country is such as to elect Mr. Bryan. They are Baker, of Kansas; Carter, of Montana; Elkins, of West Virginia; Shoup, of Idaho; Thurston, of Nebraska; Warren, of Wyoming; and Wolcott, of Colorado. If Mr. Bryan is elected, he will almost certainly carry all of these States; and if he carries them, it is to be expected that they will elect free-silver Senators. Nine votes deducted from the sound-money strength leaves the Senate a tie, with a free-silver Vice-President in the chair.

It is apparent, from the foregoing, that if Mr. Bryan is elected there will be no safe and reliable majority against him in either branch of Congress. It is impossible for any man to give his influence to the election of Mr. Bryan without aiding him to control in Congress. A few sound-money Democrats in either body will not suffice to relieve the country from anxiety. Against them will be their party's platform, the tremendous weight of party pressure, the organization in both houses, and finally the influence and disciplinary powers of the President. A signal example of what the latter can accomplish was given when the purchasing clause of the Sherman Act was repealed, and a striking demonstration of how Mr. Bryan would use those powers was afforded by his attitude toward the Kansas City Convention.

By his election the free-silver heresy would be revived, and with new prestige and strength become an acute issue. From the hour that the result was known, there would be apprehension as to the attitude of Congress and speculation as to how long it would hold out against his will. There would be no relief from apprehension while Mr. Bryan was President; for, if the Congress elected with him should be blocked by a few resolute men, there would be the chance that the next one would be more pliant. The influence of this uncertainty and suspense upon the business community would be depressing. It would give a chill to confidence and a check to enterprise. Capital would again look for safety rather than for employment. The inducement to hoard gold would be the same as in 1895 and 1896, and the same influences would be operative that caused the heavy gold exports of that alarming period.

Then would come a test of the new gold-standard law, and it would be a test under most unfavorable conditions. The normal strain upon its provisions can be calculated; but when the movement of gold is no longer controlled by the ordinary considerations of profit, it is impossible to forecast what the pressure may be. It is fair to presume that President Bryan would obey the

mandatory provisions of the law, and redeem United States notes and Treasury notes in gold coin. Under ordinary conditions, these drafts on the gold reserve are met by transferring from the general fund gold received in the current revenues; but experience has shown that whenever apprehension arises that the Government may cease to pay gold, it ceases to get gold in the current revenues. The administration would doubtless pay silver freely to all creditors of the Government where not required to pay in gold, and it is not likely that the Treasury would receive any gold except by purchase. The reserve would, therefore, have to be replenished by the sale of gold bonds. This act would be a distasteful one for the President to perform, and would not unlikely be accompanied by a protest against the law, which would be discredited and weakened by his influence. If he could use bond sales to create opposition to the gold standard in 1896, his position as President would enable him to make his protest more effective; and repeated bond issues under such conditions, with Congress in an uncertain attitude, could not fail to increase the general alarm. It might become impracticable to sell a 3-per-cent. bond at par, as required by the statute. No European government has yet attempted to do it. The recently announced loan by the imperial government of Germany pays 4 per cent.

With distrust of the future prevalent, business slackening, money redundant, and a persistent movement of gold out of the country. Government paper redeemable in gold might become as scarce in circulation as gold itself. In that case the gold reserve would become ineffective, because beyond reach. The common circulating medium would be silver certificates, which are inconvertible; and, if gold did not actually reach a quotable premium, it would be out of use, and we should have all the evil effects of contraction.

The most unsatisfactory feature of our monetary system is the great volume of overvalued silver not convertible into gold. It is admittedly contrary to the principles of sound finance to have a large proportion of the full legal-tender currency not convertible into the standard money. It is said that the Republican party, having control of both houses, should have remedied this weakness by making silver dollars and notes exchangeable at the Treasury for gold. But no party can control, in all respects, the individual action of its members. The gold-standard bill as passed is a valuable measure. It greatly improves our financial status. The Senators from the silver-mining States who furnished the votes to pass it took their political lives in their hands when they did so. They were ahead of public

sentiment in their States at that time. They went as far as they felt justified, under their responsibility to their constituents, in going.

The weakness named is one that time will cure ; for, with the growth of the country, the proportion of silver in the total supply of money will decline, and the entire stock of silver and paper based on it, with the latter reduced to small notes, will be widely distributed and wholly employed in the retail trade. When that time comes there will be a practical obstacle to its use as a medium for large payments, and the problem of converting it into gold will have disappeared. The framers of the law, restricted by limitations of which

their critics know nothing, counted on this certainty to complete their work. Whatever criticisms of this character are made, they ought not to be offered in the interest of a party which had but two votes in the Senate for any gold-standard measure, and which has since disowned and rejected the men who cast those.

In conclusion : There is no safety to the gold-standard except by keeping its enemies from power. The elevation of so conspicuous and extreme an opponent as Mr. Bryan to a position of such preëminent importance and vast influence as the Presidency would be to throw away all that has been achieved in former victories.

BRYAN'S FINANCIAL POLICY: A DEMOCRATIC VIEW.

BY CHARLES B. SPAHR.

IN reply to the question, "What could Mr. Bryan do about the financial policy of the Government, if he were elected President?" I would say that, during the first two years, he could maintain the existing status of our gold, silver, and paper currency ; and that, during the next two years, if his party could carry the intervening Congressional election on the financial issue, he could restore silver to the currency upon terms which would insure its continued parity with gold.

The attempt of Secretary Gage to alarm the country lest Mr. Bryan, in spite of a hostile Senate, should put the country "on a silver basis" by paying out silver to redeem bonds and notes still payable therein, is as farcical a bugaboo as party exigencies have ever put forward. In the first place, as the *Springfield Republican* has pointed out, Mr. Gage himself has been paying out silver and silver certificates to as great an extent as was easily possible. Of the \$500,000,000 of silver currency in the country, less than 3 per cent. is in the treasury. There is now the "circuit of silver out of the treasury into the hands of the people, from the people into the banks, from the banks into the custom-house, and into the hands of collectors of internal revenue," which the secretary looks forward to with so much trepidation. If this, as he says, will put us on a "silver basis," we are now on a "silver basis." No secretary could pay out his silver receipts any faster than Mr. Gage has done, and he can hardly alarm the country by predicting that Mr. Bryan's secretary will continue to do just what he has done from the beginning.

So long as the United States Senate remains hostile to the increased use of silver as money, a Democratic President could not possibly increase its use as money. All that he could do would be to maintain the existing status. This, however, is a matter of importance. The gold-standard act passed by the last Congress does not, in so many words, make our silver dollars and silver certificates redeemable in gold on demand ; but it contains a clause which might be construed to authorize such redemption. Prior to 1893 there was never in any statute any shadow of authorization for the redemption of silver currency in gold. In that year, in response to the question whether the silver (issued under the Bland-Allison Act) had ever been redeemed in gold in order to keep it at par with gold, the writer received, through Senator Sherman, the following letter from the Treasury Department :

The treasury does not pay gold for standard silver dollars or silver certificates issued under the Bland-Allison act. Silver certificates issued under that act are redeemable only in standard silver dollars, or other silver certificates.

(Signed)

J. K. MELINE,
Assistant Treasurer, U. S.

If Mr. Bryan were elected President, his secretary of the treasury would undoubtedly continue to treat the silver dollars and silver certificates as they were treated by secretaries of the treasury under Presidents Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Cleveland, and Harrison. He would not redeem them in gold, unless the Republican Congress during the next session should require him to do so ;

but his preservation of the silver currency upon the same basis on which it was issued and remained at par for fifteen years would not threaten the slightest depreciation. Mr. Bryan's policy would not deviate from that pursued by any of Secretary Gage's predecessors, and would only deviate from that which Secretary Gage himself proposes in case he intends to redeem silver in gold on demand, and thus turn our \$500,000,000 of silver into an "endless chain" to draw gold from the treasury and force the issue of bonds. If Secretary Gage does propose to do this, frankness requires that he should so state to the country.

So far as the next Congress is concerned, the only peril to the existing status of our currency lies in the desire of certain powerful supporters of Mr. McKinley to complete the retirement of greenbacks and begin the retirement of silver. Two years hence, however, a new Congress will again be elected, and new Senators will be chosen in doubtful States now represented by Republicans. A change in the political complexion of the Senate, therefore, is then possible; and while the Democratic Senators who may be chosen from the more Eastern States will probably be conservative upon the silver question, Mr. Bryan may hope, during the last half of his term, to sign constructive acts to restore silver to its old place in the currency. The fact that the passage of a free-coinage bill pure and simple is hardly to be hoped for does not in any respect negative the possibility of restoring bimetallism. Conservative bimetallists have again and again recommended, as an initial measure, the unlimited coinage of silver purchased at its market value. This insures to monometallists that a gold dollar's worth of silver bullion shall be back of every silver dollar issued; it insures to bimetallists that all the silver not used in the arts or shipped to the Orient shall again be added to the currency. In 1890, Secretary Windom recommended legislation of this sort, and the immediate effect of the Sherman act, passed in July of that year, proved that but for the restriction placed upon the purchases of silver its old value would at once have been restored. The value of silver bullion the year before had been down to 92 cents an ounce. The Sherman act increased the Government's purchases of silver only \$2,500,000 a month. Yet this increase raised the price of silver bullion all over the world to \$1.16 an ounce—or, to within 10 per cent. of the old ratio of 16 to 1.

To-day, the quantity of gold produced is relatively far greater than in 1890, and the price of silver would be relatively higher if the currency demand for the two metals had remained the same. To-day, therefore, the passage of an act

for the unrestricted coinage of silver to be purchased at a market value not exceeding its coin value would restore the old ratio as surely as the value of silver bullion is governed by the law of supply and demand. A bill framed in this way was supported by all the bimetallists in the Senate in 1894, but was defeated by those who maintained that the increase of the currency would be an evil to both capitalists and laborers. To-day, when President McKinley is boasting that the increase of our currency from \$1,500,000,000 to \$2,000,000,000 in four years has been accompanied by increased business at increased prices, there are relatively few who look upon the increase of the currency as an evil to the producing classes. Mr. Bryan, therefore, might easily bring the conservative members of his party to support a measure which without imperiling the continued parity of gold and silver coin would restore silver to its old place in the currency.

If legislation of this sort failed to restore silver bullion to the value it held for generations, until adverse legislation took away the currency demand for it, then the bimetallists in Congress would change the ratio. The ratio at which the free coinage of both metals shall be resumed is not the essential part of the measure. Bimetallists believe in the old ratio, because we believe that legislation should restore to silver the value which legislation has destroyed, and because we know that the adoption of any higher ratio would necessitate the recoinage of all existing silver coins and proportionately lessen the amount of silver to be added to the currency in the future. But if the currency demands of the United States failed to restore silver bullion to its coin value, the bimetallists in Congress would accept the ratio which the equal treatment of both metals established. Not one bimetallist in five wishes a silver currency that will not, in all ordinary transactions, be at par with gold; and it is folly to fear that bimetallist Congressmen will force upon the country what their own constituents do not want.

All this, however, belongs to the campaign two years hence, when the future currency policy must be decided. Prior to that time the amount of silver currency cannot be increased. By that time the issue of imperialism must be disposed of, for unless Mr. Bryan meanwhile brings to an end the present war against the right of our recent allies to the government of their choice, the chagrin of his supporters would make the defeat of his party inevitable. The men who are now united against imperialism may as safely divide in 1902 as those who are divided upon the currency may safely unite now.

DOES JAMAICA CONTAIN A LESSON IN COLONIAL GOVERNMENT?

BY JULIUS MORITZEN.

WHATEVER text-book the United States may consult in the matter of colonial information applicable to Porto Rico and the Philippines, as it concerns the new possession in the West Indies, the history of Jamaica should not be passed by as valueless. True, the British colony in the Caribbean Sea does not furnish a record worthy of emulation. Few islands in the world have done more to shake one's confidence in colonial prosperity. But it is exactly because of what has happened in Jamaica, during the past ninety-five years, that a lesson may be learned for others to profit by. Since that early period, changes have been wrought for better or for worse such as but needed the Spanish-American War to add one more phase to the already sufficiently complex situation.

There is not the least doubt that the result of the war with Spain is responsible for the awakening of such of the West Indies as still fly the flags of foreign nations. Suddenly these colonies have become possessed of a certain insular importance. Take, as an instance, the Danish West Indies. While it is argued that, since the United States now owns the finest harbor in the Antilles, there is need no longer of St. Thomas as a possible coaling-station, still it must not be supposed that Denmark holds her property in less esteem. Because the sum recently mentioned as a possible selling-price is less by far than that of thirty-four years ago, yet the Danes will know how to drive a proper bargain when the real time to sell arrives. However, there is every indication that the Danish Government is of the opinion that what the islands are worth to others they are worth to Denmark; and a fresh attempt is about to be made to redeem the Danish West Indies from their unprofitable past and their present stagnation. Should the experiment succeed, the proximity of St. Thomas to Porto Rico will prove to be the chief factor of transformation.

There is high speculation in Jamaica as to the future government of the Cubans. In a measure, the largest colony of the British Empire in the West Indies is now much nearer to the United States than before the evacuation, by the Spanish troops, of Cuban soil. If a considerable faction in Jamaica had the say, Cuba would never be handed over to its people for self-gov-

ernment. Anglo-Saxon blood in control is just what this faction would wish for. But ask the average Jamaican his opinion anent the annexation of Jamaica to the United States, and the reply would please the patriotic citizen of whatever nation.

Jamaica has no desire for annexation to the United States. Whatever may have been former attempts in that direction, the inhabitants of the island are to-day as British as those of Great Britain. In spite of the present deplorable financial condition; in the face of the disaffection due to excessive taxation, although the representatives of the people have refused to legislate with the members appointed by the Crown, Jamaicans do not look to annexation as their ultimate salvation. As in the case of the Danish West Indies, though in a different sense, the remedy is now looked for from within. And again it is the advent of the United States in the West Indies that furnishes the basis for stimulation.

Capital is the present cry emanating from Jamaica. It was American capital and American brains which, during the past ten years, partly redeemed the island to itself. From the governor down to the lowest-caste coolie, all have praise for what the Americans have done. But will the investment of United States capital continue? Such is the burning question of the hour. Can the people of Jamaica keep on depending on Americans as their exploiters, or will they at last be forced to lend a hand themselves? All indications point in the direction that, with the fertile soil of Cuba nearer the United States, a great trade is to spring up between this island and the mainland. Then, Porto Rico likewise produces the identical staples with Jamaica. Before long shipments of fruit from Cuba and Porto Rico will prove these islands to be rivals of consequence to the British colony which has long held the monopoly.

There is awaiting, in the Senate of the United States, the ratification of a treaty of reciprocity with Jamaica. But the opinion is now prevalent in the island that this treaty is as good as shelved. The map of the West Indies has undergone considerable changes since the agitation for a reciprocity treaty first began. And since Porto Rico

is now American territory and Cuba as yet under United States domination, there is every reason to understand why the chance for the treaty to become operative is diminished. Jamaica, therefore, finds herself in a decidedly peculiar position. The island wants American goods, and in return for a reduction in duties asks the United States to reduce the custom-duty on fruits. As long as Spain held possession of Cuba and Porto Rico and failed to develop the resources of those islands, such an arrangement with Jamaica might have been useful. The turbulent condition of the Spanish colonies, furthermore, did not invite American investment. But with the Spanish-American War all this has changed. And with every American dollar that now seeks investment in Cuba, this island looms up a more formidable rival to the British colony. It is this the Jamaicans have at last come to realize. How it is proposed to meet the new conditions will be shown directly.

For the purpose of gaining information anent the state of affairs in the West Indies since the war with Spain, the present writer recently spent two months in Jamaica. With Cuba and Porto Rico already treated of exhaustively, there was wanting an estimate as to the conditions now prevailing to the south of these islands. Most assuredly the result of the investigations comes as a series of conflicting pictures. The marvelous possibilities of the soil, the political imbroglio, the commercial anxieties and anticipations, the general unrest of the people, combined in a manner which made the task far from being an easy one.

To begin with, the poverty of Jamaica, it is claimed, is due to excessive taxation. Of course, in his interview with the present writer, his Excellency, Sir Augustus Hemming, the governor of Jamaica, avoided as much as possible any reference to political conditions and those concerning colonial government. But the views held by other prominent men of the island, including the leading elected members of the Legislative Council, would seem to indicate that the blame for the present unsatisfactory condition rests with the home government. And the Transvaal is not the only spot on earth where the name of Joseph Chamberlain is unbeloved. The colonial secretary of the British empire is the moving spirit behind the visible government of Jamaica. Whatever is done there is due to his decisive action.

Before treating of the political phases, it is advisable to first see what Americans are doing in Jamaica. Since to them is due the partly rejuvenated condition of the island, it is necessary to follow them back some twenty-five years;

and this is the more significant as the very men who then entered the field here are now engaging in similar pursuits in Cuba. The \$1,000,000 sugar-plant under erection in Cuba is in charge of the American who made possible the immense fruit trade of Jamaica.

The United Fruit Company is the largest corporation in the world devoting itself to the cultivation of tropical fruits, exporting the product,



SIR AUGUSTUS HEMMING.
(Governor of Jamaica.)

and acting as its own distributor in the United States. What was formerly the Boston Fruit Company united with a number of similar concerns, also doing business in Central and South America, with the United States as the common market. At the head of the Boston company stood Captain L. D. Baker, and to him is due the credit of being pioneer in the export and import of tropical fruits. With a capital of more than \$20,000,000 invested in the business, the United Fruit Company covers the field including South and Central America and Jamaica. Since Jamaica was the place first discovered as available for export of fruits on a large scale, it may be guessed that here can be learned much of interest in that direction. When the various companies consolidated, Captain Baker preferred to take charge of the Jamaica division; and it is through the courtesy of Captain Baker that the present writer is now able to convey information unobtainable elsewhere.

A short sketch of Captain L. D. Baker is essential before proceeding. Born on Cape Cod, he went to sea at an early age. Engaging in the South American coastwise trade, he soon became convinced that there was money in the exportation of tropical fruits. In command of his schooner, the young seaman realized that it was impossible to conduct the business profitably when handling other cargo besides the perishable one. It was evident that fruit had to be loaded with the utmost expediency, shipped to its destination with all the haste of wind and weather, and distributed without waste of time. Captain Baker was willing to try the experiment. Almost from the first the venture proved a success. Before long steamers supplanted the uncertain sailing vessels, and from its small beginning of twenty-five years ago the promoter of the enterprise and those who associated themselves with him have seen the business grow to such proportions that the entire island of Jamaica almost is depending for its sustenance on the plantations of the United Fruit Company and the export of its products to the United States.

Captain Baker had just returned from a trip to Cuba when the writer sought him out in Port Antonio, which is the principal shipping-place of the northern coast. From here special fruit-steamers leave almost daily for the United States, and Port Antonio is the headquarters of the United Fruit Company in the island.

"I am very much impressed with the possibilities of Cuba," Captain Baker said, ignoring for the moment a question pertinent to Jamaica. "The sugar-plant now in course of erection promises to be of great importance. Yes, I have

no hesitancy in saying that we are going into business over in Cuba. The field there is a promising one; and then, the United States market is so much nearer than from Jamaica. As for Cuba becoming a formidable rival to Jamaica, it is yet too soon to tell for a certainty. In so far as sugar is concerned, I am of the opinion that this island has seen its best days long ago. And any attempt to restore the sugar industry in Jamaica will be fraught with difficulty. We all know the immense revenue which cane-sugar yielded in its time. But, in order for the

business to pay now, it is necessary to obtain large tracts of land, with great central factories to handle the product of the field. As for raising bananas and cocoa-nuts, the smaller holdings answer the purpose well enough; for there is nothing to stand between the cutting down of the fruit and bringing it to the shipper. But cane needs considerable attention. I doubt very much that even concerted action in this island will ever make the sugar industry of Jamaica a factor in its rejuvenation. There is an immense future for sugar-raising in Cuba; and while we are investing considerable capital, due to the most modern machinery, we expect to be well repaid in time.

"It is largely owing to the antiquated machinery on the former sugar plantations that cane-sugar has been left so far behind the beet product. If the same high-class machinery had been installed on the cane-sugar plantation as is in vogue in the beet-sugar factory, the cane would



CAPTAIN L. D. BAKER.

(The pioneer in the tropical fruit trade.)



PORT ANTONIO.

(Principal shipping-place of the northern coast of Jamaica.)

still be a factor of importance. Of course, the bounty given by foreign countries has enabled the beet to gain a considerable hold."

The United Fruit Company is going in heavy for the cultivation of pineapples. The success of this fruit has been only limited, but it is ex-



DOMESTICS WITH FRUIT, YAMS, ETC.

pected that before long there will be large shipments of pines from here to the United States.

While it is conceded on all sides that the various American fruit companies in Jamaica have saved the island, the new direct steamship line to England, to become operative soon, is the result of a certain anxiety on the part of many Jamaicans who fear that Cuba and Porto Rico will soon appear as rivals to the British colony, and ship vast quantities of fruit to the United States. It is openly said that a new market must be ready should American capital become diffident here. Since the Imperial Government has a hand in the new steamship move, supplying half of the subsidy to the steamship company, it is expected that before long Great Britain will be enjoying bananas and the other tropical fruits indigenous to Jamaica. Those already in the fruit business claim that the distance to England is too great for carrying perishable stuff, and that the new venture will not prove a success. Undoubtedly American investors in Cuba and Porto Rico will watch the experiment with interest; for, if the plan succeeds, there is nothing to prevent them from entering into competition with the Jamaica concern. Elder, Dempster & Co., of England, is the steamship company which will run fruit

steamers directly from Jamaica to Liverpool. The subsidy to be paid the company is \$200,000, and people are wondering from where the money is to come. Of course, the home government is to give one-half this sum; but, with the impoverished condition of the Jamaican Treasury, the other half (\$100,000) is considerable of a figure. Most assuredly the island cannot stand any more taxation, if it is expected to raise the money by that method. Joseph Chamberlain, however, was of the opinion that the new line was the only salvation for the country. Remonstrances, coming from otherwise influential people, did not make the colonial secretary of the empire change his mind.

Since the proposed direct line in reality concerns the Jamaicans chiefly, there is not much of a lesson to be learned from the success or failure of the enterprise. But there is another scheme advanced in the matter of furthering the prosperity of the island. This plan was

brought to light by those in opposition to the direct line; men who believed it better to employ the subsidy money in a different manner.

Mr. George Levy, secretary of the Royal Jamaica Society of Agriculture and Commerce, in the interest of many prominent citizens, wrote Hon. Joseph Chamberlain a concise letter, in which he took exception to the expenditure of money for the direct line. While admitting that the motive which inspired the move was of the highest kind, yet he did not believe the experiment would pay. Mr. Levy then went on to show, from his point of view, that one well-regulated sugar estate gave employment to as many people as a dozen banana plantations, and that if the home government would advance money for improved machinery, etc., the old sugar industry could be revived.

But the secretary goes farther, and adds that the many tropical fruits of the island, too perishable for export, could be made valuable through the establishment of large preserve factories on the island. Included among these varieties, which never see the North in their fresh state, are guavas, mangoes, shaddock, jonblons, cashews, grenadillos, papaw, bread-fruit blossoms, otaheites, etc. In Porto Rico every one of these



THE MONGOOSE.

varieties grow in abundance, and it is not improbable that Americans with money to invest can find a good field in the new American colony by devoting their energies to the manufacture and export of preserved fruits. Since the plan is to be tried in Jamaica, notwithstanding Hon. Joseph Chamberlain has refused to assist, it will be worth while to follow the result for the benefit of others willing to try the experiment afterward. Heretofore, a number of the tropical fruits have had a preliminary treatment here, and were then shipped north for the final process and packing. It is now the purpose to prepare them for the market immediately the fruit is taken from the tree. The preserve factories, it is claimed, will also stimulate the sugar industry. At the present time there is not enough sugar-cane raised to supply the preserve factories, should it be decided to go ahead with the latter enterprise. Beet-sugar does not, it is said, give the same satisfactory result for the purpose of preserving as the cane product.

It is claimed for Porto Rico that the oranges of that island are among the finest of their kind in the world. There is a similarity between the Porto Rico orange and the Jamaica variety; and, since the tariff question is now disposed of as far as Porto Rico is concerned, Jamaicans fear that their product will be at a disadvantage in the future. The pending reciprocity treaty, it was hoped, would give the Jamaica orange a chance to compete with the California fruit. But the opposition of the West makes it evident that no new custom-rates will be made for a time to come. The Porto Rico orange, however, will find it decidedly

advantageous that only a 15 per cent. tariff is exacted.

The Seville orange, a product heretofore allowed to go to waste, has also entered the field as a marketable quantity. This orange is not suitable for the table, owing to its extreme acidity; but the experiments which have gone on for some time show that the Seville orange is excellent as a marmalade. This variety grows wild all over the island, and it is now the purpose to make use of what was formerly allowed to rot on the ground. Perhaps the new-comers in Porto Rico would do well to watch their own interests in that island by paying attention to the Seville orange, which also is indigenous to the Porto Rican soil.

The agricultural features of Jamaica cannot be disposed of without due reference to the part played by the mongoose. Some years ago, the cane-fields became infested with snakes and rats to such an extent that drastic measures had to be employed in order to rid the country of the pests. It was decided that the mongoose would do the work, and accordingly the mongoose was imported. The animal went to work with a will, and soon there was scarcely a snake left on the island. The rats, likewise, were driven from the fields; but, taking refuge in the cocoanut trees, the rodents began to do that damage to the nut which ever since has been such a drawback to the raising of cocoanuts. But the mongoose did worse than this. The moment the animal found no more snakes and rats to feed upon, it attacked the ground-laying birds, de-



A CORNER IN A PINE FIELD.



TRAVELER'S PALM.

stroying them and their eggs as well. These birds had heretofore been invaluable to the country, because they lived upon the pestiferous tick which is such a nuisance to man and cattle. With the disappearance of the birds, the ticks increased enormously, and now, in their turn, they are attacking the mongoose. Raisers of poultry in Jamaica would consider it a blessing if every mongoose were swept off the island. When the animal had succeeded in doing away with the snakes, and made the rats seek safety in the cocoanut trees, it went for the chickens. Naturally, prices rose skyward, and it was considered a luxury to have poultry on the table. With the destruction which the tick now does to the young mongoose, it is said by those who know that the ground-laying birds are once more appearing, and it is further suggested that more birds should be imported. The cattle-owners will welcome the feathered agency that formerly minimized the effect of the ticks by feeding on these insects. With the introduction of sugar-cane in Cuba and Porto Rico, the identical destructive conditions are likely to confront the planters there; but since Americans, with experience bought in Jamaica, are at the head of the enterprises in the other islands, it is unlikely that the mongoose will be imported, even though rats might appear numerically strong enough to warrant drastic measures of extermination. Care will be exercised in the selection of an antidote. As far as the mongoose is concerned, a recent act of Congress prohibits the importation of the animal into the United

States or its colonies. Hawaii, where the mongoose was introduced in 1881, passed a similar law in 1892. The history of the mongoose in the British colony may stand for some lesson in agricultural experience.

It is quite pertinent to the general situation to take a glance at the career of the Hon. David Sampson Gideon. Not yet forty years of age, to him is due in a large measure the energetic action of the elected members of the legislative body. Mr. Gideon was born in New York City, during a visit which his mother, a native of Jamaica, paid the metropolis. His American birthplace appealed so forcibly to the member from Portland Parish that when, during the war with Spain, he held the office of Spanish consul at Port Antonio, Mr. Gideon resigned the position rather than represent a country at odds with the land where first he saw the light of day. Then, at liberty to act freely, he assisted the United States in many ways. The representatives of American newspapers, who made their headquarters at Port Antonio during the early days of hostilities, will not soon forget the many kind offices tendered them at the hand of this enterprising Americanized Jamaican.

Mr. Gideon was a conspicuous member of the delegation which went to Washington in the interest of the Jamaica reciprocity treaty. As for the ultimate fate of the treaty now hanging fire in the Senate, in common with other leading Jamaicans, he has but little hope that it will be ratified soon. Since the earlier days of the treaty negotiations, the vexatious West India problem has intensified so that none know what commercial arrangements can now be perfected.



CACTUS AS IT GROWS IN JAMAICA.

Everything depends on the Cuban issues, and whether independence is soon granted the island or not.

Perhaps it may be argued that the vicissitudes of Jamaica relative to its decline as a paying colony has nothing to do with the interrogative

that they had been the means of saving Jamaica to the Jamaicans. It was his urgent desire to see American capital come to the island, and he said that every facility possible would be given the investors. Of course, the governor was anxious to have the reciprocity treaty become operative, so that the market in

the United States would be still easier of access.

It stands to reason that the conditions which confront a British colony and a colony under the jurisdiction of the United States cannot be identical. But since both Porto Rico and Jamaica produce the identical fruits for export,—since both islands lie in the West Indies and must seek the same markets,—it will easily be understood that in time to come a certain uniformity must take effect as regards the business relations with the United States.

Between the British possession of the Barbados and

Jamaica lie colonies, both American and European, which, with the republics of Haiti and San Domingo, must enter into some sort of mutual understanding, with the United States as the common center of attraction.

"The political situation," Mr. Gideon said, when called upon by the writer, "allows of considerable guesswork as to the ultimate fate of the legislative body. It is quite true that the elected members have refused to legislate with the members appointed by the Crown. The political history of Jamaica shows no more unjust treatment than that which was accorded the people's representatives prior to the day when we left the council chambers *en masse*. The whole trouble revolves around the question whether the people ought to have a hand in the government or not. The Imperial Government, you must know, appoints ten members from among its officials, while there are fourteen elected members. But a certain clause permits the home government to add four more officials to its list in case it becomes absolutely necessary to the stability of the island. This was done some months ago. We objected, because we did not think the occasion demanded such action. But the result was that certain measures affecting taxation went through. We were at the mercy of the government body, which, with the governor as the deciding vote, naturally defeated our ob-



SUGAR-CANE CLEANERS.

caption of the present article. Nevertheless, a stay in the island will soon convince the observer that politics and affairs of the soil go hand in hand in Jamaica. It is impossible to disassociate the present political imbroglio from the unsatisfactory condition which prevails among the populace in general. The elected members of the Legislative Council are the representatives of the people. Until this body enters into some sort of agreement with the Government members, the agricultural interests of the country will suffer severely. At the present moment, the government of the island is purely one emanating from the Crown.

The writer interviewed Governor Hemming on the conditions of the island, but Sir Augustus seemed exceedingly guarded in his answer relative to political affairs. Claiming that it was absolutely necessary to raise the revenue needed for the purpose of carrying on the government, he evaded the questions pertinent to taxation. The governor is now in Europe on leave of absence, and seems to have turned over everything to the acting colonial secretary, Hon. Sidney Olivier, who, arriving in Jamaica some months ago, is looked upon as able to solve the financial problem. But when Governor Hemming was asked what he had to say about the Americans in Jamaica, he grew enthusiastic, and stated with considerable emphasis

jection. The home government acted in a spirit of arrogance; but, notwithstanding this, I believe that the coming election will confirm the faith of the people in their representatives. It is a perplexing matter to give colonists a government that will work equally well all around; but



HON. D. S. GIDEON.

(Member of the Legislative Council from Portland Parish.)

the United States, in its treatment of her new-found colonies, will undoubtedly set an example that the British Government cannot fail to profit by, if studied conscientiously. For this reason we are watching events in Porto Rico with absorbing interest. The tariff arrangements; the official *régime* there, as well as in Cuba; the vigorous measures employed by the United States in punishing unfaithful officials; the future of the Cubans as a self-governing people,—all this affects us much more than the average person would believe. As a representative of this island, I certainly look for object lessons when once the United States gets down to real business in its colonies.

“On the other hand, why could not the United States profit by our past experience as well? The matter of taxation is always one of the questions uppermost; and the citizens of the republic, as well as the colonist, need to guard their individual interests. It is an unsafe measure to rob Peter in order to pay Paul.”

Mr. Gideon, undoubtedly, gave vent to the last sentence as the result of a sentiment now prevalent on the island, which has its origin

among the very few manufacturing interests in the colony. It is claimed by those directly affected that, when the colonial government now and then protects a certain industry by raising the import duty on the respective commodity to be manufactured, immediately it sees its revenue cut down through a smaller importation it places an additional tariff on the local manufacturer. Whatever merit this argument may contain, it is quite certain that the people will not pay more for the home-made article than it can be bought for abroad. The result is that the manufacturer gives up in disgust, the government gets its former revenue through import duties, and matters remain about as they were. There will have to be a radical change in the island before anything like a satisfactory condition will obtain.

As a lesson for the United States to profit by, the government of Jamaica may well stand as an example of how things colonial should not be done. This lesson has, however, its beneficial results—equal almost to that which success teaches. That government undoubtedly is the safest which can both teach a lesson and learn by the experience of others.



SAGO-PALM.

THE RISE OF GOLF IN AMERICA.

BY PRICE COLLIER.

GOLF in Scotland is first a game, then an avocation, then a tyranny. It promised at the start to gain some such hold here. There were several reasons for this. We began playing golf at a time when business was dull, when money was dear, and when people were talking of hard times. The expensive sports—yachting, polo, hunting, racing, shooting—were more or less in abeyance. Men were glad to take up with some

were recovering, growing—getting our second wind.

All this was propitious for golf. From 1893 on, golfers and golf-links increased so rapidly that many people prophesied disaster. It was a passing whim; it would die out, they said. But it was not golf alone which was at the bottom of this sudden and widespread love of out-of-door sport. We as a people were ready for some such invitation. It could not have happened in 1860, nor in 1870. This mad chase after gutta-percha balls, with shepherd-crook-looking weapons, by men and women of all ages, from fifteen to sixty, has its rational sanction.

We have much Saxon blood; we are of the race that loves exercise and physical excitement. Once the Indians and the wild beasts were disposed of, and we had built our roads and bridges, our houses and our granaries, we turned naturally to some other form of wrestling with nature. In its last analysis, sport is nothing but that. It is artificial war. Men must fight to live, and as the spiritual fighting alone is hazy and discouraging to most men, they must needs supplement the struggle with tangible foes. When the worry and the war of our first settling here were over, we turned to sport with our surplus leisure. Sport follows the surplus. Money, in its last



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TACOMA GOLF CLUB, TACOMA, WASHINGTON.

less extravagant form of amusement. Golf came to the rescue. There are many men and women in this country who now for the first time have a certain amount of leisure. They are too old to start hunting or yachting, too stiff to begin tennis, and golf offered itself as a combination of croquet, pedestrianism, and club swinging that appealed to the middle aged duffer. There are over 13,000,000 deposit accounts in our banks to-day; our exports exceed in value our imports by millions of dollars; we are taking up British and German loans, and asking for more, and we are borrowing money, as a nation, cheaper than any other country in the world. This, translated, means leisure! It means a greatly increased number of people who have something to spare, after food and fire and shelter are paid for, for amusement, or study, or sport. Much more attention is paid to hygiene. We eat more fruit and fewer buckwheat cakes; more vegetables and cereals, and less meat; we drink less whisky, gin, and rum, and more light wines and beer. We think more of bathing and out-of-door exercise. We were a comparatively poor people in 1850. We had a terrible war in 1860, with a million and more men killed and invalided. From 1870 to 1890 we



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KEBO VALLEY GOLF CLUB, BAR HARBOR, MAINE.

analysis, is merely leisure; leisure is choice, and choice is time. When a man says he has no time for some particular thing, he merely means that he prefers to do something else, or must do something else, for we all have all the time there is.

We in the United States have reached a con-



PASADENA COUNTRY CLUB, CALIFORNIA.

dition of prosperity when we can choose—when we are not forced to hammer and shovel and shoot to keep ourselves sheltered and fed. Golf, then, is not necessarily a fad at all. It is a very agreeable, wholesome, and suitable way of spending our surplus of time and energy.

Some call it "goluf," some call it "goff," and some call it "gowf!" A certain gentleman was taken to task by Dr. Parr for pronouncing the ancient capital of Egypt Alexandria, and quoted as his authority Dr. Bentley. "Dr. Bentley and I," replied Dr. Parr, "may call it Alexandria, but I think you had better call it Alexandria." The word "golf" has a Dutch ancestry, and without much doubt comes from the Dutch "kolf," meaning "club." As early as 1618 the importation of golf-balls from Holland into Scotland aroused the ire of that parsimonious sovereign, James VI., then James I. of England, and he did what he could to prohibit it. The man, therefore, who depends upon the most ancient traditions for his pronunciation of the word had best study the Dutch pronunciation of the word "kolf." But even then, mindful of Dr. Parr's rebuke to his priggish friend, it were as well not to shock too rudely the usage of our native land, and to pronounce it something between "goluf" and "gowf," with a touch of nasality!

The steeplechase of to-day, over a prepared



SINNISSIPPI GOLF CLUB, JANESVILLE, WIS.

course, with the walls, water-jumps, and hurdles all carefully measured, is far removed from the steeplechase from which it gets its name. Then, the steeplechase was a race across country, each man taking his own line for the church-steeple, which could be seen for miles the country round.

Golf began in the same way. It was a ball and a stick; and who could get it to the church-door, in the center of the town, in the fewest strokes! Then some one made a club especially adapted to this purpose, and the game came to be called by the name of the principal weapon used.

That the game deserves its title of "ancient and royal," there can be no question. As early as the middle of the fifteenth century, Scotland suffered from the fact that her youths played golf instead of exercising with the long-bow; and the



THE TOWN AND COUNTRY CLUB, ST. PAUL, MINN.

Scotch Parliament decreed that "golf be utterly crijit down and nocht usit!" At the very beginning of the sixteenth century Edinburgh passed rigid laws prohibiting golf on Sundays; but shortly after there was a compromise, and the prohibition was cannily restricted to "sermon time." Let us remember, however, that the century of John Knox knew nothing of the fashionable sermonette of eighteen minutes which is now the herald of an effeminate homiletics. Sermon time in those days probably left little time for more than one good round during the day.

The game was introduced into England when King James VI. of Scotland came south as King James I. of England, bringing with him his Scotch followers. They soon began playing their national game, and at Blackheath, and at



COUNTRY CLUB OF ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.

Wimbledon, are two of the oldest golf clubs in the kingdom.

From this small beginning golf has grown to be as popular south of the Tweed as north of it, and it is estimated that there are now as many as a thousand or more golf clubs in England. From England the game has been carried by the English soldiers, sailors, and settlers to almost every part of the globe, and you may find use for a bag of golf-clubs practically everywhere, from Hongkong to San Francisco, from Quebec to New Zealand.

Mr. Horace Hutchinson, who has done for golf what Gilbert White did for Selborne, told me that he paid a visit to the United States some time about 1888. At what was then the Meadowbrook Hunt Club, on Long Island, he tried, by persuasion and by illustration, to show the charm of the game to a few men there.

They were not enthusiastic about it, he said, and looked upon it, apparently, as rather an effeminate and distinctly dull form of sport. Where the first golf was played in this country, it is difficult to determine. Both in the West and in the East, there are claimants for the honor. One of the first, if not the first club, with a course of any pretension to length and quality, was the St. Andrews Club, presided over by Mr. John Reid.

Since 1893, however, the game has grown greatly in favor, and during the five following years golf-courses good, bad, and indifferent have been laid out all over the country. There are links, like those at Newport, where no expense has been spared, and links laid out as late as this summer in New England villages along the coast, where the mosquitoes buzz in ecstasies over the fresh importations of human flesh into their salt-marshes. On the 1st of January, 1899, there were 887 golf clubs in the United States, 154 of them west of the Mississippi River. A fair estimate places the number of members of these clubs at about 175,000.

The game has one peculiarity shared by no other game. You do not play against the powers of your opponent—you play against an inanimate, will-less, unprejudiced gutta-percha ball. Your opponent never interferes with you, may not even speak or move while you are playing. The good and the evil are in yourself alone. You contribute all the energy, all the waywardness, all the accuracy, and all the inexplicable vagaries to the ball. The game is one of the best tests of self-control, because it has that unique factor: you are left, after each



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CHICAGO GOLF CLUB, WHEATON, ILL.



BETHLEHEM PARK ASSOCIATION, BETHLEHEM, N. H.



FLORIDA COUNTRY CLUB, JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

stroke, with no one to blame but yourself. At polo your opponent rides you off, at tennis your opponent places out of your reach, at football every man's hand is against you the moment you have the ball. You have in every other game another man's temper and skill, another man's temperament and will, to overcome. At golf you play against yourself, no matter who your opponent may be.

As a result of this, it is a game that appeals to men and women of every degree of physical and mental ability. It is a game, too, that may be played between opponents of all degrees of difference of skill. It is easy to handicap yourself against a small rubber ball; it is never easy to handicap one man against another man. The man has a temperament, the ball has none. You can play with your children, or you can play with Mr. Travis, and you can get a good game in either case.

If you handicap a man at court-tennis, or racquets, or lawn-tennis, or make him bat at cricket with one hand, or play at baseball left-handed,

you cripple him. He is not playing his game, or even *the* game; but at golf Mr. Travis may play his best game, and Mr. Duffer may play his game, and both may have a hard match, by proper handicapping. Then, again, golf is not an expensive game, as games go. Once you have supplied yourself with clubs and balls, and joined a golf club, the running expense of the game is not excessive.

These, in my humble opinion, are some of the reasons why golf has become so popular. First, we were ready for it. We had surplus time and money, and we had our racial surplus of physical energy. Second, it is a most adaptable game—suited to all ages, and of such character that it is easy to make an interesting game between opponents of widely differing degrees of skill. Third, it is not expensive, and when it is remembered that it keeps a man moving in the open air, the return in health makes it, in reality, very inexpensive.

It must be admitted, however, that it has one great defect as a *sport*, though that very quality



MONTGOMERY TENNIS AND GOLF CLUB, ALABAMA.

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ARDSLEY CASINO, NEW YORK.



WYOMING VALLEY COUNTRY CLUB, WILKESBARRE, PA.



COUNTRY CLUB OF KANSAS CITY, MO.

is its best feature as a *game*. It lacks the excitement and dash, and what may be called the old-Adam quality, of a struggle against a live opponent. The horse that refuses his jump, the man with his shoulder against you at football, with his gloves in your face at boxing, or placing the ball away from you at tennis,—that, after all, is the tempting, exciting quality in sport. One man against another, or a man controlling a brute, or hunting a wild beast,—these, after all, will be considered higher forms of sport than a game that lacks that factor of a personal, conscious, changing, struggling, and live opponent.

This is nothing against the game; on the contrary, this is what makes it so easily adaptable to the amusement needs of all sorts and conditions of men. Only it may be said that schoolboys, though they may play it, had better be about better business for their years. They should be playing the games and exercising at the sports where elastic bones and supple muscles are absolutely essential. You can learn to play golf at thirty, and championship golf at that, as has been proved repeatedly both here and in Great Britain; but thirty is late, too late, often, for many other games. On the other hand, no man who has any physical prowess left is too old to play golf, for the reason before mentioned—viz., he need not be forever looking for an opponent of equal skill or unskillfulness; he need only ask for as many strokes a hole as are necessary to make a good contest of the match.

The tournament side of the game, except as

a very rare test, is the least important, and probably the most pernicious element in the game. There was no amateur tournament in England until 1885, at Hoylake. The spring and autumn meetings at St. Andrews, with a medal of small value as the prize, and minor and very occasional meetings at other clubs,—that was all the tournament element there was, and, be it said, all there ought to be. We ought to know who the best amateur and the best professional players are each year. They, if they can, too, ought to go about a bit, playing on stranger links. But the mug-hunting, and the newspaper flapdoodle, and the innumerable tournaments, are far away from the simplicity and the charm



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LAKEWOOD GOLF CLUB, LAKEWOOD, N. J.

of the old game. Let each club have its club championship, and, say, one big event open to outsiders if it be a really first-class links; but the whole spirit of the game, and much of its value as wholesome exercise, are gone when men play it for the notoriety it brings rather than for

its own sake. If "glory, and your mug in the newspaper," as my old commander phrased it, is what you are after, either in war or in sport, then the sooner you take off the shoulder-straps and put away your golf-clubs the better for you, and the better for the war and the sport as well.

Golf is too good a game, and a game too dependent upon good manners and absolute fairness in playing it, to be sullied by the semi-professional mug-hunter. Men who are liable to sudden attacks of arithmetical paresis should be barred out ruthlessly. Only the other day, at a tournament where the prizes were very valuable silver cups, men handed in scores who did not



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HAMPTON ROADS COUNTY GOLF CLUB.

(Old Point Comfort, Va.)

hole out every ball; and in the medal-play rounds, men were seen playing for the hole with the partner's ball left lying in a position to give them the line for the hole. There are men who are notorious for their breaches of the etiquette of the game—laughing, talking, moving about, when the adversary is about to play; walking on, after playing one's own shot, heedless of the opponent who is about to play. These are all rowdy tricks, or, to put the best face upon them, selfish and unsportsmanlike actions, so subversive of the spirit of the game that the guilty ones should be summarily dealt with. The comfort and pleasure of playing are dependent upon the good manners and good temper of your opponent. This is true of golf as of no other game; and it cannot be repeated too often, nor insisted upon too forcibly, that the manners of the bumpkin and the methods of the "sport" make golf as unlike golf as thunder makes milk unlike milk. They turn the game sour.

Within certain very broad limits, there are rules about stance and grip and swing, about length and weight and shape of club, about playing with and against the wind, that should be heeded by every player. On the other hand, it should never be forgotten that there is no



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NASSAU COUNTRY CLUB, GLEN COVE, LONG ISLAND, N. Y.

absolute standard in any of these matters. Ben Sayers puts with a cleek nearly as long as he is. Mr. Travis puts with a club so short that he can hold it straight up and down between his eye and his toes. Big men have won the championship both here and in Great Britain, and small men have done the same thing. Men who have played from boyhood play well and have a distinct advantage. On the other hand, Mr. Travis began playing golf in 1896, when he was past thirty. You cannot put your body into a strait-jacket of rules and learn to play a great game of golf. Rules and advice are useful, but they are not infallible. The great French preacher, Père Hyacinthe, used to say: "I believe, with Plato, that the man is not the body; he is the fellow



Reproduced from "Golf." Courtesy of Harper & Brothers.

WASHINGTON, D. C., CLUB-HOUSE.

who has the body!" It is that "fellow" who wins or loses at golf, and who wins or loses at everything else. Train him! One of the best ways to train him is to teach him to play golf like a gentleman.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

THE LATEST PHASE OF THE TRUST PROBLEM.

AN unusually lucid statement of the trust problem in its most recent phase is contained in a brief article contributed to *Gunton's Magazine* for September by Prof. John B. Clark, of Columbia University.

Starting with the assumptions that the trusts are here to stay, and that "laws that aim to break up great corporations into smaller ones will not be workable," since production on a great scale



PROF. JOHN BATES CLARK.

is economical and the economical establishments must survive, Professor Clark reasons that our great industries need the spur of competition. "The condition that is really to be dreaded is that in which a monopoly holds the field, curtails production, lowers wages, and raises prices, while letting its own methods become inefficient and while still keeping out of the field concerns that have better methods."

FACTORS' AGREEMENTS.

Efficient producers may be driven from the field by those less efficient through the operation of what is known as the "factors' agreement."

"A trust may have control of certain brands of goods that a retailer positively needs. It may then insist that he agree to buy no goods of this general kind except from itself. It may hold

over his head the threat to withdraw from him the agency for the selling of its own goods, in case he violates such an agreement. The independent producer is then comparatively helpless. He may offer goods equal in quality to those made by the trust, and may offer them at a lower price; but the retailer cannot afford to handle them. If he deals in them at all, he risks either losing altogether the agency for certain indispensable goods or losing the discount that other dealers receive; for the trust may content itself with punishing him by a reduction of his trade discount.

"How can such a difficulty be met? If a law could be enforced that should compel a trust to sell its products to all cash customers, in the order in which they might apply for them, it is clear that the factors' agreement would be a thing of the past. It is probably illegal now; and, if so, all that is needed is to make the present law effective."

UNIFORM PRICES.

Another expedient sometimes adopted by a trust to stop rivalry is to put prices below cost in the particular section of country where the independent company operates, while sustaining them elsewhere. To meet this injustice, Professor Clark advocates the enforcement of a law requiring a uniform scale of prices for customers in all sections of the country.

"An independent company may make only one variety of goods, and may sell it in many parts of the country. The trust may then crush such a company by reducing everywhere the price of this one variety of goods and sustaining the prices of other varieties. This would be precluded if a law could be made and enforced that should take account, not only of the price of one variety of goods, but of a scale of prices for all goods of one general kind, and should forbid the disproportionate reduction of the price of one variety for obviously predatory purposes. Lawyers will pronounce all such statutes difficult to make and more difficult to execute. They may regard the last of those here suggested as altogether impracticable; and I am far from claiming that the policy that is here outlined is easy of execution. Very grave are the economic difficulties in the way of it; and, though this paper must be too brief to discuss them, I wish to record the opinion that this general type of price-regulation will tax severely the legislative and administrative powers of government. It

will be difficult even to begin experiments in this direction until the people shall have canvassed all the various possibilities of trust legislation, and shall have come to this one unalterable conclusion: that the great corporations must exist, and that they must not be allowed to establish monopoly prices. Concede that trusts are to continue, that they are to make a large proportion of our products, that their inclination is to become true monopolies and that such monopolies would be intolerable, and you will have reached the point where you will expend all needed energy in protecting the independent producer. You will not be deterred by difficulties. Having to choose between what seems impossible and what is really unbearable, you will take the former alternative, and, by heroic effort, will bring the seemingly impossible to pass."

IS "BRYANISM" SOCIALISTIC?

THE opening article of the September *Arena* is a discriminating answer to the question, "Is Socialism an Element of 'Bryanism'?" The writer, Mr. Albert Watkins, of Lincoln, Neb., has long been a neighbor of Mr. Bryan, and has watched his political course from the beginning, although himself occupying a conservative position—at least, on the silver question.

Taking the demand of the political socialists for "redistribution of the land and of all means of production, transportation, and distribution to the people as a collective body" as a fair expression of the modern socialistic programme, Mr. Watkins has no difficulty in showing that the farmers of Kansas, Nebraska, South Carolina, Texas, and other States, who rolled up the great Bryan majorities of 1896 were far from socialistic in creed or aims. Neither the Populist nor the Democratic platform of that year advocated any form of socialism. Why, then, have such tendencies been imputed to the Bryan movement? The assertion seems to get most of its color from the planks favoring government ownership of railroads.

PUBLIC CONTROL OF TRANSPORTATION.

On this point, Mr. Watkins says:

"State ownership of railways is persistently bundled up with the tenets of socialism by writers against 'Bryanism.' It is advocated by Populists, who are mainly farmers and owners of their farms, with an anti-socialist end in view. The almost exclusively agricultural States are their strongholds, and these are great distances from the general market to which the vast surplus of their staple products must be transported by the railways. In the sharp competition with

like products of the whole world, the cost of this transportation is of vital interest to these Western farmers. Long experience has convinced them, rightly or wrongly, that relief from excessive and inequitable freight charges, to say nothing of the inevitable pernicious influence of private railway corporations in politics, can be secured only through public ownership of the railways. They believe that this is necessary to successful private ownership of their farms, the private ownership of railways being naturally monopolistic and incompatible with the principle or practice of competition. The long-standing examples of public ownership of railways in the countries of Continental Europe have not been regarded as socialistic; on the contrary, this policy is generally regarded by its advocates as a necessary expedient for insuring the free play of competition in other industries—in short, as a defense, instead of an invasion, of the competitive system.

"These exceptions apply also to the classification of public ownership of municipal lighting-plants, water-works, and street railways as socialism. This policy is quite generally in vogue in countries where the competitive system is most firmly established and has the freest exercise, and it is upheld by conservative statesmen and parliamentary bodies. It appears to be growing in favor among all classes. The English Parliament, for example, has restricted the conditions under which tramway and municipal lighting companies may be chartered, with the intention of facilitating the assumption of these functions by the municipalities themselves."

Furthermore, Mr. Watkins asks, if public ownership of railways is to be condemned because it is socialistic, what is to become of our post-office and even of our public-school system? The whole matter resolves itself into "a question of utility, of expediency, of progress."

MR. BRYAN AN INDIVIDUALIST.

Mr. Watkins' idea of Bryan as a social agitator is certainly quite different from the notion persistently retained in some parts of the country since 1896, by many Democrats as well as Republicans. He declares that Bryan is an individualist:

"Whatever may be said of Mr. Bryan's audacious opportunism, of the facility with which he catches political sentiment of the hour and turns it to his own account, yet he undoubtedly retains the traditional or instinctive spirit of individualism inherited from a Democratic ancestry; and this quality still inheres in the Democratic party in the main. Having observed Mr. Bryan's political beginnings and evolution, or, as others

would put it, his evolutions, from the standpoint of a near neighbor, I have no doubt that he is a positive anti-socialist. And, whatever his political eccentricities, he is not a radical."

"The great body of Mr. Bryan's supporters—the farmers of the West and South—have no thought of instituting or advancing socialism. On the contrary, they are in a campaign for overcoming obstacles to competition and individualism in all the ordinary industrial pursuits. Free silver has been virtually dropped; or, more accurately, it has fallen by its own weight. But it may be consistently and plausibly contended that it would be unwise to put 'Bryanism' in power next fall, because it would be unwise to seem to encourage a revival of the silver question, which will be a nominal, though it cannot be made a real, issue in the campaign; or because business, so lately recovered from prostration, might shrink in timid fear of the radicalism which has been so much exploited, or of any political change whatever; or because the cause of civil-service reform might fare even worse than it has fared under the present, or would fare under a succeeding, Republican administration. For 'Bryanism,' standing as it does for the extension of government business, is singularly if not wantonly inconsistent in refusing, by its attitude of devotion to Jacksonian spoils, to make rational preparation for increased governmental functions. The fear expressed in some quarters that, in the hands of an administration characterized by Mr. Bryan's facile opportunism, the reforms that he and his party stand for would be set back rather than forwarded, may be worthy of consideration. But with its chief strength in the great agricultural region of the country, where its partisans are prosperously paying off mortgages and adding to their broad acres, is not the seat of 'Bryanism' in fact at the antipodes of socialism? Thus far, radical, paternalistic, or socialistic laws are only on the statute-books of those States which are relied upon to go most strongly against Bryan."

HOW POLITICAL DISCUSSION SHOULD BE CONDUCTED.

IN *Modern Culture* (formerly *Self-Culture Magazine*) for September, Dr. Edwin Maxey makes some pertinent and timely remarks on "Methods in Political Discussion." This writer has scant respect for the nature of the propaganda commonly employed in our "campaign of education," so called. He says:

"The two great factors in a political campaign are the press and the platform; and, as we are now inquiring into the motives of politi-

cal parties, we will primarily consider the character of the emanations from each which are avowedly controlled by the political parties. If the reader will examine the campaign 'literature' printed and distributed under the supervision of the party leaders, and paid for out of campaign funds, he will find that very little of it is written in the spirit of one who aims at discovering and imparting the whole truth; nor, indeed, is it intended that it should be, by those who furnish the sinews of war. I maintain that what is aimed at in the bulk of political literature is the bending of the truth to meet particular ends, and not a candid attempt to put the reader in possession of the facts on both sides of the question, upon which the correct conclusion must rest. Some of the political literature does not even stop at the suppression of truth, but gives publication to naked falsehood, which is naturally the next step in the descending scale. Yet however indicative of degradation it may be, the 'dirty sheet' is not nearly so insidious in its effects as the ingenious presentation of garbled truths; for, in the former, falsehood appears in her native garb, and, being readily recognized, is shunned except by the most unwary or perverse; while, in the latter, the charms of truth and art combine to mislead, and often do mislead, all save the most judicial minds. Facts and figures are often quoted freely; but very frequently such facts and figures serve to bewilder and mislead rather than to instruct and assist in arriving at a just conclusion. We are not indulging in metaphor when we say that carloads of literature are sent out which can have no other purpose than to appeal to the prejudices and passions of any who may waste their time in reading such veritable rubbish."

CAMPAIGN ORATORY.

Dr. Maxey finds quite as much to condemn in the methods of the campaign orator:

"Were any one to talk to us about our business affairs in the claptrap manner in which the average 'spellbinder' talks to us about our political affairs, our patience would be exhausted with a rapidity worthy of the emergency. Why it is that we tolerate—nay, even applaud—such departures from the canons of logic and rules of plain common sense, simply because the speaker is talking politics, is of the inconsistencies of human kind which is more easily discovered than accounted for. Whether consciously or unconsciously, the idea seems to prevail that in political discussion the ordinary laws of thought may be safely disregarded. And thus politics, which in its very nature demands the most careful and practical thinking, has become the field wherein

the mental acrobat displays his pranks to the great delectation of his partisan followers.

"In all sober discussion the object should be to subordinate minor differences of opinion in order to arrive at the central truth; but in politics the order is reversed, and what is sought after most zealously and emphasized most decidedly is *differences*; and what is avoided with the utmost care is a harmonizing of the views held by the respective parties. Upon most questions of far-reaching importance there is abundant room for honest differences of opinion upon points that are fundamental to a decision of the question; but there is no rational justification for magnifying minor differences which really amount to very little, and ingeniously creating differences which have no foundation in fact. Yet these methods are fancied necessary in order to accentuate the multiplicity of respects in which one party is superior to the opposing party. It is for this same reason that personalities which really have no connection with a candidate's fitness or unfitness are injected into political discussions. Unfortunately, these tactics are not monopolized by that class of political speakers commonly denominated 'curbstone orators,' but are too often and freely used by those who aspire to be statesmen. If the reader will but take an inventory of the political discussions which he has heard during 'campaigns of education,' by men high in the political councils of the nation, he will be pained to recall that many of them have appealed to prejudice and not to reason, and in so doing have gone a long way toward preventing sober thought, and thus disqualifying the people for grave, sensible consideration of the real question at issue."

VOTING BY MAIL.

IN the *Atlantic Monthly* for October, there is an interesting suggestion by Mr. Edward Stanwood, that voting should be done by mail as well as by personal appearance at the polls. Mr. Stanwood argues that the most direct cause of the evils of our political activities is the indisposition of the very best class of citizens to attend the polls in person—an indisposition often owing to legitimate causes; and he thinks it absurd that a man should be prevented from giving his vote because he had sprained his ankle, or because business engagements were so important that he could not be present at a certain place in a certain city on a certain day. He anticipates the objections to such a novel plan. These are chiefly, he thinks, that the mail-system of voting would destroy the secrecy of the ballot; that it would increase the danger of personating

voters; and that it would add to the power of the boss. But in Mr. Stanwood's opinion the danger of personating voters would be really diminished by a system by which men might mail their votes, or vote in person, as they chose. Signing a vote with another person's name would be not merely the offense in law which it now is, but would also be a forgery; and, as part of the scheme is that postal-cards should be sent to voters acknowledging the receipt of their votes, he thinks there would be less personation under his system than under the present. As to the secrecy of the ballot, he thinks that if one had good reasons for wishing to have his vote secret, he would simply not use the mails, but would appear at the polls; and he does not admit there is any valid objection to the plan except that it would augment somewhat the power of bosses and the danger of bribery, owing to the possibility of proving so readily how any particular vote was cast. Mr. Stanwood definitely outlines his plan as follows:

THE METHOD IN DETAIL.

"It is proposed that, as now, all elections be by 'Australian' ballot; that prior to any election the ballot shall be printed a sufficient time—say one week—before the time when the votes are to be counted, to allow the operation of the system; that one ballot, and one only, be distributed by mail or by an officer to each registered voter; that any voter may mark and sign his ballot, inclose it in an envelope addressed to the election officers and indorsed with the signature of the voter, and that it may be sent by mail or by private messenger to the officers of the election at any time prior to the formal closing of the polls; that on the day set for the election the polls shall be opened in the usual way, and that all voters who desire to do so may appear and deposit their ballots in person; that the last-named privilege may be exercised by those who have as well as by those who have not already voted by mail; that each person voting in person shall be checked upon the registry-list as having voted; that when the polls shall have been closed the election officers shall take the envelopes containing votes received by mail and shall carefully compare the indorsements with the names checked upon the registry-lists, separate those votes of persons who have from those who have not afterward voted in person, open those of persons who have not appeared at the polls, count their votes with those which were cast in person, and declare the result upon the combined vote." Immediately after the votes are counted, notices are to be mailed to each voter, acknowledging and specifying the ballot received.

A PROVISION AGAINST FRAUD.

"In order to guard against fraud, it would be provided that all ballots transmitted by mail, including those superseded by personal votes, and therefore not opened, should be preserved until all contests arising out of the election have been decided; and that immediately after the votes were counted, or on the day following, a postal-card or other mail notice should be sent to each person registered as having voted by mail that he was recorded as having so voted. The object of such notice will be seen readily. It would be possible for an unscrupulous person, A, who knew or surmised that B would not vote, to take the ballot supplied to himself, mark it, forge B's signature, and send in the ballot by mail, and then go himself and vote in person. The notice to B would enable B to defeat the fraud by declaring that he had not voted. Should any one obtain possession of B's blank ballot, fill it out and send it in, B would miss his ballot, would suspect wrongdoing, and would go to the polls and vote in person."

THE FILIPINOS AND INDEPENDENCE.

"THE Filipinos' Vain Hope of Independence" is the title of an article in the *North American Review* for September by Marston Wilcox, who has made a special study of the allegations freely made by many American "anti-imperialists," that Aguinaldo was promised independence by United States officials in 1898. The basis of these allegations is defined by Mr. Wilcox as follows:

"The comments of those whose sympathy with the natives' aspirations or whose antagonism to the administration gives them the character of advocates, rather than of dispassionate judges, are easily surmised: indirectly or by implication, the promise referred to was made; inasmuch as both the Navy Department and War Department had been informed of the insurgents' aspirations, and inasmuch as the presumption in favor of granting independence was so strong, our Government was committed, by its temporizing course, to acceptance of the natives' views. Such is a point of view that has much to recommend it, especially if it helps us to accept as a debt of honor the obligation to do for the Filipinos, not necessarily what a few dreamers may demand, but more and better than the mass of the people can ask or think.

DID "SOME AMERICANS" PROMISE?

"But do we not here come upon an illustration of the peril of 'losing sight of truth in the desire to make it truer than itself'?"

"In justice to the Filipinos and to ourselves, in view of the evidence, we can say no less, no more, than that some Americans promised, while America did not promise, that the Philippine Islands should have independence. When Mr. Schurz writes that the history of the world does not furnish 'a single act of perfidy committed by any republic more infamous than that which has been committed by President McKinley's administration against our Filipino allies,' and invites Senator Foraker to 'ransack all his knowledge of the annals of mankind for an act of treachery more base and infamous,' the bad results of over-emphasis may be seen not merely in a certain resentment aroused (if at the moment one's sense of humor happens to be mislaid), but also in a tendency to attach even undue importance to Gen Otis' warning, and to the circumstance that the assurances, offered by persons not authorized to give them, were received by persons not truly representative.

THE LESSONS OF TROPICAL REPUBLICS.

"Have we any reason to believe that the Filipinos *could* establish a good government for themselves—that the kind of republic their *mestizo* leaders claim the right to institute would bring to them the blessings they desire? Does the history of such experiments in tropical and subtropical countries encourage us to believe it would be less than downright cruelty to leave them to their own devices? Frankly, I fear that such adjectives as 'base' and 'infamous' might, with a rather terrible appositeness, be employed to characterize the act of a nation, familiar as our own with the details of the story of republican experiments in Central and South America and the West Indies, knowing how idle it is, as a rule, to look for good government of the tropics by the natives of those regions, knowing also, as we now do, that the difficulties are greater in the Philippines than elsewhere, and the outlook still more hopeless,—if that nation, having used the power of its navy and army to overthrow the Spanish dominion there, should then shirk the obligation to set up a better government.

NO TIME FOR SENTIMENTALISM.

"I think that the Filipinos' long struggle to win a privilege which they could not enjoy, and their American illusion, claim fairly and surely a response from true American sentiment,—that will insist on being rid of both sentimentalism and prejudice,—whether one look for the answer in administration circles or in the opposition. To discover what is best for such wards of the nation, and to do it—this duty has all the fascination of difficulty."

IBERO-AMERICAN UNITY.

A PROPOS of the "Ibero-American Congress" at Madrid, *La España Moderna* for August 1 devotes a dozen pages to urging (as often before) the necessity of federation between Spain and her independent American colonies. A confederacy of Spain and the Spanish-American states was Castelar's pet dream; or, rather, one should say, a confederacy of Spain and Portugal and the independent colonies of both kingdoms. The writer in this number of *La España Moderna* has the same idea, but both writers seem to have had only an obscure secondary place in their league for Portugal and Brazil.

The purpose of such a federation would be to prevent the absorption of the Ibero-American states by the Anglo-Saxons—or, more plainly, by the Yankees. Castelar called his scheme and theme "Paniberismo." It was to head off and defeat "Panamericanism." When the people of the United States say "America for Americans," "they mean," said Castelar, "America for the Yankees." That an Iberian federation is a fantastic impossibility, seems to have occurred neither to Castelar nor to the present writer in *España Moderna*. The specter of the insatiable, earth-eating Yankee filled the vision of both and hid things beyond.

UNCLE SAM'S DARK PLOTS.

The most notable error in this kind of writing is the notion that the government and people of the United States are plotting, plotting always, to seize Spanish-American territory. So far is this from being true, the simple fact is that but very little of such territory would be welcomed as a free gift. And yet *La España Moderna* is so possessed by the belief in our greed and passion for intrigue that it attributes to "the secret hand" of the United States all the discord that in recent years has found its way into the states of Spanish origin in America. The real author of their quarrels and revolutions is, this writer says, "the secret interested hand that is at the bottom of all their conflicts and sets them going. Surely, it is to be blind not to see it, not to divine its objects, and not to see in perspective the perils to which it leads." And then the questions below, and many more, are asked:

"Who introduces into Colombia the separatist revolutions? Who destroys in Argentina, with a hypocritical *coup de grace*, the advantages promised by the conferences of Punta Arenas? Who puts into the hands of Colonel Pando the torch of discord in Bolivia? . . . Who warms the vein of an incautious patriotism in Peru, in order to foment anew her wrath against Chile? . . . Who stimulates the hostile acts of Ecuador

against Colombia?" etc. The United States, of course!

Such beliefs seem, to the people of this country, the creations of a disordered fancy; but probably, wherever read in Spain, they are accepted as facts.

THE PAN-AMERICAN CONGRESS AT MEXICO.

La España Moderna sees that the first step towards the league it desires must be the reconciliation of the Spanish and Portuguese states of America. They must stop quarreling, and heal their differences by arbitration. "It is indubitable that, if, in the Ibero-American Congress of Madrid, these salutary initiatives are not taken, they will constitute the first object of the Pan-American Congress at Mexico, to which the secretary of state of the Northern Union has invited representatives of all the Hispano-American governments."

Possibly something may be accomplished by the congress at Mexico towards bringing the Hispano-American states into more harmonious relations; but if the Government of the United States contributes anything to so desirable an end, it will not be, as *La España Moderna* thinks, in order to snatch laurels from Spain, or to obstruct an Ibero-American Union. Our people do not care for that sort of laurel-snatching; nor do they scheme to help or hinder contingencies which they must regard as, in the nature of the case, impossible.

ITALIAN PROGRESS UNDER HUMBERT.

A LONG article by the economist and statistician, Signor Antonio Monzilli, entitled "The Reign of Humbert I.," in *Rivista Politica e Letteraria* (Rome, August 15), recounts the progressive changes and reforms in the kingdom of Italy during the twenty-two years of the reign of King Humbert. In conclusion, Signor Monzilli says:

"There is no doubt that the legislative work intended to set in order the new state, to regulate the civil and social life, to govern the public service, to facilitate the development of the national activity, has been in the reign of Humbert vast and important. . . . I will add here some of the most notable reforms.

BENEFICENT LEGISLATION.

"The tariff reform,—a remarkable advance towards national economy, a reform that,—whatever may be done and said—cannot be successfully disputed; the penal code, which the generous king approved, solicitous that the death penalty might be banished, even in the case of

consummated regicide, so that his assassin is snatched from the extreme penalty by a law of the very king whom he murdered; the commercial code, which stands even now among the best of Europe; the legislation as to works of piety for better assuring the development of beneficence and of the piety which the king practised without ostentation, and of which his death, as always happens, will bring to light moving examples; the legislation as to administrative justice, intended to safeguard the rights of citizens against the arbitrary action of organized power; communal and provincial legislation, to regulate by principles even more liberal the life of local bodies, which are so great a part of the national life; the legislation for the government of institutions of emission [as banks], in order to check abuses, and to direct their work to prosperous credit; the very recent law of improvements, destined not only to confer healthfulness on some places, but also to bring under cultivation large regions of national territory.

NATIONAL STABILITY ACHIEVED.

"Others, with an equipment of genius and learning that I lack, with the time and necessary materials that fail me at this moment, will write the history of the reign of Humbert I., the second king of Italy. In this hour of national grief, under the stupor and discouragement produced by the infamy of a conspiracy whose deeds sully the merited glory of progress belonging to the dying century, I have not been able to do more than throw on to paper, as the tumult of thoughts permitted me, the general outlines of the work of a king sincerely good, noble, generous, loyal, and faithful to the national institutions which he caused to advance, and had never thought of impeding. He left a country greater, a social life improved, and a national existence consolidated and assured; a country better defended, more esteemed and considered in the world; a country in better economic conditions. Certainly, very different was the political greatness, civil and economic, which he trusted he should see Italy attain. . . . Fifty-six years old, strong in body and spirit, he would have been able to live long enough to see the country in the conditions desired by his noble ambition as Italian and king. The hand of an assassin has not permitted it. But that hand has not overthrown the monarchy, or the institutions, or the sense of the Italian people, who in an immense and sincere plebiscitum of grief renew to-day the vote of union and civil concord which assures the greatness of the fatherland."

COÖPERATION IN RUSSIA.

"ARCTIC Coöperation" is the rather chill title of an excellent paper in *Gentleman's*, by Ernest M. Lowry. This writer says:

"Arctic Russia is an ideal land for the social reformer. No one owns estates; the land is either Tundra, the free wandering ground of the Samoyede and his reindeer, forest, or communal holding. Indeed, in the whole empire, under 2 per cent. of the population hold land on the strength of any personal title. The land (the basis of a taxation by no means light) is made over by the government, for division among the peasants, to over 100,000 self-governing communes. This *mir*, as the commune is called, shows us that the political organization of the autocratic empire has as its base self-government, and is securely founded upon most democratic principles. All men are, *ipso facto*, members of their village *mir*, and have equal right of speech and vote in its assemblies."

COÖPERATION IN THE RUSSIAN BLOOD.

Each *mir* develops its institutions in its own way. "In one, all are hard-working 'Old Believers,' steady and grave;" in another, they will be idle and dissolute.

"Sometimes a commune will maintain a school, but too often the illiterate vote outweighs that of those anxious to introduce so wise a measure; for the educated man has no more powerful voice in the assembly than his unlettered brother. The salaries of an unqualified doctor (*feldsher*), a midwife, and others are generally voted by even a renegade *mir*; while some will undertake the sinking of wells, and even the purchase of agricultural implements, for the common weal. There is no doubt that the communal system is popular among the *mujiks* themselves, since settlers on the free Siberian allotments and convicts adopt it of their own free will, wherever they may find themselves. Co-operation is a part of Russian peasant nature; the *mujik* cannot act alone; he must always be in common with his fellows.

HOW RUSSIAN WORKMEN COMBINE.

"Of this fact the *artel*, or peasant coöperative society, is a good example. Workmen in all kinds of employment unite into these societies. live in one common house, share one common table, elect one *starosta*, or leader, who chooses the work the rest will undertake, and to whom are paid the wages of all. He pays the outgoings for material, rent, and keep, after which he divides the profits. The *artel*, collectively, is responsible to the employer for the default of

each and every member; it cannot, therefore, be wondered at that contractors and other employers of labor prefer to deal with the collective *artel* rather than with the individual workman."

Mr. Lowry mentions roadmakers, carpenters, snow-clearers, women dockers, fire-watchmen, bank-guards, as formed into *artels*.

"To its members such associations guarantee higher and more certain wages, cheaper keep (for all board together), and more assured employment, and some proportionate reward for energy, skill, and labor. To the employer—through direct interest—better and more regular workmen, fixed wages for a definite undertaking, and saving in expenses through dealing with one leader instead of with each man. A Russian *artel* will, for the sake of its members, accept only a good and steady man; the loafer finds no place in its ranks.

"How universal, and how ingrained in peasant character, is this formation of unions, may be judged from the fact that, when a few prisoners find themselves cast together, they straight form an *artel*, and elect a head; and in the old days of marching to Siberia, so great was the faith placed in these associations by convoy officers that, on the *starosta* promising that no attempt to escape should be made, they have been known to allow the men to take off their leg-irons; for if a man did bolt, the *artel* managed to find some old runaway to take his place, and so save the officer from blame."

"Each for the other" is "the accepted maxim of every business." Mr. Lowry asks:

"Even in this land of freedom of press and of speech, is there not something in the way of socialism which we might learn from the frozen north of autocratic Russia?"

STORY OF THE DELAGOA BAY ARBITRATION.

MR. MALCOLM M'ILWRAITH contributes to the *Fortnightly Review* for September a lengthy article describing the ins and the outs of the protracted arbitration on the Delagoa Bay Railway. This arbitration, which lasted nine years, and the pleadings and evidence of which fill some forty volumes of print, had long been a stumbling-block for arbitration. Mr. McIlwraith is careful to exculpate the arbitrators from the charge usually brought against them of spinning out the arbitration in order to put money in their own pockets, but he cannot exempt them altogether from blame. He admits that "the Portuguese Government and its advisers were determined to contest every possible point, either of fact or law, and to fight the matter, inch by inch, to the bitter end. But after making every allow-

ance for such considerations, there can be little doubt that the case might easily have been concluded in about half the time it actually occupied. The pleadings were long enough, in all conscience, but even they came to an end at the close of 1894, and one year longer should have amply sufficed for everything that there then remained to do. In short, if international arbitrations are to become effective and popular, as a substitute for more coercive measures, the Delagoa Bay case should be regarded as a shining example of how not to arbitrate."

SWISS PROCEDURE FOLLOWED.

Two points upon which he lays special stress may be noticed:

"It is a mistake to submit an international dispute to a too exclusively national tribunal. In the present case the Swiss element predominated far too greatly. With three Swiss judges, three Swiss experts, and six Swiss counsel engaged in the case, the matter was reduced to the level of an ordinary Swiss lawsuit, and the natural result was that purely Swiss methods and procedure, which were not always suitable to litigation of this character, were somewhat slavishly followed throughout. Except for the settlement of some comparatively insignificant question of procedure, the arbitration tribunal never held any sittings in court, and the main issues of the case were never orally pleaded before it at all. Neither Mr. Underdown, the leading English counsel, nor the solicitor who had had charge of the English company's interests from the outset (Mr. Capel Slaughter) ever had an opportunity of appearing before the arbitrators, or even, I believe, of making acquaintance with them, in their official capacity. This impossibility of getting into touch either with the opposing counsel or the judges themselves exercised a baleful influence on the *morale* of the combatants, and was probably responsible for a good deal of the rather derogatory bickering and irritating recriminations which disfigured some of the pleadings."

FRENCH NAVAL POWER.

IN the August *Revue des Revues*, M. Masson-Forestier delivers a discourse on the French navy, taking as his text the words "Speed is but weakness." At the height of France's pride in her swift navy, a male Cassandra arises and pours cold water on her enthusiasm. France stops her ears, but when M. Normand, himself the first authority on and designer of rapid vessels, raises his voice to protest against them, it is hard not to listen. The French fleet, in the opinion of this expert of experts, is so inferior

that it is well-nigh impotent. "Speed is not necessary, save to the fleet which aspires to exercise dominion over the seas." Speed, therefore, is of importance to England, and to England alone, because without quick vessels she could not rapidly collect her scattered naval forces. To France, speed is useless. Beyond a certain point an additional knot per hour is nowise worth the fabulous sums it costs. "A high-speed vessel like our *Jeanne d'Arc* costs the price of two vessels of equal fighting force but only half speed. On the day of battle, the two would sink the *Jeanne d'Arc* in a twinkling. Victory, in short, belongs to the athlete whose loins and fists are the most powerful, not to him who gets away most quickly." Besides, the mechanism of very fast vessels being delicate as that of a watch, the least thing puts it out. Six reasons are then given why these high-speed vessels should not be of service in the hour of need. We quote the following:

"Speed enables a nation to force battle upon a foe who wants to flee. Well, does any one seriously believe that in case of a contest with England (and is she not the only foe we have to fear?) we ought to take much into consideration the contingency of English admirals flying in terror at the mere sight of a tricolor."

The speed of a fleet is regulated by the slowest and not by the quickest vessel, and during a naval battle, movements must always be slow.

"Only in France," says M. Masson-Forestier, "are M. Normand's ideas despised." The French populace has got speed-at-any-price on the brain.

As for starving England out by capturing her liners, why, for years past, he says, "the English have had regular contracts with certain foreign shipowners; chiefly American, transferring to the latter the full rights of an English ship in case a state of war came about. Should a French cruiser then board a Cunarder, the captain will merely hoist the star-spangled banner. 'Now, sir, fire on the American flag if you dare.' Should we fire?" asks M. Masson-Forestier.

WHAT TO DO WITH CHINA.

IN the October *Atlantic Monthly*, President James B. Angell discusses "The Crisis in China." President Angell thinks that the Chinese method of government is strong under a strong emperor, and is not ill adapted to the needs of the people; but, under a weak emperor, the palace is so constantly the center of intrigue between contending factions, and the imperial power is so little felt in the provinces, that the government is inefficient.

THE REAL RULER OF CHINA.

"Owing to the filial regard which the Emperor must always cherish for his mother, the Empress Dowager, if a strong and ambitious woman, may wield great power. When I was in Peking in 1880 the Emperor was a child, and was under the control of the two empresses dowager. It was said that they sat invisible behind a curtain when they conferred with the ministers of state. So the saying was current that China was ruled by a baby and two old women behind a curtain. But it was really ruled by Prince Kung, a very able statesman, assisted by various boards. One of the empresses dowager died in 1881; the other, the present energetic woman, had not then made her power felt as it is now."

WHAT IS TO BE DONE NOW?

The great question now is, of course, what immediate action shall be taken to insure the safety of foreigners.

"The reference to Prince Kung suggests a possible precedent for the Western powers when they are settling the present trouble. As the allied British and French armies approached Peking in 1860, the Emperor and his counselors, under whose direction Harry Parkes, Mr. Loch, and others had been treacherously seized and tortured, ran away. The Emperor soon died. The allies secured the appointment of Prince Kung as premier, with the distinct understanding that he should conduct the government during the minority of the infant Emperor on principles insuring the just treatment of foreigners. For forty years the relations of China and Europe have been maintained without any serious trouble, in accordance with the principles then adopted. If it proves that the Empress Dowager and her counselors have instigated the inhuman treatment of the representatives of the Western powers, these powers may find some way to clear the palace of her and her company, and to place a second Prince Kung in power under such stipulations as are needed to secure the proper respect for diplomatic representatives and for all foreign subjects and citizens. She and her guilty advisers may flee from Peking on the near approach of our troops, as did the Emperor Hsienfeng in 1860. If a just and worthy government can be installed, it would seem to promise a far better future for China and the world than a partition of the empire between various powers. Such a partition involves the danger of serious friction, perhaps of war, between European nations, and also the danger of prolonged strife in China. The present contest shows that no act would be so likely to arouse all China to war with the Western nations as the

attempt to seize upon her domain and reduce her to subjection.

EUROPEAN SUPERVISION AND CONTROL.

"For the atrocious acts committed at Peking, there must be a day of reckoning—not in the spirit of vengeance, let us hope, but as a safeguard for the future. Some means must be found for the absolute security and independence of the legations at the capital. Possibly the European powers may favor some such policy of supervision and partial control as they exercise over Turkey under the Treaty of Paris of 1856 and the Treaty of Berlin of 1878, though it must be admitted by them that the success of the so-called 'concert of the great powers' in respect to the Ottoman empire has not been very brilliant. Our traditional policy would hold us aloof from any such undertaking.

"If the young Emperor, who has shown himself friendly to liberal ideas, can be freed from the control of the Empress Dowager, and can be surrounded and guided by men as able and sensible as the Viceroy at Nanking appears to be, and if the European powers will not be too greedy in appropriating Chinese territory, possibly some solution of the present difficult problems can be found, compatible with the integrity and perpetuity of the empire and with the legitimate rights of foreigners resident on its soil. This should be, and probably is, the desire of the American people."

No Dismemberment for China.

Mr. H. H. Lowry, writing in the *October Harper's*, affirms his belief that the salvation of China rests really with the missionary. The missionary must bring that moral uplift of China's millions which alone can secure political and commercial prosperity. This work, Mr. Lowry believes, neither diplomacy nor commerce can accomplish.

THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE HELD RESPONSIBLE.

As to the immediate crisis at hand, he says that the interests of permanent peace and of an impartial field for commerce absolutely demand that the Chinese Government shall be held strictly responsible for the protection of the lives and financial interests of foreigners of every class lawfully pursuing their vocation under treaty stipulations. Some sort of international control in the central government will be an imperative necessity for at least one generation; and he thinks, should this prove sufficiently strong and insistent, it will remove the necessity for policing the country with foreign troops.

"Preliminary to the inauguration of such a policy must needs be the summary and *public*

execution of the leaders in the present outrages, no matter what their rank. The publicity of the punishment of those in high position who are guilty can nowhere have such immediate and wholesome effect as in China. There should be no yielding because of the specious pleas that will be advanced by viceroys and privy councilors in order to shift responsibility. The Chinese sentimentality in regard to the sacredness of the persons of the imperial clan, even though it should include the Empress Dowager herself, or the highest mandarins in the nation, should not be permitted to shield the guilty. There is no nation in the world where the degrees of official responsibility are more perfectly graded than in China; and there is no place in the world where personal responsibility can be so easily eluded by the officials as in China. When the provincial and prefectural officials are made to understand that they will be held accountable, and with unfailing certainty punished, for any destruction of lives or property of foreigners within the limits of their jurisdiction, we shall hear no more reports of outrages and massacres of innocent persons. The weakness of the central government is not apparent when it has thought it necessary to cashier a viceroy or decapitate a general in the most remote province; it is only when some foreigner is involved that the supposed weakness is put forward as an excuse for inaction.

NO SEIZURE OF TERRITORY.

"Another self-evident requirement for permanent peace in China is that the nations should, *once and forever, abandon the thought of dismemberment*, and thus cause the political agitators to cease their discussion of the question through the publications of the West. As long as this selfish policy is cherished by any of the nations, or the discussion continues, with the certainty of its translation into Chinese, there will be unrest and constant irritation. The conspicuous failures of the experiments already made of seizing Chinese territory should satisfy the world that permanent peace cannot be secured in that way. Dismemberment is wrong in equity, mischievous in operation, and in the end can only result in friction and misrule.

"The highest commercial advantages, to say nothing of the cause of civilization and humanity, demand that the policy of an open door, and the integrity of the empire—as already outlined by the United States Government—should be absolutely and permanently maintained. Under such a policy the Pacific Ocean is destined to become the greatest commercial highway, and the United States the greatest commercial nation of the world."

THE COMMERCIAL FUTURE OF CHINA.

IN the *Revue des Revues*, M. Jean de Bloch, writing of "Illusions About the Conquest of China," sounds a note of serious warning to the powers. The Chinese have now been forced to open 31 ports, besides the half-dozen pieces of territory seized by the powers as "spheres of in-

former prudence, and diplomatists and consuls have not improved matters by being too careless of Chinese susceptibilities, however foolish those susceptibilities may be. Adding all these and many other causes together, and remembering that the Chinese (partly through Li Hung Chang) are well aware of the jealousies and misunderstandings between European powers, M. de Bloch considers it wonderful that the rebellion has been so long in coming.

TRADE RELATIONS.

The writer then tries to draw up a profit and loss account showing the advantages and disadvantages to be gained from China. Every inch of ground in China being already occupied, it obviously cannot be used as a dumping-ground for surplus European population. The only possible profit might be from exporting goods to China. But the Chinese need very little, and are not likely to need more for centuries to come; and this M. de Bloch curiously enough attributes to the low status of Chinese women. "Place the women of other nations in the position of Chinese women, and it will be at once seen that commercial activity is reduced by half." In China there is fashion neither in clothes nor in houses. The many needs which we satisfy by international exchange do not even exist in China.

M. de Bloch calculates that the nations need not reckon on more than \$13,000,000 a year from China. But to sell to China, why must we take her ports? Germany has built up a large trade with her without any port till quite recently. It is urged that railroads and properly worked mines will cause industry to develop; but there M. de Bloch sees a great danger. China with her cheap labor will soon cease to be a consumer and will become an exporter of the very things Europe is seeking to give her. Nothing can eventually prevent China increasing her tariffs. M. de Bloch's chief dread is a Chino-Japanese coalition. He fears lest China should turn to Japan and say, "Foreigner as you are, you can at least protect us." Six soldiers at least, M. de Bloch calculates, must be allowed for the protection of a single European. He concludes as follows:

"As soon as Chinomania is reduced to its just proportions, the states will find it advisable to conclude international treaties for keeping the entry into China open to all; and, in case of disagreement, to submit their differences to the institution established by the Hague Conference. . . . Chinomania is justified by no economic reason, and is contrary to all the interests of Europe."



M. JEAN DE BLOCH.

fluence." But the imports and exports of the 12 ports opened before 1876 are respectively about seven and nine times greater than those for the 14 ports since opened. Again, the earlier ports showed an excess of exports over imports, but now the case is changed.

CHINA STILL VERY MUCH ALIVE.

China, says M. de Bloch, is not dead; far from it. Instead of being dismembered after her war with Japan, she busied herself in modifying her military system. "The present revolt is but the first movement of a giant believed to be dead, but only asleep; he who wakes him has so many elements of internal weakness that, in spite of his powerful military organization, he will not succeed." The present crisis has been coming on for many years, and has many causes, one of which is the fact that America, Australia, and Canada have sent back Chinese emigrants, while all the time Europeans were invading China. The missionaries have ceased to act with their

THE BOXER PROPAGANDA.

AN account of the anti-foreign movement in China based entirely on "original sources" of information is contributed to the *Open Court* for September by the Rev. George T. Candlin, a missionary in North China, where the Boxer disturbances began several years since.



BOXERS SACKING AND FIRING A CHRISTIAN MISSION.

(From the *Tung-Wen-Hu-Pao*, a Chinese newspaper of Tientsin.)

Dr. Candlin describes the Boxer method of procedure as follows: "Mysterious placards are posted on the walls of buildings by night; sometimes they are handed to individuals in a crowded market. A general state of mingled excitement, fear, and expectation is created, and especially the idea of the advent of invincible swordsmen, armed with supernatural power, and teachers and leaders, is instilled into the mind of a populace superstitious in the extreme, and a large portion of whom are ripe for any mischief and supremely covetous of loot. Then children, varying in age from ten to twenty, are seen in vacant spaces and on the corners of the streets 'drilling.' In addition to the revelations considered to be connected with these strange exercises, they are supposed to render those who engage in them invulnerable, alike to sword-thrusts and rifle-bullets. Gradually their numbers increase, older people take part, and then for the first time definite organization is proposed. Leaders are appointed, adherents are formed into what are called *lu*, 'hearths.' These 'hearths' are equivalent to camps. They number five hundred each, and every member is sworn in to obey the leaders, to sleep and take food together, and to have the grain and meal necessary for their support sent from home. The next step is to commence work by setting fire to some foreign house, railway-station, mis-

sion chapel, or other obnoxious building, putting to the sword all native Christians they can find, and any hapless 'foreign devil' who may fall into their hands. In the performance of this part of the programme it is impossible to distinguish the rebels from the populace. Swarming in thousands, they murder, destroy, and loot till there is little left behind."

Priests of the Buddhist faith are among the leaders of the inner council, or conclave, which plans the operations of the society. It is this council that originates the mysterious placards, sends forerunners to the various districts, and manipulates the officials.

INCENDIARY PLACARDS.

Dr. Candlin gives translations of four of the Boxer placards. Many of the illusions in these strange documents are unintelligible to American readers. Dr. Candlin himself does not pretend to explain them all. Placard No. 3 is typical of the lot:

The bestower of happiness, the God of Wealth.

A CIRCULAR FROM LI PO.

Inasmuch as the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches have deceived the spirits and destroyed the (teachings of) the sages, and are not obedient to the law of Buddha, eighty thousand spiritual soldiers will come in the clouds to sweep out the foreigners from abroad. Express divination has been made that, before long, swordsmen will come rolling down, and calamity will be on the army and the people. The Buddhist Volun-

圖人逃難



EUROPEANS FLEEING BEFORE THE BOXERS.

(From the *Tung-Wen-Hu-Pao*.)

teer Associated Train-bands are able to pacify the people and defend the empire. Upon sight of this, such persons as distribute three copies will avert calamity from one family, while those who distribute ten copies will avert calamities from a whole village. Those who, having met with, refuse to distribute, will be liable to the punishment of decapitation.

Unless the foreigners are subjugated there will be no rain.

If any persons have taken poison from foreigners the following recipe is a specific against it :

- I. Dried plums 7 mace.
- II. Euonymus Bark 5 mace.
- III. Licorice Root 5 mace.

This placard was posted in Yangshan about June 15. It ascribes the want of rain to the disturbing influence of foreigners. There had been a dry and windy spring, and famine was in prospect.

OUR BROTHERS IN MID-AFRICA.

THE first to go over the Cape-to-Cairo route is, according to the testimony of the president of the Royal Geographical Society, Mr. Ewart S. Grogan, a youth of twenty-five. His narrative of this exploit appears in the *Geographical Journal* for August, and forms a series of picturesque glimpses of the African interior. He begins with a few words descriptive of the Gorongoza country of Portuguese East Africa. He says :

"The quantity of game in all this country is incredible. Crossing the great plain just as the waters were falling and the new grass growing up, we saw over 40,000 head of game, mainly blue wildebeeste, from one point; and during our stay of five months, besides many fine heads of buffalo and various species of antelope, we shot 17 lions and captured alive five cubs, three of which are now disporting themselves in Regent's Park."

LOWEST IN THE HUMAN SCALE.

But it is the human fauna which supply the most interesting pictures in Mr. Grogan's story. Here is a type of humanity which Mr. Rhodes' railroad ought soon to bring within easy access of civilized curiosity, as its home lies to the south of Lake Albert Edward :

"When exploring with a small number of followers, I observed some ape-like creatures leering at me from behind banana palms, and with considerable difficulty my Ruanda guide induced one of them to come and be inspected. He was a tall man, with the long arms, pendant paunch, and short legs of the ape, pronouncedly microcephalous and prognathous. At first he was terribly alarmed, but soon gained confidence, and when I asked him about elephant and other game he gave me the most realistic representations of them and of how they should be attacked. I failed to exactly define their social status; but from the contempt in which they were held by the Waruanda, their local caste must be very low. The stamp of the brute was so strong on them that

I should place them lower in the human scale than any other natives I have seen in Africa. Their type is totally distinct from the other peoples, and, judging from the twenty to thirty specimens I saw, very consistent. Their face, body, and limbs are covered with wiry hair, and the hang of the long, powerful arms, the slight stoop of the trunk, and the hunted, vacant expression of the face made up a *tout ensemble* that was a terrible pictorial proof of Darwinism. The pygmies are of similar build, but have the appearance of full-grown, exceedingly powerful men compressed, and with much more intelligent faces. The pygmies are to these ape-like beings as the dog-faced baboons are to the gorillas. Probably they are, like the pygmies, survivals of former inhabitants of the country, the difference in their type depending on the surroundings in which they have had to struggle for existence. The true type of pygmy is a magnificent example of nature's adaptability, being a combination of immense strength, necessary for the precarious hunting life they lead, and compactness indispensable to rapid movement in dense forest where the pig-runs are the only means of passage."

A FEAST OF HUMAN VULTURES.

The Mboga country affords the writer a scene which suggests that table manners are in as rudimentary stage as the tailor's art in those regions. Mr. Grogan had shot an elephant.

"The Balegga, who inhabit the hills to the north, and who were suffering terribly from the effects of the long drought, looked upon me as a great institution, and swarmed down in hundreds for the meat. A weird sight it was. Stark-naked savages, with long, greased plaits of hair hanging down to their shoulders, were perched on every available inch of the carcass, hacking away with knives and spears, yelling, whooping, wrestling, cursing, and munching, covered with blood and entrails; the new-comers tearing off lumps of meat and swallowing them raw, the earlier arrivals defending great lumps of offal and other delicacies, while others were crawling in and out of the intestines like so many prairie marmots. Old men, young men, prehistoric hags, babies, one and all gorging or gorged, smearing themselves with blood, laughing, and fighting. Pools of blood, strips of hide, vast bones, blocks of meat, individuals who had not dined wisely but to well, lay around in bewildering confusion, and in two short hours all was finished. Nothing remained but the great gaunt ribs, like the skeleton of a shipwreck, and a few disconsolate-looking vultures perched thereon."

These African diners may not be desirable messmates, but, after all, the worst horrors re-

ported by Mr. Grogan are the atrocities perpetrated by Belgian troops on British territory, raiding tribes under British protection, killing the men and carrying off women and cattle. The writer has convinced himself by inquiries from neighboring tribes of the truth of these grave charges.

A RACE OF GIANTS.

As a foil to the pygmies may be set the Dinkas, who occupy the region west of Bahr-el-Jebel, whom the writer thus describes :

"The Dinkas have enormous droves of cattle, which they value very highly ; they never kill them for food, but from time to time tap the blood, which they drink greedily. They are of colossal stature ; some of the herdmen I saw must have been very nearly seven feet, and in every settlement the majority of the men towered above me, while my boys seemed the merest pygmies by their side. They smear themselves with a paste made of wood-ash to protect themselves from the bites of the mosquitoes, and the long lines of warriors threading their way in single file through the marsh appear like so many gray specters. They are absolutely nude, considering any sort of covering as effeminate. Their invariable weapons are a long club made of bastard ebony, a fish-lance, and a broad-bladed spear, and the chiefs wear enormous ivory bracelets. The southern Dinkas cut their hair like a cock's comb, and the northern Dinkas train their hair like a mop. Both bleach it with manure."

Mr. Grogan and his party narrowly escaped massacre by these Dinkas, who treacherously and without warning assailed them.

Such are some of the human ingredients in the mid-African crucible into which will be thrust ere long the mixing-rod of the Cape-to-Cairo railway.

ROBINSON CRUSOE'S ISLAND.

ABOUT two years ago, a report was cabled around the world that the island of Juan Fernandez, down in the South Pacific, had disappeared, as the result of an earthquake.

Ordinarily, such a report would have attracted little notice ; but the fame of this particular island had gone wherever the English language is read, for Juan Fernandez was the place of Alexander Selkirk's exile—the scene of "Robinson Crusoe's" adventures. At some time in our lives this little island has been, to most of us, the most interesting spot in the world. Thus it came about that there was a great desire among seafaring men to verify or else disprove the alleged mysterious disappearance of the island. It was

this desire that led Captain Hawley, of the U. S. S. *Hartford*, to attempt to "pick up" Juan Fernandez, and so to learn that the report of the seismic disappearance was unfounded, and that "Robinson Crusoe's Island" still flourishes. The story of the visit made by the *Hartford's* crew is told, in the August number of the *Overland Monthly*, by Douglas White.

THE MODERN INHABITANTS.

It will be news to many of our readers that a community of Chileans is living on the island to-day.

"Ever since the Chilean occupation of the island, there has resided here a representative of the republic. Time was when this representative existed in the form of a glittering army officer. Then the dignity fell, until Juan Fernandez's governor visited ships in a red-striped shirt, an old tall hat, with a sword of ancient make tied to his waist by means of a bit of rope-yarn. But Fernandez has again advanced, this time not toward a position of military greatness—for it is commerce which is causing her little colony to remain upon the island. Her governor is now an educated, sedate European, and though of foreign birth, a citizen of Chile. He it was who met us in his boat and conducted the *Hartford* to a safe anchorage. From a herd of his cattle fresh beef was purchased, and from the gardens of the little Chileno village came green stuff to gladden the hearts of the salt-fed mariners.

"We found that Fernandez possesses an industry, for a firm of shrewd Germans has established on Cumberland Bay a canning establishment for the preserving of the splendid lobsters and codfish with which the waters abound. As there are no such things as lobsters on the mainland, there is a ready market for the little factory's production.

"Months had passed since anything save a little schooner from the coast had called at Cumberland Bay, so even outside the financial features the *Hartford's* visit was a welcome one. For the balance of the day, the cruiser lay at anchor giving her people an opportunity to rummage about the island while stores were brought aboard and a supply of fresh fish secured.

A SECLUDED GOVERNOR.

"There is little to attract in the appearance the village of San Juan Bautista. Of the 93 of souls, most are employed in the canning-factory ; and by far the most interesting of all these people is the governor, who, located on this far-away patch of rocks, spends his time surrounded by an excellent library, filled with the best authors, which shows evidences of being kept abreast of

the times by the constant addition of lately published works. This governor will introduce you to his native wife and family, and gravely interpret for you in any one of five languages. He will in the next moment tell you that his is a peaceful life there on the reefs of the Pacific, and calmly point out as his prospective last resting-place the little graveyard where the white crosses glint in the sunlight at the point north of the bay. You will wonder why a man like this is found buried out here hundreds of miles from civilization, and why he should meet these conditions so stoically. You may try to find the reason, and you will probably fail, as I did; for though ready to tell of everything about the island or to share with you the products of his island home, he will converse on any subject save himself; and the result is that you depart still wondering over the personality of this man of talents who among these untutored natives must of necessity lead a life almost as solitary as did Selkirk when, two hundred years ago, he saw the sails of the *Cinque Ports* sink below the horizon.

"Of Selkirk there still remain many traces. His cave still exists at the head of English Bay, and up at the point where he kept this lookout, English naval officers have placed a tablet to his memory—for Selkirk died an officer in the English navy, being a lieutenant on board H. M. S. *Weymouth* when the end came.

"By this tablet does the navy of Great Britain indorse the authenticity of the tale which formed the foundation of Defoe's greatest and most popular work.

"From the lookout down to the beach where the cave is located, there is a distinct trail, which it is claimed is the one daily trodden by the exiled mariner during his four years of solitude."

ANTARCTIC EXPLORATION.

IN the first August number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, M. Dastre writes one of his well-informed scientific papers, this time on the popular subject of "Antarctic Exploration."

For various reasons, the exploration of the region surrounding the South Pole has not attracted so much general interest as that of the region surrounding the North Pole; nevertheless, the Antarctic offers an extraordinary field for the naturalist, the geologist, the meteorologist, and the geographer. Much was done between the years 1774 and 1843 by Cook, Dumont d'Urville, Bellingshausen, Wilkes, Ross, and others, and then there followed an interval of some duration. The Belgian expedition, under the direction of Commandant Gerlache, has

scarcely returned to Europe after two years' of exploration when three more expeditions are announced, which will start next year. Of these three, the German expedition intends to attack the Antarctic at the south of the Indian Ocean, on the line of the meridian that passes through Siam and Sumatra; the English expedition will make for the south of the Polynesian Sea, while the Scotch explorers will make for Graham's Land. M. de Gerlache's expedition operated to the south of Palmer's Land, so that the Antarctic will have been attacked from four separate sides. All these enterprises are not intended solely to increase our geographical knowledge, but it is also proposed to study the geology, the fauna, and flora. A comparison of the magnetic, meteorological, and oceanographic observations of the four expeditions should lead to many new and important discoveries in regard to the circulation of the atmosphere and the pressure of winds and storms. Geographers admit in general the existence of an Antarctic continent, having as its center the South Pole, which is unlike the North Pole in being the center of firm ground, which is, of course, covered with ice. This is mere theory; but, so far, no fact has been adduced to contradict it.

POSSIBILITY OF AN ANTARCTIC CONTINENT.

It is curious to observe, in the Southern Hemisphere, how far from the South Pole the continents come to an end. Africa ends between the 34th and 35th parallel of latitude; Tasmania between the 33d and 34th; and it is only South America which reaches the 56th parallel, and even that is more distant from the South Pole than Scotland is from the North Pole. South of the 56th parallel the explorer meets with icebergs and small islands as far as the Polar Circle—that is to say, the 70th parallel; beyond that, however, he finds land reappearing, and the farther he gets the larger are the areas which appear to be covered by land, so that the hypothesis of a Southern Continent is a very plausible one. Indeed, one savant, a Mr. Lothian Green, suggested that the solid part of the globe resembles a triangular pyramid, the apex of which is the South Pole, the base resting on the glacial sea of the North, while the sides of the pyramid are formed into depressions as the beds of the oceans. He explains this alteration of the primitive spherical form of our globe by the theory of progressive cooling, resulting in a contraction. Thus, a balloon when it is being emptied exhibits depressions and upheavals, the effect of which is that of a rough pyramid. However, the validity of these and other theories will, no doubt, be

tested before many years are over. Meanwhile, M. Dastre promises us an article on the discoveries of the Gerlache expedition in the domain of Antarctic fauna and flora.

THE WORLD'S COAL.

AFTER a careful survey of the present conditions of coal supply and consumption in the principal countries of the world, Mr. Benjamin Taylor, writing in *Cassier's* for September, concludes that the explanation of the recent enormous consumption of coal in Europe is to be found in the phenomenal industrial expansion and activity of the past two years. He says:

"The plain fact to be deduced from a consideration of the whole situation is that the coal supply of Europe at large was, last year, short of the requirements of industrial Europe and dependent markets. Hence the great advance in prices—at a time, too, of dear freights caused by the absorption of tonnage in connection with the Transvaal War, and by the general activity of trade all over the world. Prices having been, by the comparative scarcity and peculiar conditions, sent up to a level which renders industries unremunerative, will be brought down again by the consequent curtailment of consumption. It is the natural effect of high prices to check consumption, and so the bane carries its own antidote. A good deal of mischief may be done, however, before coal prices return to a reasonable level, and undoubtedly the coal famine in Europe has given America an opening for both coal and iron that she is not likely to allow to be closed again.

THE AMERICAN FACTOR.

"The projection of American coal into the international arena is, indeed, the great economic feature of the time. It is not probable that American coal will go to feed British factories; but if it goes to feed some of the foreign factories and coaling-stations hitherto accustomed to be fed from South Wales and the North of England, it will save the drain on the British fields for foreign uses. Thus, the British exports will be abated, or at all events not increased, and they are now as large as they need be.

BRITAIN'S COAL RESOURCES.

"While it is for a royal commission, or a committee of experts, to determine what are the present coal resources of the British Isles, ordinary persons may take certain facts and probabilities into consideration. One is that the British empire now produces about five-twelfths of the world's coal, and that only the fringe of the resources of India, Africa, and Australasia has as

yet been touched. Another is that the industrial consumption of coal will not increase in the same rate in the future as in the past, because science is teaching us both how to economize coal and how to develop the employment of electric energy. For the present, however, the coal question is undoubtedly a most anxious one for all engaged in industrial pursuits."

SOME NOTABLE NEW INVENTIONS.

LAST month's magazines register several strides forward in man's campaign of conquest over his material environment.

Mr. H. J. Shepstone describes, in the August *Harmsworth's*, Mr. H. S. Halford's patent gradient railway, which promises to yield a rate of 200 miles an hour by train, and makes a journey of fifteen minutes from London to Brighton conceivable. The inventor has already worked out the idea in a model 50 yards in length.

"The permanent way is laid upon girders. There are six girder-sections in the model, each 25 feet in length. These girders are supported upon rams moving the supporting columns as pistons. These rams are the terminal points of sections, and are made to rise, and so cause a gradient down which the train runs. It will be seen, therefore, that the train is made to travel by gravitation obtained by hydraulic or other power.

"The automatic rising of the rams as the train proceeds is obtained as follows: At a point about five feet from the completion of the first graded section, one of the levers in the trolley above the rail cleverly depresses a lever called an actuator, automatically admitting the water-pressure below the piston of the column in front of it, which naturally begins to rise. The ram does not reach its full height until the train has passed the rising column. This is repeated at all remaining columns, with the result that the train is continuing its run at an ever-increasing speed.

"The time taken to cover the whole distance of 50 yards is 26.45 seconds, made up as follows: Starting section 8 seconds, second section 6 seconds, third section 4.15 seconds, fourth section 3.15 seconds, fifth section 2.25 seconds; and the last section 2 seconds, or one-quarter of the time required to cover the first section. Directly the rams are passed they commence to fall very slowly, but of course have not sunk appreciably until the train has passed."

The initial cost of such a railway would be enormous, but the working expenses would be small.

"Mr. Halford claims for his system the following advantages: (1) That it is the quickest

and safest system in the world ; (2) that there are no boilers to explode, no smoke or smell, and no dirt ; (3) no running off the line ; (4) no dangerous level-crossings ; and (5) a minimum of wear and tear."

A Flying Ship on Its Trial Trip.

Pearson's, which is honorably distinguished for its early records of new and surprising inventions, gives prominence to two notable novelties of this kind in its September issue. Gustav Levering tells of the first voyage of "the ship that flies," as he calls Count von Zeppelin's air-ship. This is his description of the first ship to navigate the aerial sea :

"In appearance, Count von Zeppelin's air-ship resembles a huge cigar, pointed at both ends ; it is made chiefly of aluminium. Its length is about 415 feet. The diameter of the cylinder is 40 feet, and the total depth of the structure, including the gondolas in which the passengers are to sit, is rather more than 80 feet. The framework of this huge cylinder consists of aluminium bands, 24 in number. The interior of the cigar is divided by 16 vertical ribs into 17 compartments, each of which contains an independent balloon, made of material which the manufacturer calls 'ballonin.' The balloons now used have retained hydrogen-gas for five weeks without sensible loss. The capacity of the cigar is 11,000 cubic meters. . . . The total weight of the ship, including its crew, is estimated not to exceed 20,000 pounds. . . . Four screws or propellers attached to the sides of the cigar are actuated by two Daimler motors of 15 horse-power each, and are capable of turning at the rate of 1,200 revolutions per minute. These propellers are made with blades of aluminium. . . . The steering apparatus consists of four rudders connected in pairs."

The writer depicts the sensation felt by the crowds at Friedrichshaven, on Lake Constance, on July 2, when they saw the monster air-ship ascend, with propellers revolving 1,200 times a minute, to a height of 1,300 feet, and after rising and sinking and circling at the will of the inventor, who had a tiny crew with him on board, return in safety to the lake after having flown a distance of six miles. The result was satisfactory, but further improvements are promised. Some of the aluminium portions will be replaced by a new and lighter substance called "magnalium."

The Ice-Breaker as Polar Discoverer.

As the air-ship makes its way through the tenuous atmosphere by its lightness, so Admiral Makaroff's ice-breaker, the *Ermack*, as described by Earl Mayo in the September *Windsor*, forges its way through vast strata of solidified water by

sheer weight. The Russian admiral assured the Irish nobleman that "the future of Arctic and Antarctic exploration, including the discovery of the poles, will depend mainly on the use of powerful ice-breakers." Nansen having found it possible to build a ship strong enough to withstand the pressure of the ice, the ice-breaker turns his defensive into an offensive. The construction of the ice-breaker has been described before in our pages. Earl Mayo adds the description of the *Ermack's* progress through Arctic ice. The vessel has gone through the thickest ice of the Spitzbergen region—as thick as any, in the admiral's judgment, that lies between us and the North Pole. Here is the story of how she went through a Spitzbergen floe :

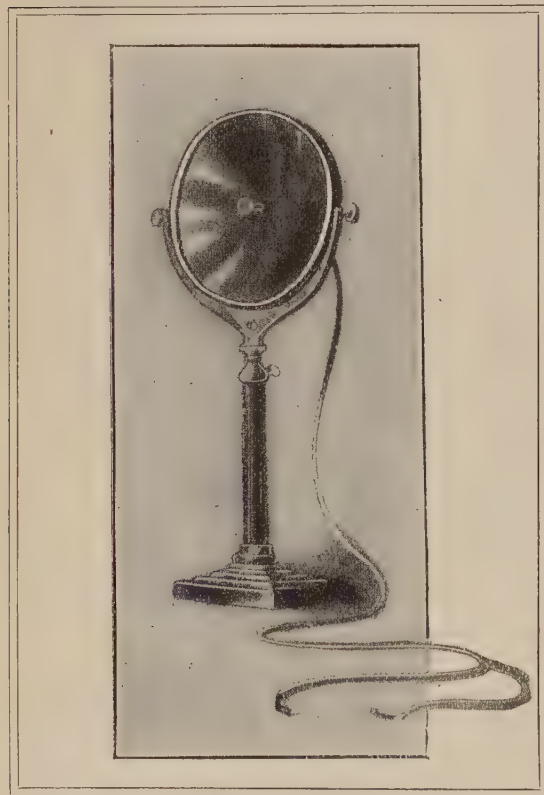
"At the first impact, the ship's speed did not slacken perceptibly ; but it was noticeable that the bow began to rise slowly into the air, as though she were being lifted from below by a giant hand. The ice showed no sign of yielding, and the ship moved on, going more and more slowly, until, perhaps, nine feet of the glistening surface usually below the water-line was exposed to view. At length she seemed to stand still. Her engines had not ceased their efforts ; the screws were whirling at their highest speed and churning the water at her stern ; but progress had decreased until it could hardly be observed by the eye. She was pressing upon the ice with a weight of 900 tons, and it was still firm. She even slipped back a few inches. It seemed as if she were going to fail. Then, suddenly, a crack which, beginning below the surface, had not before revealed itself, appeared in a long, irregular line, extending from the ship's side. Sharp reports like the barking of quick-firing guns were heard. The whole field trembled as though moved by an earthquake shock. A great strip of it, a mile across and weighing in the aggregate thousands of tons, detached itself from the principal mass and moved slowly off. After remaining poised motionless for some minutes, the *Ermack* now darted forward swiftly, like a living thing. Giant ice-boulders, detached by the shock, plunged into the water, while others, rising from great depths, sprang into the air, looking as green as emeralds, and as clear. They fell back into the water, and were crushed by the flying screws as in the jaws of a monster. Proceeding in this manner, the *Ermack* made her way through ice-ridges that sometimes rose to a height of eighteen feet above the surface of the water and extended to a depth of nine fathoms below."

So with feet of steel the modern man may trample through the fields of Arctic ice to the North Pole.

Wireless Telephony.

"Talking Along a Beam of Light" is the lucid title which Mr. C. M. M'Govern gives to his account in the September *Pearson's* of Mr. Hayes' radiophone. It is, roughly speaking, a telephone in which the rays of a searchlight play the part of the connecting-wire. This is the writer's graphic way of explaining it:

"At the sending-point—let us suppose it is a lighthouse—is a soundproof telephone-box. On



THE MIRROR, WITH THE TWO EAR-TUBES ATTACHED.

the table in this telephone-box there are four ordinary transmitters instead of the single transmitter in common usage, and the four pairs of wires that run from these transmitters extend to the back of an ordinary searchlight placed just outside the box, the wires first passing through a small 'knife-switch' and through a small 'resistance box and regulator' on their way to the searchlight.

"Supposing the person it is desired to talk to is the captain of an incoming steamer which is some two miles away. There is an ordinary telephone-box in the pilot-house of the ship, where, instead of the 'wire' telephone-receiver, there

hangs on the wall of the box a circular, concave mirror, in the center of which is fixed a small glass bulb—shaped like the glass of a thermometer—the glass bulb being half filled with carbonized filament. The small end of this glass bulb penetrates through to the back of the mirror, where it fits into the end of an ordinary phonograph ear-tube, whose opposite ends are placed in the captain's ears.

"The searchlight at the sending-station is now thrown upon the mirror in the pilot-house, the person in the land-station talks in a loud voice, and immediately the captain hears the voice as clearly and distinctly as if it were at his elbow instead of a mile or two away (it makes no difference whether he is near or far); the light used is the same, and the conversation is as intelligible whether the ship is still or steaming farther or nearer. There is no bell to ring, in order to tell the captain that the person in the lighthouse wishes to speak to him; he sees the lighthouse fixing its searchlight upon his pilot-house, and he knows that that is the signal for him to answer 'Hello.'"

The inventor is Mr. Hammond V. Hayes, of Boston, "one of the most modest inventors" the writer has ever met. He says that the scientific basis upon which the radiophone works is that "varied heat-waves can be transmitted in a beam of light to a receiver capable of reproducing delicate sound-vibrations with accuracy." His distinctive work has been the evolution of the little glass bulb with the carbonized filament. He explains the marvel thus:

"With each infinitesimal variation in the intensity of the radiation—caused by speaking into the transmitter—which reaches the glass bulb, there is a corresponding variation in the heating of the filament, and in consequence there is a corresponding variation in the expansion of the air in the bulb—its degrees of heat being so much varied. Certain sounds (words and syllables) produce one sort of expansion of the air in the bulb, while certain other words and syllables produce other sorts of expansion; and thus every vibration through the transmitter, whether by the human voice or by an instrument like a telegraph-key, or a cornet, is reproduced upon the receiver."

Neither bright sunlight nor thick fog affects the transmission of the heat-ray which conveys the message.

Bearing in mind the new voice-magnifier, wherewith a pupil of Edison proposes to make his voice distinctly heard from the top of the Eiffel Tower all over Paris, we are evidently approaching a marvelous era of multitudinous inter-communication.

THE BASIS OF IMMUNITY FROM MICROBE INFECTION.

THE journal *Le Progrès Médical* for August 18, published in Paris, contains a partial report of the Thirteenth International Congress of Medicine, which is made up of several sections devoted to various branches of the science. Problems of immunity and related questions were taken up for consideration in the bacteriological section.

Since the congress of 1889, our knowledge of bacteriology has undergone profound changes. For about twelve years, interest has been centered, above all else, in the microbe.

For the sake of clearness, a few terms are defined at the beginning.

Alexines are substances, probably albumenoids, secreted by leucocytes, which have an important rôle in the defense of the organism against infection. They are normally present in the blood, and make resistance possible against certain affections, such as abscess, etc., without the production of specific immunization. *Anticorps*, on the contrary, are produced by phagocytes only under certain pathological conditions, and for the special purpose of destroying certain bacterial poisons or certain microbes. Antitoxines, then, are a variety of anticorps. Toxoides are toxins modified by heat and age. They are only slightly toxic, but can engender antitoxine when injected in animals.

NATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL IMMUNITY.

Dr. Büchner, of Munich, spoke upon the subject of immunity, in which he distinguishes natural immunity, or natural resistance, and artificial immunity. The first depends upon the presence of alexines in the fluids of the body, and also upon the power of the leucocytes to devour living and virulent bacteria, which they do by engulfing and digesting them, just as the well-known amoeba flows over and absorbs the particles upon which it subsists. The alexines of serum are produced by leucocytes, so that natural resistance may be called the function of the leucocytes. Büchner considers that alexines weaken the microbes, making them easy victims to the leucocytes, or in some cases destroy them unaided.

There are three varieties of artificial immunity—one resulting from treatment with toxins, or toxoides and toxones; a second, resulting from treatment with bacteria, and a third from treatment with specific erythrocytes. In all of these cases the treatment results in the production of anticorps in the serum of the animal, which can combine with the toxic substance that has called it into existence. This is the principle of artificial immunity; natural resistance differs from

this in having its resisting power characterized by alexines, which are destroyed at 60° C., and which vary according to the species of animal producing them. Anticorps are more stable, and can resist a temperature of 65° C.; they do not vary according to the species of animal that produces them, but according to the preparatory treatment.

Alexines and anticorps act in the same body at the same time; in this way, natural and artificial immunity may be associated and mutually reinforce each other.

TOXINES AND ANTITOXINES.

M. Le Pr. P. Ehrlich took up the subject of toxins and antitoxines. Toxines are products of secretions of animal or vegetable origin; their two characteristics are, for the moment, unique in biology. First, when a toxine encounters a chemically definite poison, it requires a period of incubation before manifesting its nocine action. The second characteristic is more important; toxine injected into an animal gives place to the formation of an antitoxine.

It is probable that toxins form specific combinations with protoplasm, and the products of these combinations exist normally in the blood. They may be produced in greater quantities by increased activity of the cell, and this conserves the power of producing an excess of such elements as a protection at the least menace of infection. Temporary or permanent immunity depends upon this principle.

A Plea for the Poor Hunted Microbe.

Mr. Maurice L. Johnson heads his paper in the *Westminster Review* "Microbes: Are They Inherently Pathogenic?" and proceeds to answer the question with an emphatic negative. He quotes a paper read by Mr. George G. Bantock, M.D., F.R.C.S.E., in March of last year, in which the doctor presents facts to show "that the modern doctrine of bacteriology is a gigantic mistake," and "that these various bacilli play a beneficent rôle in the economy of nature." The writer proceeds:

"As Dr. Bantock and other eminent authorities assure us, the germs which have come to be regarded as the causes of the most virulent diseases are constantly found swarming in perfectly healthy people, and as their decrecence is frequently attended with unfavorable results, there is good ground for believing them to be necessary and beneficent. But the misconceptions in regard to them seem to have arisen from the mistaking of an effect for a cause. For example, the Klebs-Löffler bacillus has been looked upon as the cause of diphtheria, while it is universally

admitted that it is continually present in perfectly healthy mouths and fauces. But, of course, when an individual contracts diphtheria, all the microbes of his system, including this denizen of the fauces to which the diphtheritic stigma has been attached, must participate in the contamination and acquire the diphtheritic diathesis; so when, under such conditions, it has been taken and injected into animals and they have developed diphtheria, the false assumption has arisen that this microbe, harmless enough when taken from a healthy person, was the cause of diphtheria, because it induced the disease when taken from a diphtheritic patient, any other microbe or emanation from whom would have possessed the same pathogenic property."

Dr. Foster Palmer is cited as saying that "the pathogenic microbe is powerless to cause disease in a healthy organism." Whence the writer deduces the moral that we should be more careful about maintaining the general health of the system than in hunting down the poor microbe, who is only harmful when coming from and entering into diseased or impaired organisms.

GUTENBERG AND THE YELLOW JOURNALIST.

THE editor of *Blackwood's Magazine*, in his "Musings Without Method," pays a compliment to the "yellow" journalism of the United States in his account of a supposed encounter in Hades between Johann Gutenberg, the printer whose jubilee has lately been celebrated in Germany, and the young editor of a New York newspaper of the "yellow" variety. (We are to understand that this school of journalism flourishes only in America—and Shanghai. *Blackwood's* editor could find no instances nearer home.) The interview between these two interesting personages is supposed to be conducted as follows:

"SCENE—A meadow in Hades. Gray shadows flit in and out the distant trees. Apart from the rest sits Johann Gutenberg; bearded and austere, meditating perchance on his famous Bible of the thirty-seven lines, or upon the infamous extortion of the cunning Fust. To him there slides up a Yellow Editor, who, leaping from his silent, intangible automobile, flourishes a phantom cigar, and thus addresses the sage:

"Well, Mr. Gutenberg, I'm glad to know you! You and I ought to be acquainted. Where should I have been without your movable little types? Why, nowhere at all! And though it's a sorry business to meet you here, where they print no special editions and have no limelight displays, we must do the best we can, and——"

"Gutenberg (breaking in upon him). But I know not whom I have the honor to hear.

"Yellow Editor. What, don't you know me—the best-advertised man in two continents? I am—or rather I was when I walked the upper air—the Boy Editor of New York. Does that say nothing to you?

"Gut. No; I am still in the dark.

"Y. E. Well, well, I guess you've no telephone hitched on to Hades, or you'd know me fast enough. I must see to that, now I've come among you. Why, I'm the first man who ever saw the real possibilities of your tip. If it hadn't been for me the printing-press would have slumbered on another five hundred years without shaking the world. You never realized what could be done with the biggest circulation.

"Gut. Circulation? What is it? I don't understand the word.

"Y. E. (with an outburst of laughter). You don't begin to know your own trade! Circulation is the soul of the printing-press. We editors don't print 'copy' to keep it in the cellar. We cover the earth with our newspapers. Why, when I was in the business, I printed more stuff in one night than you and Fust did in both your lives. Three millions of readers a day, my boy, ready to believe any lie you print—that makes a man feel big!

"Gut. But when I was making my Bible, whose memory is an eternal consolation, I was proud if I printed a dozen sheets a week.

"Y. E. A dozen sheets a week of a Bible! No wonder you came near starvation. The truth is, you missed your chance. How you might have made Mainz hum if you had started a paper, and kept the secret! No competition, for you alone had the press! And if you wanted money, you should have got a syndicate to run you, and then you might have done as much as I did. Where's the use of a noble patron, I should like to know? The people's the only true patron, and——"

"Gut. You say you have accomplished much. Have you, too, left works of art behind you which rival in nobility of design and splendor of type the masterpieces which have made me glorious?

"Y. E. Splendor of type! What are you talking about? I only want a press that'll rattle me out half a million copies in a couple of hours. That's good enough for me. And the ink may be as pallid as these shades, and the paper may crinkle up like wood-chips. I guess it will last a day, and to-morrow it will be forgotten in new scandals and fresh headlines.

"Gut. But surely we have not pursued the

same craft! I was only interested in the perfection of my work. When the beautiful page was finished my task was done. Who purchased my bibles I recked not; nor did I ever dream of this base artifice which you call circulation. But at least, when I died at Eltville, I had the satisfaction of an assured immortality. And you? Are you still known among your fellows of the upper earth?

"Y. E. Not I! One nail drives out another. But which is the better—fame while you live or fame after death? Give it me piping hot when I can enjoy it. The people on Broadway used to point the finger at me, and I might have governed my country if I liked. And look at the power I had! I ran the whole show as I would; and with no other aid than the types of your invention I made war, or insisted on peace. Not only could I force men to do what I chose, I could force 'em to believe what I chose. Any fool can make the truth credible; it takes a man of genius and a big circulation to thrust falsehood down the public throat. Then, again, there was no great man I didn't call by his Christian name, and I was on easy terms with all the crowned heads. Whom did you know but a common baron? And I was ready to take on anybody's job for a sensation. The criminals feared my reporters far more than they feared the ministers of justice. But then, you see, I was a practical man, and you—you were a dreamer. Yet how much better is the basest practice than the noblest dream!

"Gut. Indeed, if my invention be thus perverted, it were better it had never been made. The printing-press in my hands was an instrument of luxury, not a means of irresponsible power. Yet even my contemporaries called it a black art. What would they say of it now, if they heard your boastful rhetoric? No: it is not for you to claim a kinship with Gutenberg. Truth and lies, beauty and squalor, do not acquire the same value because they are both printed.

"Y. E. Well, well, don't get huffy about it. I don't wonder you are a bit jealous, but I'll come and tell you more about it another day. You'd like to hear how I interviewed the prize-fighters, I'm sure, and perhaps I'll find you in a better temper. So long! (And the Yellow Editor is whisked out of sight by his automobile.)"

THE IRON DUKE AND THE IRATE PAINTER.

IN the "Pleasant Pastels from Spain," which Mrs. M. L. Woods is contributing to *Cornhill*, she deals, in the September installment, with portraits by Goya. In them she finds, reflected with clever realism, the Spanish court life of a hundred years ago. She blames his age, not him, for the stiff pose and affected mien of his portraits. She closes her interesting study with the following story of the passage between the painter and Wellington, who had recently entered Madrid in triumph from his victory at Salamanca:

"In the Quinta, then, waits the proud, irascible Spanish painter, accustomed to be treated by kings and nobles with a deference at that time not accorded to genius in England; his temper, too, hardly improved by his terrible infirmity—deafness so hopeless that he could not hear a cannon fired at four paces from him. To him enters the haughty, uneducated Briton, busy, doubtless, grudging the hour which was all Goya required to sketch in a portrait, and regarding the painter-fellow as a kind of tradesman, bound to supply goods as per order. Alava, Wellington's Spanish friend, was there, and also a young man—Goya's son. When Goya had worked at the sketch awhile, he showed it to the duke. Obviously Wellington was no more competent to give an opinion on a picture than Goya was to plan a campaign; but this does not seem to have struck him. He called the thing a daub, emphasizing his uncomplimentary remarks with gestures, and desiring Goya's son to repeat them to the painter. The son declined to do so, and, together with Alava, endeavored to reason with the strange art-critic. In vain; El Lord's contempt only became more vocal. Meantime the deaf man watched, with thunder lowering on the massive brow, a stormy out-thrust of the big under-lip, the very mane of him electric with rage. Now El Lord clapped on his hat, and haughtily, without further civility, prepared to depart. Then the storm burst. A brace of loaded pistols happened to be upon the table; Goya seized them and leaped toward the duke. Wellington's hand flew to his sword; Alava just succeeded in hurling himself between them, while the son struggled with his father, endeavoring to tear the pistols from his hands. So, in towering wrath, the victor of Salamanca was hustled out of the house of the yet more infuriated painter."

THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

THE CENTURY.

THE October *Century* begins with an exceptionally interesting article on "China's 'Holy Land,'" by Ernst von Hesse-Wartegg, being an account of an actual visit to the tomb of Confucius made by the writer. He was one of the two or three white men who have ever penetrated into this sacred ground; and it is remarkable, in the light of this summer's news from China, that he should have been permitted to take the extraordinarily valuable photographs that embellish his article. The safety of the trip was owing, of course, to the occupation of Kiaochau by the Germans; but as there were no railways, carriage-roads, hotels, or any modern comforts of traveling, the journey was not an easy one, even with the caravan and introductions which made life reasonably safe. This "Holy Land" of the Chinese is in the province of Shantung, a territory as large as Michigan, with a population twenty times as numerous. The sacred buildings are on the mountain of Tai-schau, 6,000 feet high. The last stage of the journey to the summit is made over 6,000 stone steps, equivalent to 300 stories of an ordinary house. These steps begin at a stone portal, at which, according to its inscription, the great Confucius himself halted and turned back 2,600 years ago, not having the strength to climb this marvelous staircase. The description and pictures of the tomb of Confucius at Tai-ngan-fu give a profoundly impressive hint of the ancient and mysterious civilization of the great nation which now seems doomed.

THE REVIVAL OF MINIATURE PAINTING.

Pauline King, writing on "American Miniature Painting," says that the history of contemporary work in this dainty and fascinating art began when Miss Laura C. Hills and Mr. William J. Baer turned their attention to painting on ivory. Miss King reminds us that the present vogue of miniature painting is by no means a new departure, but is a revival of the very oldest known form of the art.

THE CHINESE AS A BUSINESS MAN.

Mr. Sheridan P. Read, an ex-United States consul at Tientsin, describes "The Chinese as Business Men." He gives the Chinaman credit for possessing, alone among all the Orientals, mercantile honor of the highest standard. He invariably delivers his goods, and of the quality that is expected. In consequence of this characteristic, our cotton goods are sold to the North China dealers almost entirely on credit, which is essential for the purchaser, as he resells to small dealers on time. Mr. Read says that a reactionary movement against the present disturbances will originate, not with the official, not with the literati, but with the common coolie and the staid, sensible, clear-eyed merchant, both of whose interests, together with those of the native producer, are everywhere suffering. He thinks that many more treaty ports should be opened, as the treaty port furnishes the ground where the Chinaman may naturally grow away from his superstitions and meet the Caucasian on safe ground.

BISHOP POTTER AGAINST CHINESE PARTITION.

Bishop Henry C. Potter, writing on "Chinese Traits and Western Blunders," ends his article with a protest against the partition of the Flowery Kingdom among the great powers. "There could not be a more stupid or shameless policy. A nation, like a man, has a right to be until she has demonstrated unmistakably her incompetence to administer her own affairs with equal justice to all. It cannot be maintained that China has so far descended the path of national decay and disintegration."

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

IN the October *Harper's Magazine*, Mr. H. H. Lowry writes on "The Chinese Resentment," in an article which we have quoted from in another department.

POULTNEY BIGELOW ON THE CHINESE ARMY.

Mr. Poultney Bigelow begins the number with an account of "Wei-hai-Wei," as he saw it two years ago. In the course of his description of this strategic position which Japan was deprived of by the intervention of Germany and Russia, after her plucky victory over China, Mr. Bigelow gives some curious facts in regard to the Chinese regular army. The strategy and tactics of this army, he says, form a volume of classics compiled two thousand years ago, and this can be read only by certain scholars; and the Chinese officers are, as a rule, drawn from a social class so low that they can rarely read and write their own tongue. He says the foreigners who have been brought to China as military instructors are treated as social inferiors. Their work is looked down upon with contempt by all officials; and even when they have got their Chinese recruits into some kind of fighting shape, these are drafted off under native control, and soon drift back to the condition of the mob. China has on paper a fighting force of nearly 2,000,000 men; but the men are mostly mere coolies, and their officers scarcely better. A Chinese second-lieutenant gets \$25 in gold a year, with allowances amounting to less than \$100. The colonel of a regiment gets less than \$300 in gold, with allowances fluctuating between \$300 and \$1,000.

IS ALCOHOL A GOOD FOOD?

Prof. W. O. Atwater, writing on the much-mooted question of "The Nutritive Value of Alcohol," goes into the chemistry of alcohol as a food, and proves that the alcohol usually in beverages is easily absorbed from the alimentary canal and readily oxidized in the body. He shows, further, with considerable scientific detail, that alcohol can supply the body with heat, and that it also probably yields energy for muscular work, but admits that it is difficult to prove the latter absolutely. These statements are, however, qualified by the fact that if taken in any but small quantities there is always a residuum of alcohol which is not used to advantage by the body, and which is in its way poisonous. Professor Atwater shows, too, that alcohol may be valuable to the physician in treating particular ill-

nesses. In fact, he says he knows of no other material which, like alcohol, will not have to be digested, can be easily absorbed, is readily oxidized, and will supply the requisite energy. He promises, in a future article, to give the other side of the picture in the pathological effects of alcohol taken unwisely.

Mr. Chalmers Roberts gives a sketch of Mortimer Menpes, the well-known artist, who is such a social lion in London. Mr. Alexander Hume Ford gives an account of the "Waterways of America," which now include 18,566 miles of navigable rivers and canals. We still, however, have a long way to go to catch up to Russia, which has no less than 34,000 miles of interior waterways.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

IN the October *Scribner's*, Mr. Richard Harding Davis describes "The Last Days of Pretoria." Mr. Davis has seen both Boer and British camps, both Boer and British armies, and both Boer and British countries and people. His sympathies are not in doubt. Of this incident in Great Britain's onward march, he says: "As I see it, it has been a Holy War, this war of the burgher crusader, and his motives are as fine as any that ever called a 'minute-man' from his farm or sent a Knight of the Cross to die for it in Palestine. Still, in spite of his cause, the Boer is losing, and in time his end may come, and he may fall. But when he falls he will not fall alone; with him will end a great principle, the principle for which our forefathers fought—the right of self-government, the principle of independence."

WHY TOLSTOY IS NOT DISTURBED.

Mr. Henry Norman gives the first chapter of his serial on "Russia of To-day." He gives much space to an account of his visit to Tolstoy, whom he calls the typical Russian. Mr. Norman says that the Count is not known as a count to any one about his home. He is simply Leo, the son of Nicholas. Mr. Norman wonders that Tolstoy is left in peace by the Russian Government. Except for the suppression of some of his writings, he is not troubled; yet he said to Mr. Norman, as he willingly says to any one with whom he talks: "Three things I hate: autocracy, orthodoxy, and militarism." Mr. Norman says that the general opinion among the advanced Russians is that the police are restrained in this instance by the world-wide scandal that any harsh treatment of Tolstoy would cause.

THE PROFITS OF SLAVE-TRADING.

Mr. John R. Spears, in his third paper on "The Slave Trade in America," gives some remarkable figures of the enormous profits to be made in this traffic—figures which easily explain the fascination of the business. He says, for instance, that the American ship *Venus*, built in Baltimore at a cost of \$30,000, landed a cargo of 860 slaves on the coast of Cuba on which the profit was a trifle under \$200,000 after allowing for the cost of the ship and all other expenses, although the Cuban officials received a bribe of \$27.50 per head. The Baltimore schooner *Napoleon*, measuring but 90 tons, and not by any means worth \$5,000, in those days cleared \$100,000 on a single trip in 1835, when she landed a cargo of young negroes bought at \$16 each and sold for \$360 each. Many times the profit per slave was much greater, and negroes bought at \$12 or \$15 in Africa were sold within a year for \$1,200 or \$1,500. Mr. Spears says

the death-blow to the slave-trade was given when Capt. Nathaniel Gordon was hanged in 1862 for conveying a cargo of 890 negroes from the Congo two years before. There were slavers afloat thereafter, but when it became known that the American people would hang a slaver as a pirate, the end was at hand.

McCLURE'S MAGAZINE.

IN the October *McClure's*, Mr. Frederic A. Lucas outlines "The Ancestry of the Horse," carrying back the family record over a period of about 2,000,000 years. The animal which was the horse's forebear of 2,250,000 years ago had four toes and was about the size of a fox. *McClure's* shows a picture of this animal of the Eocene age, based on the form and proportions of a skeleton which has been found in the Wyoming Mountains.

Apropos of the Presidential campaign, the opening article of the number is on "The Strategy of National Campaigns" as shown in the reminiscences of the political warfare of the last twenty-five years "by one who has been in the thick of it." The writer gives an exceedingly vivid and interesting inside history of the strategic campaigns since the dramatic episodes of 1876, when Tilden ran against Hayes. It is assumed that the pivotal points of the present campaign will be in the Middle West and in New York. He calls to mind that ever since 1864 the electoral vote of New York has swung like a pendulum between the two great political parties, and that nowhere else in the Union is there such a large army of independent voters. In summing up the claims of the party leaders he says most of the Democratic managers are united in the opinion that there is a chance to win without New York. They expect to carry Indiana, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, Michigan, and Illinois, all of which went for McKinley in 1896. The Republican managers contend that McKinley cannot be defeated unless he lose New York.

CASTING A GREAT LENS.

An interesting essay in popular science is contributed by Mr. Ray Stannard Baker in his article "Casting a Great Lens." Mr. Baker tells of the work done in the glass-works of Jena, Prussia, where lenses of over four feet in diameter are cast and polished. These works were founded by the activity of Prof. Ernst Abbe, who was the first to lay down exact mathematical formulæ for making lenses. Previously they had been dependent on the experience and the experiments of highly skilled workmen. With the aid of the Prussian Government these works were established at Jena, and now over one hundred new kinds of glasses originated at Jena are manufactured there. To show the wonderful delicacy of the work, Mr. Baker says that an error or one-tenth thousandth of a millimeter in the curve of a lens makes it unsuitable for use in the highest grade of instruments, and that some of the smallest lenses are not larger than a pin-head, and are about as costly as a diamond of the same weight.

LESSONS OF THE SOUTH-AFRICAN WAR.

Dr. A. Conan Doyle discusses some of the lessons of the South-African War, and one of the chief of them, he says, is that the bugbear of an invasion of Great Britain is reduced to an absurdity. "With a moderate

efficiency with the rifle, the able-bodied population of England could, without its fleet, and without its professional soldiers, defy the united forces of Europe." Of the detailed lessons learned in the Transvaal, Dr. Conan Doyle thinks that better shooting and better knowledge of cover for the infantry are the most important items. He thinks the latter will be attained soon by some practicable form of portable bullet-proof shield.

THE COSMOPOLITAN.

THE October *Cosmopolitan* opens with an account of "The Organization of the Russian Army," by Lieut. W. C. Rivers, U. S. A. The peace footing of the Russian army is about 36,000 officers and 860,000 rank and file. The war footing is estimated at 63,000 officers and 3,440,000 trained soldiers for the ranks. As no less than 870,000 men in Russia reach the age of 21 every year, it is not difficult to maintain this enormous military establishment; at least not so difficult by any means as in the other European states. Although all citizens are liable for service on becoming 21 years of age, only about 30 per cent. of the men liable actually do enter the service with the colors. The term for active service is four years, after which the soldier passes from the standing army into the reserve. He remains for fourteen years in reserve, being called out each year for a short period of training. All of Russia is divided into thirteen geographical districts, some of them having more than one army corps—29 army corps in all. The peace strength of an infantry regiment is 70 officers and 1,816 men; the war strength 79 officers and 3,874 fighting men. Notwithstanding this huge strength, Lieutenant Rivers thinks the Russian army is not so large, for its uses, as the armies of some other European states, when the extent of the territory and frontier is taken into consideration. It is suspected, too, that on account of the prodigious expenditure required to re-arm and reëquip the army with modern apparatus, the equipment is not so up-to-date as with the French and German military organizations.

OUR NAVY IN THE YEAR 1950.

Former Secretary of the Navy William E. Chandler, writing on "Our Navy Fifty Years from Now," says that the typical warship of the twentieth century will be exceedingly swift and readily dirigible, so as to maneuver with ease. It will carry a great many guns of moderate caliber; the very large ship-cannon of today will be dispensed with; and all of them will be of the rapid-fire kind, while the shells will be loaded with high explosives, capable of enormous destruction. Senator Chandler advances an interesting theory that the armored ship will be regarded fifty years from now as the mail-clad fighting man is regarded at the end of the nineteenth century. He thinks the enormous plates of armor now used will be dispensed with, because they interfere too much with the activity of the boat. He thinks, too, that less money rather than more money will be spent on each ship, and that fifty years from now it will be considered better to use \$6,000,000 to build two or three small vessels than to risk it all on a single warship.

He predicts that the torpedo will be greatly developed, pneumatic guns will be dispensed with, and that the submarine boat has a great future.

THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

IN the October *Ladies' Home Journal*, the editor, Mr. Bok, inveighs against the execrable taste shown in the decoration and upholstering of the Pullman cars. "The hideous cord portières, which people of even ordinary taste discarded years ago, are still used to offend the eye. Tasseled fringes which went out of use even previous to the 'rope curtains' still wave merrily on in the Pullman cars. Lambrequins, which housewives of good taste relegated to their garrets a half-score of years ago, are still adjudged in the mind of this man as a means of modern furnishing. Mirrors with bronzed frames on a background of plush—than which, perhaps, nothing could be more garish—were put into a car which came out of the Pullman shops only a week previous to this writing. In fact, this purveyor of furnishings apparently cannot imagine that any material other than plush can be used as a means of furnishing. It is the very material most unsuited for a railroad car, being hot and stuffy in summer and the surest receptacle for soot in winter. Yet hundreds of yards of plush are put into every car that comes from the Pullman shops." Mr. Bok thinks the furnishings of the modern Pullman car have a very important effect in debasing the public standard of taste.

In another editorial the *Ladies' Home Journal* takes up the cudgels for the school boys and girls in protesting against the home-study habit. It is argued that children ought to drop their work when they get home, just as a business man or a professional man drops his work. "Studies should end with the school session, and the rest of the day be for play, fresh air, and exercise. It makes no difference what the cessation of home study means in the readjustment of the school system. That is for our educators to find out and adjust."

In this number of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, Mr. Clifford Howard begins "The Story of a Young Man," in which he attempts to tell the events in the life of Jesus, distinctly and solely in his human career.

Mr. William Perrine contributes a first article in a new series of "Stories of Beautiful Women." Mr. Perrine selects the Baltimore belle, Elizabeth Patterson, who fell in love with Jerome Bonaparte and became his wife.

Mr. Stanley Stokes gives an account of the life of "A Minister Among the Cowboys," and there are stories by Charles Major, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, and others.

OUTING.

IN the October *Outing*, Mr. Robert Bruce, writing on "The Place of the Automobile," reminds us that as compared with the horse the automobile is on even terms at the first mile and leaves the animal hopelessly behind in middle and long distances; the total distance capacity of the machine for twenty-four hours multiplies that of the fleetest and strongest horse at least by four. Mr. Bruce thinks that the electric hydro-carbon and steam-power vehicles, already successfully established in use, will be developed to a vast degree on special lines. America is now making her own pleasure automobiles, and exporting them, too, while the high-speed racing-machines are generally imported.

Mr. Charles Frederick Holder gives a chapter on shark-fishing, considering the beasts as game. He says he has taken sharks from 60 to 100 pounds with a 12-ounce rod and a 21-thread line. Larger sharks of 12

or 15 feet are considered game for 20 men. Two or three hook the fish, the others take the rope, and the big brute is run up on the beach. Mr. Holder likes to catch such fish as these single-handed from a boat.

Mr. Edwin Sandys gives an excellent account of "The Woodcock and His Ways;" Mr. W. J. Henderson tells how college football was played twenty-five years ago; Mr. H. S. Babcock writes on "Poultry Breeding in the United States," and there is an article on "Russian Hunting Methods." In Mr. Nathaniel A. Cole's sketch of "The Development of the American Trotter," he gives the extraordinary history of the Hambletonian breed, tracing its origin back to the original great Hambletonian, foaled in 1849. It is a remarkable fact that of the great trotting horses of to-day no less than 90 per cent. trace their ancestry to this one horse. The original Hambletonian attained a mild success at three years of age, when he trotted a public trial in 2.48; but his success did not really commence until he was nearly twenty years old, when he became famous for the feats of his children.

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE.

THE complete novel in the October *Lippincott's* is a story of Tarleton's Raiders in the War of the Revolution, with a title of "My Captive," by Mr. Joseph A. Altsheier.

Dr. C. C. Abbott, the nature essayist, contributes a pleasant study of "Autumnal Odors," descriptive of his experiences in odor-hunting of an October morning.

Mr. Kinnosuké, the Japanese author, has a tragical story, "Goro." The late Stephen Crane's descriptions of "Great Battles of the World" are continued in the Battle of Solferino, and there is a chapter from a forthcoming volume by Virginia T. Peacock, "Belles of America," on Mary Victoria Leiter, who married Lord Curzon and now helps him maintain the establishment of Viceroy of India.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

IN the October *Atlantic Monthly*, President James B. Angell discusses "The Crisis in China," and Mr. Edward Stanwood broaches a scheme for "Voting by Mail," both of which contributions we quote from in another department.

OF INTEREST TO WESTERN MORTGAGE HOLDERS.

A writer subscribing himself "Referee" gives, under the title "The Seven Lean Years," an extraordinarily clear-headed account of the great business in Western farm mortgages, which was at its height about 1888-90, and which collapsed in 1893 with terrible results to small Eastern investors. This writer, who has a most unusual acquaintance with both the inside facts and the economic principles involved, shows that the worst of the disaster came from the insistence by Eastern investors on mortgages paying more than 6 per cent. These could only be obtained by going into the western regions of Kansas and those parts of Nebraska and the Dakotas where the rainfall was uncertain. He shows how ignorant investors were of the geography and physiography of that region of the West—the New England lenders assuming that one Nebraska or Kansas farm was as good as another, although there is as much distance between one end of Nebraska and the other as there is between Buffalo and Boston. When the great

crowd of emigrant agriculturists had come to grief in the lean years of the early nineties, those mortgages which had been made in the western part of Kansas and the western and northwestern parts of Nebraska—vast regions—became worthless, both as to principal and interest. Doubtless, from the investor's point of view, the most interesting part of "Referee's" analysis of the situation will be what he has to say concerning the future of these unlucky ventures. This is certainly not encouraging. Of the defaulted loans due small Eastern investors he thinks that probably nothing will ever be paid by the borrowers of either principal or interest on as many as one in twenty. In fact, he says most of the borrowers have left the lands mortgaged, with no expectation of ever returning, and it would be needless to trace them. He advises the many Easterners who hold these unlucky securities to consult some firm making a business of caring for such loans. Some such action should be taken quickly, as the land behind the mortgage will be otherwise wholly cut out by a foreclosed tax lien.

A PLEA FOR FINE NEEDLEWORK.

In "A Plea for American Needlecraft," Ada Sterling protests against the policy of our art schools in confining their attention to the teaching of drawing, painting, and designing. She says that in all the foremost countries except the United States the manufacture of lace is encouraged as a source of social good, and the ambition of the needlewomen is stimulated by the extensive patronage of the rich. The demand for fine lace is always present, and in fact has not varied appreciably in 500 years. This writer thinks that Congress will not refuse the admission of qualified teachers who will be attracted to America for a proper establishment of the industry; and she calls for a coterie of moneyed women to be formed in each large city, who will pledge themselves to support the industry by purchasing and wearing lace locally produced. If this were done, she thinks another five years would see "this gentlest of all strictly feminine occupations in a thriving condition."

Mr. Charles H. Moore contributes an excellent study of "John Ruskin as an Art Critic;" a capital account of "The Capture of a Slave" is given by Mr. J. Taylor Wood, who as a midshipman was in command of the prize in question, taken off the mouth of the Niger; and there is a discussion of "Our Immigrants and Ourselves," by Kate H. Claghorn.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

IN the opening article of the September *North American*, Canon Farrar, writing on "Imperialism and Christianity," argues that "a war waged in the cause of truth and right, though it may be a very terrible necessity, yet in human history still continues to be at times a necessary duty, even for the most Christian nation, and is in no way at conflict with the obligations by which every true Christian is eternally bound." Just as law courts and policemen and prisons are necessary, so, in Canon Farrar's view, there must from time to time be appeals to the decision of war. Otherwise, the triumph of robbery, oppression, greed, and injustice would be certain.

THE DUTY OF THE GOLD DEMOCRAT.

President Melville E. Ingalls, of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Company, contributes a pointed article

on the duty of Democrats, addressing his arguments particularly to those Democrats who voted for Palmer and Buckner, as well as to those who voted for McKinley, four years ago. As a Democrat who supported McKinley in 1896, Mr. Ingalls is now convinced that the financial question is still the paramount issue; but he believes that there are certain other issues on which, after the silver question is finally settled, the Democratic party may with success appeal to the people for support. These issues, as they suggest themselves to his mind, are reform in governmental administration, economy in governmental expenditure, the taxation and regulation of oppressive trusts and combinations, and the enactment of a just and honest scheme of colonial government. He advocates a law compelling the trusts to pay a license-tax to the federal Government. The income tax, also, he regards as a step in the right direction, and declares that it should by no means be given up because the last law was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Believing that the people will repudiate the issue of "imperialism" in November, Mr. Ingalls holds that the colonial problem will at once become paramount. In his view, the first thing to do is to provide a permanent constitutional barrier against the erection, into States, of our distant possessions.

Nihilism and Anarchy.

In concluding his survey of social and industrial conditions in the various countries of Europe, Mr. Charles Johnston utters the gloomy prediction that the apparent failure of England in the employment of constitutional means in the struggle between labor and capital will have such an influence over all Europe that only anarchy can result—"a war longer and fiercer than any the world has seen, fought in the dark, with weapons forged by modern chemistry and electricity."

The Assassination Mania.

Dr. Felix L. Oswald writes on "The Assassination Mania: Its Social and Ethical Significance." As to methods of dealing with modern assassins, Dr. Oswald regards the Swiss plan of imprisonment for life as the most rational. "The arrangements of modern prisons make suicide almost impossible to wards of the death-watch, and civilized nations should agree to subject convicted anarchists to the same system of surveillance. Life-weary desperadoes may become less ready to run amuck if they know that mankind will compel them to bear the yoke of existence with added burdens."

Catholics and American Citizenship.

Bishop James A. McFaul, of the Roman Catholic diocese of Trenton, discusses the relations of his co-religionists to American citizenship. The bishop declares that American citizens, because they are Catholics, are discriminated against. Since the Constitution of the United States and those of the several States guarantee the rights of conscience to the inmates of public institutions, Bishop McFaul asks, "Why, then, are Catholics obliged to be present at non-Catholic prayers and instructions?" Again, he asks why several Catholic members were not appointed on commissions to our new possessions? The bishop states that in the navy there are only three Catholic chaplains, although a large proportion of the men are of the Catholic faith. In the army, there are but four Catholic chaplains.

Confucianism in the Nineteenth Century.

Prof. Herbert Allen Giles, writing on the subject of modern Chinese Confucianism, says: "With all its merits, Confucianism is seriously wanting in attractiveness to the masses, who really know very little about it. It is a system for the philosopher in his study, not for the peasant at the plow-tail. It offers no consolations of any kind, save those to be derived from a consciousness of having done one's duty. The masses, who respect learning and authority above all things, accept Confucianism as the criterion of a perfect life. They daily perform the ceremonies of ancestral worship in all loyalty of heart, and then go off and satisfy other cravings by the practice of the rites and ceremonies of Buddhism and Taoism, which have so much more to offer by way of reward. Still, wherever Chinamen go, they carry with them in their hearts the two leading features of Confucianism—the patriarchal system and ancestral worship."

The Outbreak in China.

In the September number of the *North American*, there are four articles on the Chinese crisis. The Rev. Dr. Francis E. Clark, president of the United Society of Christian Endeavor, writes on "The Empire of the Dead;" Mr. Alleyne Ireland on "Commercial Aspect of the Yellow Peril;" Mr. John Foord on "The Root of the Chinese Trouble," and Mr. Stephen Bonsal on "What the Chinese Think of Us." The last-named writer suggests a new policy of international dealing with China. He says: "When we are in a position to exact the punishment of the men who fired upon our legations, whether they be princes of the Clan or Boxers, let us listen to what the Chinese will have to say about the bombardment of the Taku forts. It will be a new departure, and it might work wonders. We might 'civilize' the Chinese by showing them some consideration and treating them with common decency. The old policy of knocking the Chinese over the head has not brought satisfactory results—they have too many heads. A common ground might be reached by admitting, for instance, that it is as possible for Western admirals as for Eastern princes and wild sectaries to do, in hot blood, things they never would have been guilty of upon mature consideration. If we do this, there will be no danger of war, and we shall be spared a conflict into which no one who knows what it may come to mean can think of entering with a light heart."

The Forum.

IN the September number of the *Forum*, Prof. Max Müller discusses the causes of the present anti-English feeling among the Germans, reviewing the relations between Germany and England, existing since the time of Lord Palmerston, and contrasting with the foolish and hysterical attitude of the German press toward England the very moderate and well-considered conduct of the German Government. He says: "Every individual German and Englishman ought to know that he may have the destinies of these two great nations in his hand; that he is, in fact, in a certain sense, the representative and ambassador of his country in his own small sphere,—but this sphere is sometimes widening and spreading like a circle caused in a lake by the impact of a small stone. That personal responsibility seems to be far

more truly felt by Russians and Americans than by either Englishmen or Germans."

DEMOCRATS AND THE CURRENCY.

The Hon. George E. Roberts, director of the Mint, writes on "The Kansas City Financial Resolution," presenting cogent arguments against the proposition for an independent American financial system. Such a system, he holds, is opposed to the general trend of order, harmony, intercourse, and common understanding among the nations. Supposing that the State of Pennsylvania should have a monetary system bearing no stable relation to that used in the other States of the Union, would the industries of Pennsylvania be benefited thereby? "A new calculation would be required every day to determine what a given sum in the money of Ohio would be worth in the money of Pennsylvania. A firm with its outlays in Pennsylvania and its income from other States would have its assets in dollars of one value and its liabilities in dollars of another value. Its salesmen outside of Pennsylvania would have to add to its scale of prices a percentage sufficient to cover the possible loss by a variation in the value of the money before payment was made. We have seen that the fluctuations between the money of Mexico and the money of the United States last year covered a range of about 6 per cent." Mr. Roberts shows the absurdity of putting such a handicap as that on a people competing for supremacy in the world's markets at a time when 1 per cent. frequently determines the successful bidder on a contract. If such a charge would be intolerable upon the commerce between the States, Mr. Roberts holds that it would be equally intolerable between the United States and the people who buy annually over \$1,000,000,000 worth of our various products.

THE BUREAU OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

The director of the Bureau of American Republics, Mr. W. W. Rockhill, describes the work of that bureau, and offers several suggestions as to its future. This bureau was established in August, 1890, as an outcome of the National American Congress held in Washington in 1889 and 1890. While the bureau is under the supervision of the American secretary of state, its expenses are shared by all the republics composing the union. The bureau disseminates among the people of the United States information respecting the resources and the business opportunities of the Latin-American republics, and on the other hand makes known to South and Central America the many advantages offered to them by the markets of the United States.

CONSULAR INSPECTION.

Mr. Albert H. Washburn, formerly United States consul to Magdeburg, points out the need for a system of consular inspection. Regarding the two bills favorably reported at the last session of Congress, Mr. Washburn says that, while both contemplate sweeping changes, neither is altogether acceptable to the friends of the merit system. Nevertheless, the business men of the country are making practical demands for a more efficient foreign service, and the probability that some kind of remedial legislation will soon pass is now very great. Mr. Washburn is convinced that consular inspection, which has the merit of being practical and within reach, would cure the most flagrant abuses.

WORK AND WAGES IN FRANCE.

Mr. Walter B. Scaife shows that there has been great improvement in the condition of French working-men, although France was nearly 30 years behind Great Britain in beginning legislation on such subjects as the protection of child labor. For some time past in France, many establishments where only men are being employed have adopted a 10-hour day; while the long days, reaching in some cases even 14 to 15 hours' work, have been imposed in establishments employing women and children. The hours of work in various industries range now from 7 to 14 a day. Coal-miners have been most persistent in demanding the 8-hour day, but have not yet gained it, except for boys under 16 years of age. According to reports received, 11 hours appears to be the general day's work in the center and north of France, and 10 hours the average in the south.

THE NEW CEREAL, THE COTTONSEED.

Mr. Edwin L. Johnson relates the remarkable progress recently made by the cottonseed in the market for cereals. He shows that, point for point, cottonseed has a greater intrinsic value than wheat, while there are raised in the Southern States alone five-sevenths as many bushels of cottonseed as there are raised bushels of wheat in the whole of the United States. Cottonseed is now worth 30 cents a bushel and \$20 a ton on the banks of the Mississippi.

THE CHINESE PROBLEM.

Prof. Paul S. Reinsch, of the University of Wisconsin, writing on "China Against the World," advocates the immediate restoration of order in the northern provinces by the powers, and the strengthening of the modern party in China. Mr. D. W. Stevens, the present counselor to the Japanese Legation at Washington, who has had wide experience in both Japanese and Chinese politics, discusses the question of "Japan's Attitude Toward China," ridiculing the idea of the "yellow peril," and showing that Japan's present policy is unalterably opposed to any union with China. He declares that Japan's best interests do not lie in territorial aggrandizement in China, but that what she is chiefly seeking is commercial expansion.

THE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PLATFORMS COMPARED.

Mr. Henry Litchfield West, comparing the platforms of the two great parties for 1900, decides that the Democratic deliverance presents the stronger case. "True, it is *ex parte* in the highest degree; but the fact remains that, upon its face, the Democratic indictment is much more complete and logical than the Republican demurrer. We find in the former not only a denunciation of imperialism, with an adequate definition of the term, but also a specific assertion of policy for the future. One may not agree with the solution that is offered; but that is, after all, a matter of opinion. The platform asserts that the Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization, and cannot be subjects without imperiling our form of government; therefore, the Democrats would give them a stable form of government and their independence under a protectorate." The Republicans, on the other hand, seem to Mr. Washburn to be dealing in glittering generalities. He says that if the policy of the Republican party is to be learned at all, "it must be found, not in

the declaration of the National Convention, but in the utterances of President McKinley and other recognized leaders. Compared with some of these expressions, the platform itself seems sadly lacking in emphasis and definite purpose."

THE CAMPAIGN FROM A DEMOCRATIC POINT OF VIEW.

The Hon. W. J. Stone, of Missouri, examines the prospects of the Democratic party in the present campaign. Mr. Stone shows that, taking the figures of the majorities given in 1896 for McKinley, a change of 22,078 votes, properly distributed, would have given Mr. Bryan the States of California, Delaware, Indiana, Kentucky, North Dakota, Oregon, and West Virginia, which would have elected him. A change of 38,191 votes would have added Maryland to the Bryan column in addition to the States named, and thus given him the election by a majority of 23 in the electoral college. Of the eight States named, a part were carried by only slight pluralities; and the aggregate opposition vote, not cast for either Mr. McKinley or Mr. Bryan, amounted to 39,438, of which 14,303 were Gold Democratic votes cast for General Palmer. Mr. Stone regards nearly half of the eight States as normally Democratic and all fairly debatable. He also believes that most of the Gold Democrats who deserted the party in 1896 are disposed this year to support the ticket.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Prof. Walter F. Willcox, of the Census Office, contributes an instructive account of the methods employed in taking the census of 1900; Mr. Maurice Baumfeld, New York correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna, writes on "The Constitutional Crisis in Austria," and Prof. W. P. Trent on "Mr. Frederic Harrison's New Essays."

THE ARENA.

THE opening article in the September number of the *Arena*, by Mr. Albert Watkins, on the question, "Is Socialism an Element of 'Bryanism'?" has been reviewed in another department.

Dr. Edwin Maxey writes in the September number on "The Eight-Hour Day by Legislation," arguing that the eight-hour day is not only economically possible, but also economically desirable. Dr. Maxey sums up his argument as follows: "In the ultimate analysis the wealth of a country depends upon the intelligence of its people; and, as attested by the public documents of all countries that have adopted the eight-hour system, it has had a beneficial effect upon the intelligence and character of the community." As a matter of experience, Dr. Maxey declares that legislation on this question has been almost invariably successful. So practical a writer as Webb has said: "In no case has the legal adoption of the eight-hour day resulted in any economic disaster."

MONGOLIAN vs. CAUCASIAN.

This number of the *Arena* contains four articles dealing with the Chinese crisis. Mr. Johannes H. Wisby outlines "China's Defensive Strength," showing that so far as equipment and personnel are concerned, the Chinese army and navy are anything but formidable; the Rev. A. Kingsley Glover discusses "The

Philosophic Basis of Chinese Conservatism;" Mr. J. M. Scanlon criticises "Our Asiatic Missionary Enterprise"—his view being that, in the absence of positive knowledge on the subject of comparative religions, each country and people should be permitted to work out its own salvation; in a paper entitled "Prince Hamlet of Peking," Mr. Charles Johnston reviews recent Chinese history with reference to certain proposed reforms in the government.

GOVERNMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Prof. Paul S. Reinsch, of the University of Wisconsin, contributes a paper on "Problems of Government in the Philippines," dealing especially with the demands made by the Filipinos, which have to do with centralization of government, predominance over certain religious orders, and the question of race superiority. Dr. Reinsch also directs attention to the condition of the civil law in the Philippines, remarking that the Spanish colonial law is so intricate and contradictory that it would be almost useless; that litigation, in consequence, is full of delays and pitfalls, and that in general the civil law of the Philippine Islands is almost in the condition of that of China. The Filipinos themselves, however, have manifested not a little talent for jurisprudence.

AMERICAN INTERESTS IN AFRICA.

Mr. Day Allen Willey outlines some of the possibilities of American trade in the Dark Continent; these lie chiefly in the direction of railway materials and mining machinery. There is already a fair trade between the United States and Cape Colony and some of the other sections of Africa. Two steamship lines are in regular service from New York, while nearly all the passenger companies operating fleets between New York, Liverpool, and London have close connections with the Castle and other lines sailing direct for South Africa, by which tickets can be sold in New York City for a single or round trip to Cape Town.

THE FAMINE IN INDIA.

Mr. William Brough writes on "India's Famine and Its Cause." This writer's explanation makes the famine of 1900, as well as that of 1897, the direct consequence of the demonetization of silver in 1893, whereby a fictitious value was given to the rupee. According to his philosophy, the effect of demonetization was to discourage the practice of saving. The Indian peasants had long been accustomed to put all their savings into silver bangles or other silver ornaments, depending upon these small hoards to bridge over a season of short crops or famine. Demonetization robbed these trinkets of a portion of their marketable value, and deprived them of that superiority in stability and exchangeability over all other commodities which they formerly possessed. Mr. Brough declares that silver is the only metal that can serve the monetary needs of India, and she must have it in abundance if she is ever to rise above famine conditions.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. T. Scanlon writes on "Great Britain and the 'Trust' Problem;" Carina Campbell Eaglesfield on "Growth of National Feeling in Germany," and Dr. William H. Van Cnum on "The Study and Needs of Sociology."

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE.

IN our department of "Leading Articles of the Month" we have quoted from Prof. John B. Clark's incisive article on "The Latest Phase of the Trust Problem," in *Guntton's* for September.

An unsigned article on "Types of Anti-Expansionists" classifies the opponents of President McKinley's policy as the "Bryan-Crocker" type, the "Schurz-Atkinson" type, and the "Hoar-Edmunds" type. The first of these three types represents, for the most part, purely partisan motives. Mr. Bryan and the Silver and Tammany Democrats are opposed to territorial expansion mainly because it is the administration's policy. The Schurz-Atkinson type of anti-expansionists, on the other hand, cannot be said to have any party; hence, is not influenced by partisan motives. "Anti-expansion with them is not the advocacy of a constructive political principle, but a means of helping Bryan to defeat the administration, which according to their own confession means aiding a policy of national disaster in the name of political righteousness." The Hoar-Edmunds type, while no less opposed to the policy of distant colonies governed outside of the Constitution than are the Schurzes and Atkinsons, is still not willing to risk the prosperity of the nation by intrusting the reins of government to Bryan. It is with this latter type of anti-expansionists that the writer of the article seems most fully to sympathize.

RURAL FREE POSTAL DELIVERY.

Mr. Charles Burr Todd gives an interesting account of the experiments conducted by the Post-Office Department, in recent years, in the extension of free delivery of mails to the rural communities of the country. Assistant Postmaster-General Heath's report for 1899 shows among the benefits of this system increased postal receipts, enhancement in value of farm lands reached by rural delivery, a general improvement in the condition of roads, better prices obtained for farm products, besides the general educational benefits conferred by relieving the monotony of farm life through ready access to wholesome literature. Carroll County in Maryland is the only county in the United States wholly served by the rural free-delivery system. In that county the Government has established a post-office on wheels—a postal-wagon eight feet long, with a sliding door in the center, and the interior fitted up with counter, drawers, and letter-boxes. The wagon is drawn by two stout horses, has a driver and a postal clerk (the latter authorized to perform all the functions of a stationary postmaster), and covers a route of thirty miles daily, collecting mail from sixty letter-boxes placed at intervals of every half-mile, and delivering mail to all the houses by the way. The total cost of the service last year was \$1,375. It takes the place of eight fourth-class post-offices and of four star-route carriers, the combined cost of which was about \$1,600.

A COUNTRY WITHOUT DIALECTS.

In concluding his series of papers on the racial origin and composition of the people of the United States, Mr. Moulton Emery dwells on the predominance of the English element, not only in blood, but in language. He says: "There are no dialects in this country. The speech of the Pennsylvania Dutch, the Louisiana Creoles, and the New Mexican 'Greasers' cannot fairly be counted as such. Those communities repre-

sent the fruits of capture, purchase, and conquest, and naturally are slow to forget their mother-tongues. Except among them, and here and there a colony of newcomers, one may travel over the whole country, North, South, East, and West, without finding the slightest difficulty in making himself understood. Indeed, he will find the same language spoken everywhere, as a rule, in all its purity. One swallow does not make a summer, nor do a few provincialisms make a dialect. The dialects of American dialect-writers exist wholly in their imaginations. Of no people in Europe can the same be said, even of the most enlightened nationalities."

Mr. Archer B. Hulbert writes on "The Root of Evil in Japan," and Lys d'Aimée on "The Menace of Present Educational Methods."

THE INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY.

THIS able review continues its practice of publishing, in each number, a few articles of considerable length on varied subjects of current interest. In the September and October numbers are two papers by M. Alfred Rambaud on "The Extension of Russia."

In the September number, Mr. Adna F. Weber sums up "The Tendency in Trade-Unionism." Mr. Weber states that the general prejudice of the American daily press against those combinations of labor that conflict with the interests of capital has caused the establishment of a distinctly labor press, organized in an association of over three hundred papers. Besides the organs of the national trade-unions, there are local weekly papers published or subsidized by city central-labor unions, which are rapidly increasing in number and influence. Even widely circulated socialistic papers sometimes express trade-union sentiments, while some of the trade-union organs boldly advocate collectivist principles.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF AMERICAN PARTY POLITICS.

In the October number, Senator George F. Hoar writes on "The Importance of Government by the Republican Party," and Prof. A. D. Morse on "The Significance of the Democratic Party in American Politics." Senator Hoar declares that "everything that has been accomplished in this country for fifty years, everything that has been achieved by this country for the world, has been accomplished by the Republican party, having almost always to encounter the bitter and steadfast opposition of the Democracy." Mr. Morse, on the other hand, while he admits that "in giving shape to public policy the Democratic party has had only a qualified success," that "in political construction the greatest builders have not been Democrats," and that "as a rule Democrats have succeeded better in tearing down than in building up," still holds that "to exclude the party of the people permanently from office is to destroy its usefulness as their teacher, and to bring to an untimely end American democracy."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Among other subjects treated in the September and October numbers of the *International* are "The Use of Bacteria in Our Food Products," by Prof. H. W. Conn; "The American School of Historians," by Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart; "The Conflict in China," by Dr. Edmund Buckley; "Primitive Objects of Worship," by L. Marillier; "The New Italy," by Salvatore

Cortesi, and "Recent Progress in Geology," by Prof. Andrew C. Lawson. These papers do not readily lend themselves to summarizing.

JOURNALS OF POLITICS AND SOCIOLOGY.

THE current (September) numbers of the political and economic journals issued from the leading American universities all contain pertinent articles on the political topics uppermost in the present campaign. In the *Political Science Quarterly* (Columbia University), for example, Prof. J. W. Burgess has an able discussion of "The Relation of the Constitution of the United States to Newly Acquired Territory." Construing the Constitution from the points of view of the history of its formation and of its spirit, Professor Burgess concludes that Congress possesses no power to impose customs-tariffs between the United States and her dependencies on the lines of the Porto Rican legislation of last winter. He declares that "there is nothing more clearly revealed by an historical and scientific study of the Constitution than that the founders intended to establish freedom of trade, commerce, and intercourse in ideas and commodities throughout all land and country subject to the sovereignty and dominion of the United States, and were confident that they had done so. They considered this principle to be the chief bond, the grand cementing bond, of the Union, as it has been and still is."

In the September number of the *Quarterly*, there is also an elaborate analysis of the currency law of March 14, 1900, contributed by Prof. Joseph French Johnson, of the University of Pennsylvania.

THE ETHICS OF EXPANSION.

In the *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Philadelphia), Mr. Talcott Williams writes on "The Ethical and Political Principles of 'Expansion.'" Mr. Williams' point of view is social rather than constitutional. His position is well exemplified by the following quotation from his article:

"When any nation finds itself, as the United States did, with responsibility for subtropical regions, which the experience of the past and the conditions of the present show to be incapable of creating either self-government or public order, the duty of the hour is to accept the burden and the responsibility for creating that one environment of self-government which, as we began by saying, is the best environment for the self-controlled individual. The issue at this point is not, therefore, one of inalienable right to self-government, or to be settled by a fervid appeal to the principle of the 'consent of the governed,' but one of fact as to whether, at a given place and date, the conditions existed for self-government as a reasonable and present possibility."

THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT.

In the *American Journal of Sociology* (University of Chicago), Dr. Max West has a paper on "The Fourteenth Amendment and the Race Question." Dr. West, after showing that the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment, intended mainly for the benefit of the negroes, has been applied by analogy to the Chinese also, and its protection extended in the course of time to railroad and turnpike corporations, directs our attention to the fact that the second section, providing for

the apportionment of representatives in Congress, has been strangely neglected. This second section, which would reduce the representation in Congress of States which abridge the suffrage, Dr. West holds should be strictly enforced. "This provision was intended especially to prevent the disfranchisement of the negro, and, as if with prophetic foresight, it was expressed in such general terms that it unquestionably applies even to disfranchisement through educational tests; yet its language is so mathematically explicit that it requires no interpretation, but requires simply to be enforced."

THE INCOME TAX.

Dr. West also contributes the leading paper appearing in the *Journal of Political Economy* on the subject of "The Income Tax and the National Revenues." Dr. West shows that the income tax is no more favorable to the poor than many other forms of taxation. "It falls most heavily, not upon the largest incomes, but upon those whose amount can be least readily concealed. The man with a salary cannot escape; the man of wealth can, according to the elasticity of his own conscience. The income tax punishes honesty and puts a premium upon perjury. There is nothing in the nature of the tax which makes it easier to assess justly than the State taxes on personal property; the superior Federal administration might save it from becoming a farce (as the still better administration of Prussia makes it a partial success), but could never make it operate equally."

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

IN the *National Review* for September, "Ignotus," writing on "Japan and the New Far East," enlarges on the military prestige lately acquired by Japan in China, commenting on the fact that the army of occupation sent by Japan outnumbers the forces of the other allies in the ratio of two to one. "Ignotus" compares, with the compact organization of the Japanese troops, "the mere collection of weak brigades which make up the allied army." From the strength of Japan's force now in the field, "Ignotus" reasons that, whether or no the European powers like to recognize the fact, Japan must take a predominant place in the eyes of the Chinese. As to the alleged Russian understanding with the Japanese, "Ignotus" dismisses this hypothesis as utterly improbable. He declares that no Japanese statesman would for a moment further Russia's reconquest of Manchuria, while, on the other hand, Japan is making her position each day more and more secure. "Five hundred thousand soldiers, a match in intelligence, bravery, and organization for the best Westerners, supported by a powerful fleet, are a strong reminder that prudence and forbearance are necessary in dealing with Japan—especially when Japan is upon the spot, and when the West is ten thousand miles away. Whatever the present, the future is to Japan."

A FRANCO-GERMAN ALLIANCE.

In an article on "The Foreign Policy of the German Empire," Sir Rowland Blennerhassett discusses the possibility of a Franco-German alliance. He admits that to many people in England such an alliance would seem a fantastic dream; but he calls upon such persons to remember that, even when the memories of 1870 were fresh in the minds of Frenchmen, the idea commended

itself both to German and to French statesmen. He declares that there are now many men of influence in France strongly in its favor, and that both in Germany and in France there is an active school at work preparing the minds of their countrymen for such a combination. He thinks that the basis of such an alliance would be that France and Germany should enter into a customs-union with Belgium and Holland. The project of a customs-union between Germany and Holland is, at the present moment, widely discussed in both countries. This writer ascribes the enthusiasm for the Boer cause in Germany largely to the policy of the authorities, formed with a view of acquiring for Germany the sympathies of the people of Holland. He says that customs-unions would be followed by the acquisition by France of the Belgian railways on a similar plan to that which the government of Napoleon III. formed in 1868. Military and naval conventions between France and Germany, on the one side, and Belgium and Holland would follow. He states that it is now known, on the undoubted authority of the Emperor Frederick, that just such a scheme was proposed to Germany after Sedan.

THE UNITED STATES IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Mr. John Foreman, a well-known authority on the people and resources of the Philippine Islands, attempts an answer to the question, "Will the United States Withdraw from the Philippines?" Mr. Foreman's article resolves itself into a proposition to extricate this country from the dilemma in which he thinks she has become involved. His plan is that the American governor-general be authorized to inform the representative Filipinos that the United States policy is to gradually but conditionally relinquish control over the islands. A Philippine chamber of deputies, representing the large towns and districts, should hold its session in Manila, and vote laws for the internal government of the islands. The statutes of the Philippine protectorate should be submitted to the United States governor-general or to commissioners appointed for the purpose, who would see that the rights of foreigners would be duly protected. For the reimbursement to the United States of the \$20,000,000 (gold) paid to Spain under the Treaty of Paris, the Philippine protectorate should issue to the United States \$40,000,000 (silver) in bonds bearing interest at a rate to be agreed upon and payable half-yearly, the Philippine protectorate undertaking to redeem annually a minimum of 5 per cent. of the bonds after the expiration of two years. The guarantee should be the customs dues collected by Philippine officials, but subject to an American control in Manila, and the ports open to foreign trade. Within three or four months after the first payment of interest on the bonds, the military governor and troops should be withdrawn, and America, as the protecting state, should be represented in Manila by a resident and staff. In the event of civil war, America should have the right to land troops to support the government against the rebels. Mr. Foreman believes that a military and naval station should be retained by the United States. He thinks that, as a compensation for protection, the Filipinos would very willingly grant exclusive trading privileges to the United States for a term of years, extending at least over the period of their financial indebtedness. Hence America would gain all the rightful advantages of occupation—viz., predominance in trade and an outlet for capital.

THE COAL PROBLEM.

Writing on the coal question, Mr. A. D. Provand, M.P., compares the transportation charges of England with those of the United States. He shows that the rates on coal in the United States for long hauls exceeding a hundred miles are from one-third to one-fourth what they are in Great Britain. The English rolling-stock is also deficient. In the United States the standard coal-car carries 30 tons, while the capacity of the English cars is only from 8 to 10 tons, with a few of 12 tons. It is thus easy to see that American railroads can carry coal profitably for much lower rates than the English railroads. Mr. Provand shows that in England a 150-mile haul would add fully seven shillings a ton to the cost of the coal, whereas in the United States it would add only about two shillings. He says that before English railways can rival American railways in coal-carrying, they will have to reconstruct their plants—turntables, sidings, cars, and locomotives.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Ralph George Hawtrey writes on "The School-boy's View of Schoolmasters;" Mr. W. J. Ford on "Drawn Matches at Cricket;" the Rev. H. C. Beeching on "Expression in Poetry;" Mr. Adrian Hofmeyr on "An Africander's Reflections on the Future of South Africa," and there is an anonymous article on "The House of Commons from the Ladies' Gallery."

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

THE September number rises very much above the *Westminster* average. There is no less reforming ardor, but panaceas are less obtrusive. Militarism and jingoism form the chief enemy, though not to the exclusion of constructive proposals. Mr. Maurice Johnson's defense of microbes has been noticed elsewhere.

WAR NOT THE ONLY SCHOOL OF VALOR.

War "is the foundation of all the high virtues and faculties of men." This saying of Ruskin rouses Mr. Walter J. Baylis to ask, "Is War a Blessing?" His conclusion is:

"Surely life is difficult enough under ordinary conditions, and furnishes sufficient opportunities for the display of both physical and moral courage, without our going afield to create new opportunities. This cannot be disputed, at any rate, so far as moral courage is concerned; while as a school for physical courage we have the lifeboat service, the fire brigade, the fever hospital, the slums and alleys of our great towns, and the chastising of bullies, besides polar expeditions and the exploration of other distant and dangerous regions. We have mountaineering, ballooning, and, last but not least, *opposing the present war*, which requires considerable courage in some company! *Pace* John Ruskin, we cannot believe that it is absolutely necessary that nations should be either manslaughterers or cowards."

Nora Twycross follows with a paper on the clergy and the Boer War, wherein she rebukes the jingo parson, but does not forget the faithful among the faithless found. She is inclined to think "there is a deeper feeling of revolt against militarism than has ever been cherished before."

THE FOLLY OF CONSCRIPTION.

"The Case Against Conscription" is vigorously stated by Mr. A. W. Livesey. He observes that the privileged classes have never taken the initiative in increasing the British navy; they have only poured cold water on those who insisted on a big fleet, but have always been eager to increase the army, even to the extent of introducing conscription. The fleet, Mr. Livesey says, is not a standing menace to England's liberties, and adds no power to the ruling classes. His general contention he thus sums up:

"It has been shown that, while the establishment of a colossal standing army or of conscription must inevitably sound the knell of English liberties, on the other hand those classes of the community who imagine that they would derive solid advantages from such a retrogressive measure are living in a fool's paradise; for, like all other classes, they would suffer both directly and indirectly from it—the military classes themselves, even, being sufferers with the rest of us. Moreover, it has been shown that all rapid advancement in civilization and the arts is made in times of peace, while the military spirit, and military organization and habits of mind, are antagonistic to all such progress, and by causing a marked limitation of the producing powers of a country—which means inferior nourishment and worse physical conditions for the masses—indirectly lowers the vitality and energy of a race, constituting a serious diminution of its ultimate chances in the international struggle for the survival of the fittest."

The assumption that a colossal army is necessary for purposes of imperial defense is denounced as absurd.

LIGHT FROM "DARKEST ENGLAND."

Mr. Wm. H. Hunt offers General Booth's Hadleigh Colony as "an interesting industrial experiment" in the quest after a remedy for urban congestion and rural depopulation. He quotes figures from the report for 1899, which give "a grand total for the colony of £42,166 2s. 7½d. on the expenditure side, and £40,786 18s. 11d. for income, or a total deficit on the year's working of £1,379 3s. 8½d. In 1898 it was £855 0s. 11d. on an expenditure of £37,612 11s. 5½d.; and in 1897, £750 4s. 10½d. on an expenditure of £35,113 0s. 5d." General Booth "has been dealing with unproductive land by means of unskilled and incompetent men; and yet he has come within measurable distance of making the enterprise pay." Mr. Hunt asks, What might not be done with good land and accustomed laborers? True, he grants, the Salvation Army has the inestimable advantage of disinterested and devoted administrators. But, he argues, we have no right to suppose that disinterested administrators would be wanting were the experiment to be made on a national scale.

"FREEDOM, JUSTICE, VITALITY."

The three laws of social activity are declared by Leonard M. Burrell to be Freedom, Justice, Vitality. These, he finds, necessitate:

"(1) Free competition as to land, the single tax on its values, and laws as to its use. (2) Freedom in work, and trade limited by laws as to kind and quality in productions. (3) Education which shall fit men to follow different industries when competition forces them to change their occupation, and which shall teach them that desire governs activity, and that reason and morality govern desire. That is, I advocate freedom limited by justice and directed by wisdom."

OTHER ARTICLES.

The murder of sleep by night noises in town is the theme of a plaint by Mr. George Trobridge. He advocates the suppression of steam-hooters in factories, and of traction-engines moving by night; the moderation of railway whistling; the use of wood pavement for granite, and the prohibition by the police of night rowdism.

Harriet McIlquham calls to mind Cornelius Agrippa and his lectures on the nobility and preëxcellence of women (1509).

CORNHILL.

THERE is plenty of readable matter in the September number of *Cornhill*, but very little that lends itself to purposes of quotation.

A remarkably vivid account is given by C. Dimond H. Braine of elephant-hunting in Siam. The wild elephants are beaten up from the jungle, and then decoyed by tame tuskers into the corral with its paling of stout teak-logs. The days set apart for selecting and securing a certain number of elephants form a sort of Derby-day to the people of Bangkok, even though the scene of the sport is fifty miles distant.

WHAT DO FISH LIVE UPON?

Mr. F. G. Aflalo discusses the food of fishes. He laughs at the common fancy that fishes live by the big ones eating the small. He suggests that, "while small fishes are intermittently devoured under favorable conditions, the regular food of even the so-called predatory fishes probably consists of minute entomostraca. As to whether the salmon, in ascending rivers from the sea for spawning purposes, feeds or fasts while away from salt water, he leaves an open question, suggesting that possibly in any case the salmon is during that interval a very irregular and uncertain feeder.

LITERARY FEASTS.

Mr. W. E. Garrett Fisher is impressed with the fact that no anthologist has yet "collected the repasts given by our poets and novelists into a new '*Almanach des Gourmands*.'" He offers hints for repairing this omission, and gathers them under the heading "Feasts in Fiction." He gives Thackeray the palm among all literary gastronomists. He cites also Miss Ferrier, Charlotte Brontë, O. W. Holmes, T. L. Peacock, A. H. Clough, Dickens, Fanny Burney, Miss Austen, Stevenson, Balzac, and Fielding.

EARLY VIEWS OF RUSSIA.

The journal of a tour in the north of Europe in 1825-26, by Charles Earle, is presented in parts by his daughter-in-law, Mrs. C. W. Earle. Earle was in St. Petersburg when Nicholas I. succeeded Alexander I.; and it is strange to be reminded by his diary that the accession of the new Czar was resisted by the Moscow regiment. Artillery and cavalry dispersed the mutineers, with much slaughter. Next day the survivors were pardoned and their regimental colors restored to them. Earle seems to have been badly bitten with Russophobia. He identifies the Russians with barbarism, and declares, "What they aim at is universal dominion in Europe, and the annihilation of our power in the East." He

thinks that the only bulwark that could be erected against Russian aggression in an else divided Europe would be an alliance between France and England. This he conceives to be hardly possible in view of recent wars. In visiting the Crimea he hazards the singular prophecy that Russian policy and Turkish impotence "will make this country, probably at no very distant period, the battlefield of Europe." This prediction is the more singular that the Crimean War when it came found the alliance between France and England, of which he had despaired, an actual fact.

OTHER ARTICLES.

The story of Sir Thomas Troubridge, ill-starred friend and comrade of Nelson, is told by Mr. W. J. Fletcher as an illustration of the persistent bad luck that occasionally dogs the footsteps of the ablest and bravest.

Mr. MacDonagh recalls the duel which Dan O'Connell fought with a merchant, D'Esterre, who took this method of vindicating the honor of Dublin Corporation, which the great advocate had assailed. It ended fatally for D'Esterre, but bestowed upon O'Connell immense popularity and undying remorse.

THE FRENCH REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

THE chief French review remains curiously removed from the immediate current of events. In its numbers for August, with the exception of an article on the Boxers, we do not get nearer to China than a travel paper on the Mekong. A paper on Antarctic exploration is dealt with elsewhere.

PARLIAMENTARIANISM.

M. Benoist has a hopeful article on "Parliaments and Parliamentarianism," in which he traces the geographical limits of popular institutions, and thence derives the conclusion that parliamentarianism, far from being an eternal and universal fact, is, on the contrary, a recent phenomenon essentially European and Western. It is for this very reason, he thinks, that it has proved on the whole so suitable a form of government for the nineteenth century. M. Benoist explains at great length the familiar theory of accord between the executive and the legislative powers; and he goes on to show the necessity for a harmonious balance of the relative strength of the head of the state, the ministers, and the parliament, not one of which can become too strong or too weak without risk of upsetting the whole. As regards France, M. Benoist is strongly in favor of assigning to the president of the republic certain positive powers by way of compensating him for the absence of those mysterious and impressive attributes enjoyed by a constitutional monarchy such as England. For the future he urges the necessity of organizing universal suffrage. How can parliamentarianism be restrained? There are three principal ways—(1) by despotism, as under the French empire, when certain parliamentary privileges were abolished; (2) by popular veto, as occurs in Switzerland under the referendum law; and (3) by judicial action, as in the case of the Supreme Court of the United States. It is hardly necessary to say that M. Benoist prefers the third alternative; but he is inclined to combine it, if possible, with the first. The election of the president of the republic should be, he thinks, withdrawn from the chambers and intrusted to a special college of electors, the composition of which should be a matter of discussion. By some such scheme as this M. Benoist hopes that parliamentarianism will be reconstructed on safe and well-regulated lines.

THE UPPER LAOS AND THE MEKONG.

Mme. Isabelle Massieu continues her interesting travel papers on Indo-China. Her enthusiasm for the scenery is great; but, as we know from other sources, not too great. In one place she notes with horror that the people drank water drawn from streams that were

obviously poisoned by the bodies of animals which had died of some epidemic. She gives the native of Laos the character of a child of nature, destitute alike of malice, vices, and virtues. The social superiority of the man is marked by a large number of signs and ceremonies. Thus, on one sacred day in the month, the wives come to do *baci* before their husbands; that is to say, they kneel down and beg pardon for the faults which they have committed and the annoyances which they have caused their lords. Divorce, which is very frequent, is conducted in the most polite manner, and is a matter entirely for mutual agreement. The woman who wishes to separate from her husband presents him with some "quids" of betel-nut, says to him that she will consider him henceforth as a relation, and offers him her best wishes for his health; that is enough, and the marriage is dissolved. It is a bad country for lawyers! In the eyes of the woman of Laos the best sort of marriage is one with a European, which is much sought after. The native wife of a European official actually becomes ennobled, and is thereby entitled to associate with the daughters and wives of the native princes.

DRESS AND SHOES.

Vicomte d'Avenel continues his interesting series on "The Mechanism of Modern Life" with a paper on dress and shoes. He notes the curious fact that the essential distinction between masculine and feminine dress is comparatively modern; the robe of a Greek or Roman maiden scarcely differed at all from that of her brother. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the stronger sex practically abandoned long, flowing robes to magistrates, doctors, and priests. Luxury in dress, so much denounced nowadays, reached extraordinary excesses in the Middle Ages; thus, in 1375, the Duchess of Burgundy ordered a robe of cloth of gold to cost \$2,500. Before the introduction of the modern corset, women underwent the most terrible tortures in order to obtain what was considered a good figure, and Catherine de Medici invented a horrible machine which could be made of any hard, inflexible material. The modern corset industry has been practically revolutionized in the last 30 years. In 1870 there were about 4,000 corset-makers in Paris, and they made about 1,590,000 corsets every year; but now the volume of trade has quadrupled. The whole toilette of Frenchmen and Frenchwomen represents annually a total expenditure of 2,000,000,000 francs, and gives employment to about 1,000,000 people. "If your shoes are too narrow," says a proverb of the Kirghiz people, "what does it matter that the world is wide?"—a maxim that will appeal to every one who has suffered from tight shoes. The

French annual production of shoes is estimated at \$160,000,000 worth. The leather comes, as regards the best qualities, from France itself, and the second qualities from South America and the Antilles. Tanned sheepskins are imported from India, and a certain small amount of trade is done in particularly delicate skins, such as those of the antelope and kangaroo. M. d'Avenel goes on to deal with the question of competition, against the work-people of Europe, of the black and yellow races, whose needs, being less, would enable them, it is thought, to accept lower wages; but it is too often forgotten that the taste for luxuries is universal, and when you have given a shirt to a South African savage he is by no means content, but immediately wishes to have himself photographed in it. The Egyptian *fellah* and the Brazilian negro—to take two very different examples—have alike shown a growing taste for more elaborate costumes than their fathers had. It is probable, therefore, that rates of wages will tend to adjust themselves in accordance with the practical needs of the workers, of whatever color they are.

OTHER ARTICLES.

It is certainly an honor of an unexpected kind for Mr. Hall Caine to have a short story of his published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*; it seems to be admirably translated. For the rest, Dr. Bonnafy contributes a very clear and useful account of the Société des Œuvres de Mer, founded in 1895, to provide the 16,000 French deep-sea fishermen with the hospital-ships of which, unfortunately, they stand in frequent need; and he also describes other organizations in various countries designed to improve the lot of these lonely workers.

NOUVELLE REVUE.

THE *Nouvelle Revue* keeps up well to the higher standard it has lately set itself; but, as many of the regular readers of the *Revue* will note with disappointment, Mme. Juliette Adam's bimonthly letters concerning the trend of foreign politics are omitted.

AN EXPERT'S CRITICISM OF THE BOER WAR.

Capt. G. Gilbert, a distinguished French officer, continues his highly technical account of the South African campaign; and to the many who are now beginning to take an interest in what may be called the theoretical side of the war, his criticisms concerning Magersfontein, Stormberg, and Colenso—that is to say, the operations on the Modder River, in the Orange Free State, and on the Tugela—will be found deeply interesting; the more so that he analyzes at length the Boer and the British methods of warfare. He evidently considers that the leading mistake made by the British generals was that of underestimating their enemy; but he pays a well-deserved tribute to the many individual acts of bravery, and even of good sense, shown by certain minor British officers. He gives a marvelously vivid and powerful account of the Magersfontein disaster; and it is significant that a French officer goes out of his way to again and again pay testimony to the marvelous courage of the British troops. In the first September number Captain Gilbert continues his analysis of the campaign.

CONTEMPORARY CRITICISM IN FRANCE.

In the matter of periodical literature, and even in the matter of fiction, France, at any rate as regards output,

is a hundred years behind England and America. The would-be novelist always publishes his first story at his own expense, and even the most successful writers do not make anything like the huge profits that accrue as a matter of course to their great British rivals. Here every newspaper devotes a certain amount of space to literary criticism; in France, save by two or three leading Parisian sheets, no attempt at anything of the kind is made. Review copies are not sent round to the leading periodicals, and the only way in which a book gets advertised is literally by means of advertisement. It is easy to pay for the insertion of a very flattering notice; but then every intelligent reader is aware that the so-called review has been paid for, often at a very extravagant rate. It must, however, be admitted that there are some half-dozen French writers who give up much of their time to literary criticism, and who are—to their honor, be it said—really incorruptible. They, however, either contribute a weekly signed article to some literary paper, or they publish their conclusions in one or other of the three great bimonthly reviews. Among these literary critics may be especially mentioned MM. Brunetière, Faguet, Lemaitre and Hallays.

FRENCH RED TAPE.

Those who marvel why French life is so terribly encircled with red tape should make a point of reading M. Martin's article entitled "The Reign of Bureaucrats." He points out that the republic owes not a little of its stability to the fact that an enormous number of Frenchmen of the lower and upper middle class are actually in its employment, and are to all intents and purposes its paid servants. Notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, the Frenchman is essentially a man of stable ideals: he has in him very little of the gambling instinct, and he can make himself happy on a tiny income, provided that income is a sure and certain one. This is why a post under government is regarded as being so desirable. A Frenchman would rather see his son become a clerk in a government office at \$250 a year than the confidential manager of an ordinary business man at a salary ten times that figure. The number of people employed in the great government offices doubles every few years. At the present moment the finance minister alone has under his orders 1,400 employees; and the different ministries, or rather their clerks, absorb a yearly income of 30,000,000 francs, mostly paid away in small salaries. The same system obtains in every provincial town. In 1858 there were 217,000 state employees, costing the country in salaries 260,000,000 francs. Last year the number had just doubled, and the salary list had trebled. The same state of thing obtains, and to an even worse degree, in the French colonies. In Cochin China there are 3,000 French people—men, women, and children; and of these 3,000, 1,700 are civil servants! Indeed, observes M. Martin, Cochin China may be called the paradise of the bureaucracy; the functionaries are in such a majority that they carry a solid vote, and thanks to this fact they are able to decide what their own salaries are to be.

CHINESE WAR-MAKING.

M. de Contenson gives some curious particulars concerning the Chinese methods of making war. Even in the days anterior to the Christian Era the Celestials had an elaborate military theory of their own, and had actually written works on the art of war. These curi-

ous documents—for books they cannot be called—were translated by a French priest, and it is with the help of these translations that the writer has prepared some very instructive pages. According to the Chinaman, everything must be done to avoid an actual declaration of war. "Try and attain victory without having fought a battle," observed the wise Sun-Tze, who was, by the way, a contemporary of Homer. Even in those days the Chinese seem to have had a great belief in scouting, and also in having a regular army of spies. Indeed, it is quite curious to note how the present Chinese Government has followed in its main outlines Sun-Tze's theories regarding how a campaign should be carried on, or, rather, should be initiated. Once matters really come to fighting, the Eastern Wellington has very definite views as to the value of a few disciplined men over a large army. "A small determined army is, under a good general, invincible. Do not seek to gather together too large a force; numbers are more often useless than useful."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Next year will see the publication of a great number of what may be called centennial articles. M. Dubor begins early with an interesting account of Paris in 1800. He gives a rapid sketch of the society of that day, of the costumes worn, and of the amusements and interests of the men and women who had just witnessed the awful upheaval of the French Revolution.

Other articles consist of a short account of the quincentenary of the Cracow University, a review of the state of things produced in Italy by the assassination of King Humbert, and an account of the close friendship which bound the historian Michelet to Quinet.

REVUE DE PARIS.

THE August numbers of the *Revue de Paris*, which seems to have taken a new lease of vigorous life, fully maintain the standard for excellence which we have had occasion to notice now for some months past.

THE COMMERCIAL STRENGTH OF GERMANY.

M. de Rousiers begins a series of papers on the economic and social causes of the commercial power of Germany. Of the growth of German commerce there can be no doubt, and the nerve-center of that growth is Hamburg. There may be seen the tangible results of the scientific cultivation of Saxony and Silesia, the spirit distilled in Pomerania and Brandenburg, the machines, the glass, the chemical products—coal, salt, and so on—all, or almost all, drawn by German enterprise and intelligence out of German soil. But M. de Rousiers justly says that it is not enough to estimate and handle these products; it is also necessary to acquaint ourselves with the men to whose efforts they are due. The industrial and commercial movement of Germany is largely due to the Teutonic knack of organization. The employers on the one side and the workmen on the other feel more and more the need for abandoning their isolation and for uniting their efforts for the common good. This tendency has been aided by circumstances, and also, one may add, by the industry and economy of past generations. Thus, the enormous sugar industry of Germany is directly due to the system of combination by which proprietors, little and big alike, join together to secure the common end.

Without this combination of capital, it would be practically impossible to cultivate the beet root on anything like a profitable scale; for the root requires an extremely fertile soil, and consequently the same field cannot be made to yield beet root for more than four years running. Each refinery, therefore, though using up only 2,900 hectares of beet root, requires altogether an available area of 8,000 hectares. So, too, with the coöperative dairies, which are very flourishing in Germany. Of course it is not all plain sailing, and M. de Rousiers points not obscurely to the difficulties caused by the inclusion of small landed proprietors in the associations; these people are somewhat narrow-minded, and can with difficulty be brought to see the advantages of combination with the sugar refineries.

MATHEMATICS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION.

M. Tannery contributes an important paper on mathematics in secondary education, in which he complains that in France the sciences do not penetrate the system of secondary education, but are added to it like excrescences. The method of teaching them corresponds to no practical need and serves as no preparation for a career, but rather for examinations which must be passed in order to enter certain professions. M. Tannery declares that there are certain portions of mathematical science that take the place in the French democracy of those old heraldic quarterings of nobility the possession of which in former days was really the sole qualification for state service. He does not suggest any palliatives—which, he considers, is the business of specialists; but he asserts that the evil is due to a false conception, not only of secondary education itself, but of the part which the sciences ought to play in it. Secondary education ought to form young people for the work which is to occupy their life, and that work in the majority of cases will consist in directing, more or less immediately, the physical labor of other men. This power of direction can only be derived from science; whereas, M. Tannery complains, the whole tendency of teaching is towards the enjoyment and production of literary work. It must not be supposed that he ignores the value of mathematics as an intellectual discipline; he simply complains that the French *lycées* are constituted on the model of old ecclesiastical establishments dating from the time when there was no science except mathematics; but nowadays, when the development of the practical application of scientific truths cannot fail to bring a rapid change in the distribution of wealth, and is even certain to become itself the principal source of wealth, it is obvious that the wise teaching of science becomes a social question of the first importance. M. Tannery evidently thinks that the future progress of France, both in the moral and in the economic spheres, is bound up in no small degree in this question of the reform of teaching methods.

VENICE IN DANGER.

M. de Souza sounds a cry of alarm to which, it must be feared, the world has by this time become tolerably accustomed. Persons of taste have mourned over the disfigurement of Rome and Florence; but they have always consoled themselves, says M. de Souza, with the recollection of Venice practically unspoiled. The complaint appears to be that wealthy English, American, German, Italian, and French people have bought one by one all the palaces on the Grand Canal, and have proceeded to restore them. A vast new palace, built in

imitation of old architecture, destroys the effect of one of the most impressive views of the Grand Canal. Furthermore, the destruction of the Pescheria, a horribly ugly building close to the Grand Canal, is urgently demanded. The practice of coloring the houses which are built of stone or marble in white is to be regretted, M. de Souza thinks, and color—preferably red—should be made compulsory. In general, it is the reviving commercial prosperity of Venice that brings in its train the vandalism of engineers, stimulated by the self-esteem of officialism.

REVUE DES REVUES.

THE August numbers of the *Revue des Revues* contain a second article by Senator Paul Strauss upon "Puericulture"—a paper which might have been inspired by Zola's "Fécondité." He advocates the legal protection of maternity, not only by forbidding women to work in factories for four or even six weeks after the birth of a child, but also by giving them an indemnity for wages lost. Excessive infant mortality is the chief cause of depopulation. In France, one-sixth of the total number of deaths are those of infants. In Paris, infant mortality is relatively low, but in some French industrial towns over 50 per cent. of the deaths are of children under one year. Sterilized milk will be a great factor in the saving of infant life, yet the prime cause of the frightful mortality of young children will never be removed except by educating girls for their duties as mothers—an education which must begin as the school time ends. One institution, at least, has already been founded with this object, with the happiest results in the saving of infant life.

FIRST STEPS TOWARDS SOLIDARITY.

Anna Lampérière, secretary-general of the Education Congress, has a most interesting paper upon "Social Education" in France, in which she thinks France has made far greater strides than any Anglo-Saxon nation. "France is the brain of humanity;" French thought the light which guides the steps of the rest of the world. In many French schools much has been done to instill into the children's minds the idea of solidarity, coöperation, being able to do easily combined what would be impossible by individual effort. A typical exercise for teaching children the elements of social economy may be quoted:

"On Thursday the master, being pleased with his class, had promised that every one should go for a walk as a reward. In the morning the father of Louis, one of our mates, said that Louis would have to fetch in the wood instead of going for a walk. Then every one went to Louis' home to help him; the wood was brought in directly, and Louis went out walking with us. Every one was very glad, and he was very glad, and the master said that that was solidarity."

Some schools try more practical methods. In one the children club together to buy a bottle of expensive wine for a sick schoolmate unable to get it for himself. In others they club together to replace a boy's cap which has landed in the garden of a bad-tempered neighbor, or a spoiled dictionary. In Orleans a case is cited of a "Mutual Insurance Society Against Window-Breaking," a club upon which a boy can draw when in play he has managed to break some one's window. In secondary schools less is being done than in primary; but coöperation is one of the leading notes of the "Universités Populaires."

THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE MOVEMENT.

M. Frederic Passy gives some reminiscences of his peace propaganda, dating over thirty years back. Old as he is, M. Passy writes with hope and enthusiasm. Speaking of the French Society for International Arbitration, which for ten years past has been striving to apply the principles of arbitration before war, M. Passy says that its efforts, though at first received with some indifference, have been the object of more and more attention on the part of the governments. "Not only have the ambassadors, through whom we had to send our letters, for the most part acknowledged their receipts in terms which were not mere flattery—several having even taken the trouble to leave their cards upon me—but a certain number, after acknowledging the letters, have renewed their thanks *by order of their government*." Speaking of the Hague Conference, M. Passy says it is "a happy crowning of the work of the Interparliamentary Conferences and the Peace Congresses."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Miss Constance Barnicoat, in an article on "The Alleged Disappearance of the Maori," replies to an anonymous French writer's assertion that the English had extirpated this race from the face of the earth, which is happily yet far from being the case.

M. Renard eagerly hails the first signs of spelling reform in France, the minister of education having last July published a decree which will greatly reduce the size of French grammars and immensely simplify the task of learning either to spell or write that language correctly.

Mme. Vera Starkoff writes on "Russian Writers Who Reach the People," among whom she mentions Novikoff and Tourguenief.

Mlle. Lecamp writes sensibly upon "Moral Teaching in School and in the Family." She asserts that the teacher, as well as the parent, is morally responsible for children's moral instruction. "If only one rule was required for our true education, I should say: Never put any but beautiful things before the eyes of a child. It is by the worship of the beautiful in all its forms that the child gets a great and generous soul, a free mind, open to all large thoughts."



THE NEW BOOKS.

RECENT AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

AMERICAN POLITICS.

A History of Political Parties in the United States.
By James H. Hopkins. 12mo, pp. 477. New York :
G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.50.

Mr. Hopkins has prepared a convenient work of reference covering the whole political history of the United States. In appendices to the book are contained the more important national platforms from 1840 to the present time, together with tables giving the popular vote in the various States in the last four presidential elections. In a brief concluding chapter Mr. Hopkins sums up the record of American parties in a suggestive manner. This record shows that since the days of Jackson the rule has been that the party which secured the Presidency at the same election chose Congressmen of the same political faith, but that two years later the people have chosen a majority in the House of Representatives hostile to the administration. In every second term of Congress, therefore, in almost every instance, the political control of legislation has been transferred from one party to the other. Exceptions, however, occurred during the period of the Civil War, in Cleveland's first term, and during the second half of McKinley's term.

The Jeffersonian Cyclopedia. Edited by John P. Foley.
8vo, pp. 1009. New York : Funk & Wagnalls Com-
pany. \$7.50.

It is claimed for this work that it contains everything of importance that Jefferson ever wrote on government, law, politics, education, commerce, agriculture, manufactures, navigation, finance, morals, or religious freedom—in short, that it is a complete manual of Jefferson's doctrine. Nearly ten thousand extracts from Jefferson's letters, state papers, and published works are arranged alphabetically by topics, with a full cross-reference index. This scheme greatly facilitates the use of the voluminous material. If we mistake not, the publishers have had an eye on the needs of the campaign "spellbinders" in this Presidential year. The book is thoroughly workmanlike, and a model of its class.

The Life and Writings of Thomas Jefferson. By S. E. Forman. 8vo, pp. 476. Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Company. \$3.

To write a biographical sketch of Jefferson that should "avoid controversy, abuse, and eulogy" has been Dr. Forman's very sensible and praiseworthy aim. He has achieved it by rigidly confining himself to the undisputed facts of his hero's career. Of this volume, entitled "The Life and Writings" of Jefferson, the "Life" occupies less than one-third. The more important portion of the book consists of extracts from Jefferson's voluminous private correspondence, his state papers, his "Notes on Virginia," etc. All of this material has long been in print, of course, but not in a form generally accessible.

The Trusts: What Can We Do with Them? What Can They Do for Us? By William Miller Collier. 12mo, pp. 338. New York : The Baker & Taylor Company. \$1.25.

Mr. Collier's point of view in dealing with the trust problem is that of the student who recognizes the necessity of combinations of capital, and at the same time sees their dangers to the industrial, social, and political system. He believes that much of the legislation heretofore attempted has been futile, and even positively injurious. His method, therefore, is to discriminate between the evils that must be prohibited and prevented and the tendencies that must be

limited and restricted. As specific remedies for the evils resulting from trusts, Mr. Collier would abolish all special privileges; prohibit and absolutely prevent railroad discrimination; lower the tariff,—not whenever we can obtain our goods from abroad at a lower rate, but whenever the prices exacted by any trust, or any corporation, or any individual are in excess of a fair profit after paying American wages. He would compel corporations to bear their fair proportion of taxation, and let the public retain and, in so far as is lawful, retake all public utilities and franchises. He favors the New York franchise-tax law. In addition to the abolishing of special privileges, Mr. Collier has great faith in publicity as a coördinate remedy.

"Restraint of Trade:" Pros and Cons of Trusts in Facts and Principles. By William Hudson Harper. 12mo, pp. 368. Chicago, 750 Marquette Building : Printed for the Editor. Paper, 50 cents.

This pamphlet represents an attempt to collate the most diverse opinions recently expressed by American thinkers on the trust problem. No great effort has been made to secure an orderly arrangement of material, and, as the editor himself intimates in his preface, the book may be opened at random and read without regard to sequence. There is an advantage, of course, in having the crystallized views of economists and publicists on this question thus compiled in a single volume. All schools of thought seem to have been fairly treated by the editor, whose sole aim has been to give each authority equal and just representation.

The Wall Street Point of View. By Henry Clews. 12mo, pp. 290. New York : Silver, Burdett & Co. \$1.50.

In this volume Mr. Clews considers the political and social problems of the day, and even international affairs, from "the Wall-Street point of view." Many of his chapters, such as "Washington Domination in Finance, Speculation, and Business," "Tariff for Prosperity Only," "Currency Legislation," and "President McKinley's Policy and the Nation's Future," have a direct bearing on the current Presidential campaign. The concluding chapter, entitled "Our Nation's New Departure," is a defense of the present administration of our foreign affairs. Chapters on the Cleveland and Harrison administrations, the Wilson tariff law, the Baring failure, and the Venezuelan message panic are not without historical value and significance. Mr. Clews' style, as often illustrated in his writings for the press, is colloquial, frequently anecdotal, and always entertaining.

One Hundred Years of Platforms, Principles, and Policies of the American Democracy. By S. S. Bloom. 12mo, pp. 221. Shelby, Ohio: The Shelby Publishing Company. Paper, 50 cents.

This pamphlet is a campaign handbook designed for the guidance of Democratic voters, and intended to familiarize the younger generation with the principles of the Jeffersonian fathers. The book was published before the assembling of the Kansas City convention.

The Referendum in America. By Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer. 12mo, pp. 430. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

Dr. Oberholtzer has been engaged for several years in a study of the referendum in Switzerland and in this country. He has given special attention to the system of lawmaking by popular vote in the United States, under which constitu-

tional amendments and even entire constitutions are submitted for ratification at the polls. He makes it clear that Americans really had the referendum long before the name was familiar to them. His discussion of the various phases of the subject in the light of the most recent developments, both at home and abroad, is exceedingly timely and instructive.

Representative Democracy. By John R. Commons. 12mo, pp. 100. New York: Bureau of Economic Research. Paper, 25 cents.

This little pamphlet brings together the main arguments for direct legislation and proportional representation. The chief aim of the work, perhaps, is to show the importance to minority parties in different sections of the country of proportional representation as a means to united action without fusion. The author seeks to apply this principle to Democrats, Populists, and Silver Republicans in the West, to Populists and Republicans in the South, and to Republicans, Socialists, etc., in New York City. In considering direct legislation, the author argues that it is the only cure for corruption in politics. The account of the new proportional-representation law in Belgium was contributed by Professor Commons to the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* for May, 1900.

ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY.

America's Economic Supremacy. By Brooks Adams. 12mo, pp. 222. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.

The titles of the essays brought together in this volume are as follows: "The Spanish War and the Equilibrium of the World;" "The New Struggle for Life Among Nations;" "England's Decline in the West Indies;" "Natural Selection in Literature;" "The Decay of England," and "Russia's Interest in China." These essays deal with the last three years, in which the United States, at least, has made history very rapidly. These discussions of the most modern phases of our economic life are well thought out, and, though prepared without reference to one another, form a natural sequence.

Industrial Betterment. By William Howe Tolman. (Monographs on American Social Economics.) 8vo, pp. 82. New York: League for Social Service. Paper, 75 cents.

Dr. Tolman's monograph, which has received the honor of a French translation, deals particularly with the improvement in the conditions under which American working-men and working-women perform their daily tasks. Dr. Tolman has investigated not only the factories themselves, but the homes and environments of the workers. He has also studied the effect of such industrial and social betterment on the community as a whole.

Religious Movements for Social Betterment. By Dr. Josiah Strong. (Monographs on American Social Economics.) 8vo, pp. 50. New York: League for Social Service. Paper, 50 cents.

Dr. Strong's pamphlet on "Religious Movements for Social Betterment" covers particularly such developments as what is known as the "institutional church" idea and other modern attempts to direct religious activities along social lines. The work of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Salvation Army is also described.

The Past and Present Condition of Public Hygiene and State Medicine in the United States. By Samuel W. Abbott. (Monographs on American Social Economics.) 8vo, pp. 103.

In summing up the progress of matters pertaining to public health in the United States, Dr. Abbott mentions especially the rapidity with which the introduction of public water-supplies has been effected, especially in States west of the Mississippi Valley, and the stimulus given to meth-

ods for the prevention of the spread of infectious diseases through the agents of bacteriology. As pressing needs of the hour, Dr. Abbott suggests a central bureau or department for the collection of vital statistics from the different States and Territories, and a central sanitary organization at Washington to coöperate with and to aid municipal and State sanitary authorities.

The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children. By Homer Folks. (Monographs on American Social Economics.) 8vo, pp. 142. New York: The Charities Review.

In a series of monographs on American social economics, prepared for the United States Commission to the Paris Exposition, there is an exhaustive study of "The Care of Destitute, Neglected, and Delinquent Children," by Homer Folks, secretary of the New York State Charities Aid Association. Mr. Folks first describes the situation in this country in 1801 with reference to these dependent classes. He then reviews the development of the public care of destitute children up to the year 1875. Private charities for destitute children during the same period are treated in a similar manner. Then the movement for the removal of children from the almshouses is described. This is followed by a full account of public systems other than almshouse care, for the last quarter of the nineteenth century. There is also a chapter on private charities for the same period, together with specific chapters on neglected and delinquent children, present tendencies, and an ample bibliography of the whole subject, giving the more important sources of information. This paper also forms one of an historical series on American philanthropy in the *Charities Review*.

Crime and Criminals. By J. Sanderson Christison. 12mo, pp. 177. Chicago: 100 State St. Published by the Author. \$1.25.

Dr. Christison's studies of crime and criminals have attracted much attention, and, in view of the rapid increase in American crime, they are deserving of most serious consideration. In this little volume, Dr. Christison presents a series of criminal topics, with brief descriptions of the individual characters and their history. Each description is given as the product of an examination of two or more hours' length made in private and supplemented by other inquiries. They thus have a rigid scientific basis.

The History of the Prudential Insurance Company of America (Industrial Insurance). By Frederick L. Hoffman. 12mo, pp. 338. Newark, N. J.: The Prudential Press.

In connection with the exhibit at the Paris Exposition of charts, diagrams, and statistics illustrating the methods and results of what is known as "industrial insurance" in the United States, this monograph has been prepared by the statistician of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, the concern most closely identified with this form of insurance. Although the company has had an existence of only a quarter of a century, it has fully demonstrated the possibility of extending the benefits of life insurance to the masses. This volume forms as complete a record of the history of the insuring of working-men and their families in this country as it would be possible to compile from any source.

CHINA AND THE FAR EAST.

China's Open Door: A Sketch of Chinese Life and History. By Rounseville Wildman. 12mo, pp. xvi-318. Boston: Lothrop Publishing Company. \$1.50.

Consul-General Wildman has brought within brief compass an historical sketch of the Chinese empire and its people from the earliest times to the outbreak of the Boxer insurrection. Mr. Wildman's book lacks the element of dryness so often present in histories compiled from printed works. Perhaps one reason for this is the fact that the author has based his work on personal observation and asso-

ciation with the people he describes, rather than on literature. Writing from the modern American point of view, Mr. Wildman could hardly fail to treat quite fully of the commercial and economic problems of the far East. His residence at Hongkong as the official representative of the United States has afforded him many opportunities for accurate judgment on these subjects. His book will, therefore, prove interesting to American business men seeking enlarged markets in China, as well as to students of contemporary world politics.

Missions and Politics in China: A Record of Cause and Effect. By Robert E. Speer. 16mo, pp. 61. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Paper, 10 cents.

One of the best brief discussions of the missionary situation in China is the chapter prepared by Mr. Robert E. Speer for his work on "Missions and Politics in Asia," and now republished in separate form for public circulation. Mr. Speer has obtained a clear insight into the political and economic forces at work in China, as well as the mission movement. His monograph is a defense of Chinese missions, evolved from a full knowledge of the difficulties and peculiar conditions under which these missions have been at work.

Arabia: The Cradle of Islam. By Rev. S. M. Zwemer. 8vo, pp. 434. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. \$2.

In the case of Arabia, as in many other instances, we are indebted to a missionary for one of the first complete accounts of the country in English. Mr. Zwemer has written this book especially to call attention to the need of missionary work for the Arabs. He collected his materials during nine years of residence in Arabia. Dr. James S. Dennis, in an introductory note, commends the spirit in which the author has written of Mohammedanism. The book is frank in its expressions of gratification on the British advance in the peninsula.

Russia Against India: The Struggle for Asia. By Archibald R. Colquhoun. 12mo, pp. 246. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.50.

This contribution of Mr. Colquhoun to the discussion of the Eastern question is primarily designed for English readers; but since, in the author's view, British interests in India are closely bound up with the interests of the whole Anglo-Saxon race, the topics that he treats will be not without interest to American readers. At any rate, the book will be helpful in clearing away the mistiness of the whole Eastern situation. The author has endeavored to sketch affairs in Central Asia from actuality rather than from official accounts. Oddly enough, the writer first named in the list of those to whom Mr. Colquhoun acknowledges indebtedness is an American—Mr. Eugene Schuyler, whose writings on Russia many years ago first drew the attention of the English-speaking world to the Czar's great modern dominion.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION.

The Colombian and Venezuelan Republics. By William L. Scruggs. 12mo, pp. 350. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$2.50.

This work derives its chief value from the author's intimate personal acquaintance with the countries and peoples described. This acquaintance, maintained during a period of twenty-seven years, while it had its basis in the official positions held by Mr. Scruggs, has resulted in a knowledge of the republics to which he was accredited as the representative of the United States far more extensive and profound than that usually acquired by diplomats in a purely official capacity. He has made a special study of the natural resources and climatic conditions of Colombia and Venezuela. The descriptive chapters of the book will be found particularly useful; but the author has wisely deemed an understanding of the political and social conditions es-

sential, and has therefore treated with considerable fullness such topics as "Panama Canal Projects," "The Race Problem in America," "Democracy in South America," "Spanish-American Revolutions," "The Monroe Doctrine," and "The Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Dispute."

South America: Social, Industrial, and Political. By Frank G. Carpenter. 8vo, pp. 625. Akron, Ohio: The Saalfeld Publishing Company. \$3.

After more than a year of constant travel through South American countries, Mr. Carpenter has compiled in this volume the results of his elaborate studies of the commercial and social life, both rural and urban, in the countries visited. He describes the chief industries of the people and the economic resources and possibilities, and incidentally points out the chances for the investment of American capital and the increase of American trade. The book is also a record of personal adventures, but its main interest lies in the wealth of practical information gathered by the author in the lines of his special investigations. There are numerous half-tone illustrations.

The Rockies of Canada. By Walter Dwight Wilcox. 8vo, pp. 309. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3.50.

So far as "book knowledge" is concerned, Americans are woefully ignorant of Canadian mountain scenery. Mr. Walter Dwight Wilcox, F.R.G.S., has visited all the points of scenic interest in the Rocky Mountains of Canada, taking many photographs and climbing many dizzy heights. The photogravure and half-tone plates made from the author's photographs to illustrate the present volume form a revelation of Canadian mountain scenery. A separate chapter on mountaineering describes the efforts in climbing made by American travelers with Swiss guides, and by several noted climbers from abroad. There are also special chapters on camp life and hunting and fishing which will interest American sportsmen. As a whole, the work is an important contribution to our knowledge of the scenic wonders of our own continent.

In South Africa with Buller. By George Clark Musgrave. 8vo, pp. 364. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$2.

Captain Musgrave, whose account of the Cuban War ("Under Three Flags in Cuba") has won much praise, undertakes in the present volume to review the causes of the war in South Africa. In the case of Cuba, Captain Musgrave's sympathies were wholly with the struggling patriots as against Spain; in South Africa, on the other hand, he regards the Boers as the real aggressors, and the triumph of the British arms as the only hope of true republicanism in the Transvaal. He hopes through this book to influence American public opinion in favor of Great Britain's side. Sympathetic readers of the Cuban book may find some difficulty, on taking up the South-African story, in following or adopting the author's shifted point of view; but as a record of the early military operations of the war in Natal the volume is important.

As Seen by Me. By Lilian Bell. 16mo, pp. 306. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.25.

The unique title adopted for this little book is a clew to the individuality of its contents, covering two years of travel, over some thirty thousand miles. The book does not pretend to present people and things as they are seen by the average traveler; nor even, as the author frankly says, "as they really are." The sketches, however, are so readable that most people will be willing to take them as they have been written, without going to the trouble of allowing for the author's personal equation.

A Journey with the Sun Around the World. By Rev. William McMahon. 12mo, pp. 676. Cleveland: The Catholic Universe Publishing Company. \$1.75.

A well-known Roman Catholic priest of Cleveland, Ohio, the Rev. Father McMahon, has written a readable

and entertaining account of a recent journey around the world. The book is fully illustrated from photographs.

BIOGRAPHY.

Stephen Decatur. By Cyrus Townsend Brady. (The Beacon Biographies of Eminent Americans.) 24mo, pp. 142. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 75 cents.

The story of Commodore Decatur's comparatively brief but glorious career in the American navy is told by Mr. Cyrus Townsend Brady in the series of "Beacon Biographies" in a characteristically frank and impressive way. Mr. Brady regards Decatur as the most conspicuous figure in the naval history of the United States for the hundred years between Paul Jones and Farragut, not even excepting the brilliant Oliver Hazard Perry, who won undying fame in the battle of Lake Erie. The brilliant achievements of our modern navy in 1898 have undoubtedly revived interest in the naval exploits of the fathers. Perhaps Mr. Brady will be regarded by some critics as slightly extravagant in his estimate of Decatur's achievements, but it cannot be denied that in this little book he has faithfully carried out his purpose of showing the man as he appeared to his contemporaries, and, at the same time, exhibiting in some measure the national habit, life, thought, and action during the time in which he lived.

Stonewall Jackson. By Carl Hovey. (The Beacon Biographies.) 24mo, pp. 131. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 75 cents.

About two years ago, we noticed in these pages an elaborate biography of Gen. Stonewall Jackson, by Lieutenant-Colonel Henderson, of the British Army. That work contains a detailed account of the famous Confederate general's military career. Mr. Carl Hovey has written for the "Beacon" series an admirable short sketch of Jackson, portraying with unusual success the hero of the Shenandoah as he appeared in action. The greater part of the book is, of course, given up to the Civil War, in the first two years of which Jackson accomplished what to him and to thousands of followers in the South seemed to be his life-work. Mr. Hovey has attempted no criticism of his hero, but has been content to let the plain record of Jackson's career speak for itself. Perhaps the North has never yet understood the secret of this man's leadership; but, from a study of his achievements in battle, we can well understand why the death of Stonewall Jackson brought the first touch of real despair to those who up to that time had believed in the triumph of the Southern cause.

"An American Commoner." The Life and Times of Richard Parks Bland. Edited by William Vincent Byars. With an Introduction by William Jennings Bryan. 8vo, pp. 404. Columbia, Mo.: E. W. Stephens. \$3.50.

The life of the Hon. Richard Parks Bland, who will be remembered as one of the leading candidates of the Silver wing of the Democratic party prior to the nominating convention of 1896, has been compiled by Mr. William Vincent Byars. The book is provided with an introduction by William Jennings Bryan, and contains personal reminiscences by Mrs. Bland. The political problems and policies of the past twenty-five years are nearly all touched upon in this sketch of Mr. Bland's career. Mr. Bland's record in Congress on the silver question, long antedating that of most of the present-day leaders of his party, makes this volume a timely one in the present campaign.

Sam Houston. By Sarah Barnwell Elliott. (The Beacon Biographies.) 24mo, pp. 149. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. 75 cents.

The story of General Houston's life, touching as it goes on the questions of territorial expansion, of silver, and of the secession of the Southern States, is a part of our national history. The picturesque features of Houston's

career have for two generations been common property throughout Tennessee, where the first part of his public life was passed, and Texas, the State that he founded. From the abundance of materials scattered through the histories and public records of Tennessee, Texas, and the far Southwest, Miss Sarah Barnwell Elliott has constructed a graphic account of Houston's achievements. Houston was a soldier in three wars—the War of 1812, the Texan war of independence, and the Mexican War, and lived through the second year of the Civil War. He left the governorship of Texas in 1861 because of his refusal to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederate government. He had been a member of the national House of Representatives and of the United States Senate, and the highest honors that two States could confer upon him had been his. To the credit of General Houston, it is remembered that he left the public service in 1861 as poor as when he entered it as a young soldier in 1813.

Recollections of a Lifetime. By General Roeliff Brinkerhoff. 12mo, pp. 448. Cincinnati: The Robert Clarke Company. \$2.

General Brinkerhoff, of Ohio, who in recent years has been known throughout the country for his connection with organized charities, has had a long and interesting public career, the most active years of which covered the more important events of the antislavery period, beginning with the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 and closing with the Civil War and reconstruction. During that period General Brinkerhoff had an intimate acquaintance with many leading men, and had himself no small part in the shaping of events. General Brinkerhoff has served successfully as educator, lawyer, editor, soldier, statesman, and philanthropist. Among his friends were Salmon P. Chase, James G. Blaine, President Garfield, and President Hayes. It is said that General Brinkerhoff has visited and inspected probably more benevolent and correctional institutions than any other man in the world; for he has traveled for that purpose in every State in the Union except one, and also in the Dominion of Canada, the Republic of Mexico, and all the countries of Western Europe. His observations on these travels form in this volume a history of modern progress in dealing with the dependent, defective, and criminal classes.

Napoleon III. at the Height of His Power. By Imbert de Saint-Amand. Translated by Elizabeth Gilbert Martin. 12mo, pp. 305. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

M. de Saint-Amand's numerous writings on modern French history, which have been translated and have obtained wide circulation in this country, are now generally accepted as authoritative for the period that they cover. The latest accession to the list is a volume treating of Napoleon III. at the height of his power. This book, like its predecessors, deals with persons and events in the bright, crisp, and distinctively French method which makes the whole series so much more attractive than any English works covering the same ground. In 1860 the Emperor could say that in a single year the French flag had floated at Rome, at Beyrout, and at Peking. He foresaw nothing of the ruin that was to come ten years thence. "As everything had succeeded with him from the beginning of his reign, he believed that his eagles soared above the lightning."

New York State's Prominent and Progressive Men. Compiled by Mitchell C. Harrison. Two vols. 4to, pp. 421-390. New York: The New York Tribune.

The New York *Tribune* has compiled, for the use of newspaper editors and others requiring the data, two volumes, entitled "New York State's Prominent and Progressive Men," including numerous biographical sketches prepared under the supervision of Mr. Mitchell C. Harrison. Many of the subjects of these sketches are men of national reputation. The paper and typography of the volumes are of the best quality. We understand that the work is sold only by subscription.

RECENT FICTION.

The Golden Book of Venice: An Historical Romance of the 16th Century. By Mrs. Lawrence Turnbull. 12mo, pp. 399. New York: The Century Company. \$1.50.

Mrs. Turnbull's "Golden Book of Venice" will appear this month, an advance copy having reached us just before the October REVIEW OF REVIEWS went to press. It is an historical novel of the classic type,—with the scene laid in Venice in the latter half of the sixteenth century,—and the story is interwound with the fierce struggle between Rome and Venice, Church and State, which brought the famous Servite Friar, Paolo Sarpi, to the zenith of his fame. Mrs. Turnbull's picture of the times and of the ever-beautiful Venice is one which could only have been painted by one who has consciously withdrawn into the atmosphere of 1565 and of Venice and become saturated with it. Mrs. Turnbull has in fact made a rarely conscientious and thorough study of the place, the peoples, and the times which form the background of her imaginative work. The story itself is pure fiction, with the exception only of the historic events which it accompanies, and of the character and utterances of Fra Paolo. The romance is the love of Marcantonio, scion of the aristocratic house of Giustiniani, for the lovely but low-born Marina, whose name becomes inscribed on the "Golden Book" of Venetian nobility by a special decree of the Senate—a triumph won by the lover's inspired eloquence. The parlous times which follow the marriage of the lovers, when their happiness is torn between the loyalty of the Giustiniani for the Venetian state and the pious devotion of the Lady Marina to her church, lead up to the catastrophe when the lovely young wife and mother leaves her husband and child to plead the Venetian cause at Rome, only to be intercepted and confined by the state which she would fain save from excommunication. As a full and vivid historical picture, and as a story of noble characters, with noble motives, noble joys, and noble griefs, Mrs. Turnbull's volume is most worthy to be read.

The Reign of Law. By James Lane Allen. 12mo, pp. 385. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$1.50.

Mr. Allen's preceding story, "The Choir Invisible," has given the reading public its realization of this author's extraordinary truth and poetic delicacy in his interpretation of nature, and this reputation, in which Mr. Allen is not surpassed by any story-teller in America, probably, does not suffer in this latest tale of the Kentucky hemp-fields. The opening chapter, "Hemp," is a very beautiful idyllic study; and all through the story of the Kentucky farmer boy, who is the hero of the novel, Mr. Allen uses with a touch here and there his preëminent talent for bringing us home to the pleasant things, animate and inanimate, of the fields, the sky, and the waters. The story is concerned with the spiritual experiences of a Kentucky boy who is transferred from the devout and rather narrow religious atmosphere of his country home to a college where he is brought face to face with the fact, shocking to him, that there are other religions claiming, with some show of reason, a recognition equal to his own, and that there have been great minds in the world who refused obedience to any religion on grounds which quite stagger the young Kentuckian. The picture is a not unnatural one, but portrays a situation found in many a life surrounded with analogous conditions.

A Cumberland Vendetta. By John Fox, Jr. 12mo, pp. 181. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.25.

Mr. John Fox, Jr., the young Kentucky writer, has already become known in the field of fiction, and well known, through his novels "A Mountain Europa" and "The Kentuckians," as well as his short stories which have been published in book form. It is very natural that with such a young writer, graduated from newspaper work, the highly dramatic qualities of the Kentucky feud system should have appealed strongly as the background of a work of fiction. "A Cumberland Vendetta" is the imaginative story of a

Kentucky family feud, written after a careful preparation by Mr. Fox in his explorations and study of the lawless mountain regions of the Southwest. Certainly there is feud and fighting sufficient to satisfy the most exacting in this volume, and the tragic picture it gives of the state of society in these mountain regions has a social value aside from the very dramatic and readable story.

The Girl at the Halfway House: A Story of the Plains. By E. Hough. 12mo, pp. 371. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

Mr. Hough is, and has been for many years, the Western correspondent of *Forest and Stream*. The people who read *Forest and Stream* have learned to turn to Mr. Hough's weekly letters, whether they care anything about the intrinsic news given there or not, because the news of Western shooting and fishing interests was always presented by that correspondent with such unfailing humor and vivacity. Two years ago, Mr. Hough gained a larger audience through his "Story of the Cowboy," in which he combined in the most fascinating way a special knowledge of the country of the cowboy and the life he led with a large grasp of the phase of our national life which the cowboy represented. In this novel, Mr. Hough's first venture, we believe, in the field of fiction, he attempts to give a picture of the great movement of this nation from east to west. His story is divided into "The Day of War," "The Day of the Buffalo," "The Day of the Cattle," and "The Day of the Plow"—four books expressing the respective stages of Western development. This epic conception of the period through which his love-story runs is not too large for Mr. Hough's pen. He has made a book which, quite aside from the pretty romance, is very well worth while as a poetical and historical account of the growth of these United States to manhood. The magnificence of this development, the inner significance of each phase of it, Mr. Hough feels deeply, and he has the faculty of making his readers feel with him.

The Man That Corrupted Hadleyburg. By Mark Twain. 12mo, pp. 398. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.75.

Mr. Clemens' latest volume is made up of short stories, essays, and reminiscent sketches which have appeared in various magazines. These are so diverse in subject, form, and method that there is nothing common to all of them except the distinctive genius of Mark Twain. In these stories can be noted the tendency which Mr. Clemens began to show many years ago—to add a serious purpose to his fun by attacking cant and snobishness in abstract or concrete forms. The opening story, which gives its name to the volume, has a most curious and ingenious conception of the successful moral overwhelming of a town which had won the proud adjective of incorruptible, the fall being so complete and disastrous that Mr. Clemens has no difficulty in pointing his tacit moral that there is no more dangerous preparation for a community, or for an individual, than the complete protection from temptation. In another story Mr. Clemens gives the private history of "The Jumping Frog" story; there are four or five chapters on Australia, and an especially shrewd and entertaining essay "Concerning the Jews," in which the author attempts to explain once and for all the prejudice against the Hebrew race, and a half-dozen more sketches.

The Booming of Acre Hill, and Other Reminiscences of Urban and Suburban Life. By John Kendrick Bangs. 16mo, pp. 266. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.25.

Mr. Bangs is now the editor of *Harper's Weekly*, and he has been more or less of a politician in his chosen town of Yonkers, N. Y., not to speak of several other occupations which he has found; but he is, first of all, a writer of humorous short stories. The present volume contains a dozen of his last stories and comical sketches which have appeared before in various periodicals. It is illustrated with charming drawings by Charles Dana Gibson.

Monsieur Beaucaire. By Booth Tarkington. 12mo, pp. 128. New York: McClure, Phillips & Co. \$1.25.

Mr. Booth Tarkington is a young writer who became well known last year through the success of his novel, "The Gentleman from Indiana." This slighter story at present under notice is a light tale of intrigue at the English court, and quite sustains the reputation for cleverness won by this new writer in his first and more pretentious story.

The Passing of Thomas, and Other Stories. By Thomas A. Janvier. 12mo, pp. 181. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.25.

Mr. Janvier has collected in this volume five stories which have appeared in various periodicals. Three of them have their scenes laid in France, and reap the advantage of Mr. Janvier's unsurpassed talent for expressing the subtleties and whimsicalities of the French character. The book is illustrated by Mr. C. D. Gibson, whose well-known types have a quaint look, tricked out as they are in French dress.

The Bewitched Fiddle, and Other Irish Tales. By Seumas MacManus. 16mo, pp. 240. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. 75 cents.

Mr. MacManus' short stories of Irish peasant life have been gathered from magazines into this readable little volume, which is redolent from cover to cover of the quaint Celtic humor which this author has learned to exploit so well. The opening story, which gives its title to the volume, tells of a converted fiddler whose instrument becomes bewitched into playing only the ribald tunes that were formerly its music, instead of the Gospel hymns that it should have given in church, with the consequence of leading the entire congregation into a most scandalous dance among the tombstones. Mr. MacManus' study of Irish life has been made in his native Donegal, where, he tells us in his apology, the Celtic spirit dallies in frivolity as if there were no such thing as the stern tasks of civilization or the presence of dark days.

Whilomville Stories. By Stephen Crane. 12mo, pp. 199. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.50.

It is generally very difficult to please many people, or at least the majority of people, with any one treatment of boy life in fiction; but certainly these stories of the late Stephen Crane, dealing with the childish adventures of Jimmie Trescott and his friends, will be apt to command respect for their evidence of keen observation, even where they are somewhat frowned on for their disdain of Sunday-schools and like institutions. There is a deal of humor in many of the situations, and the boys are always boys—something which can rarely be said of fiction children. But whatever be the opinion of Mr. Crane's views of boy life, there will be but one of Mr. Peter Newell's illustrations, which are really inimitable.

In Circling Camps: A Romance of the Civil War. By Joseph A. Altsheler. 12mo, pp. 419. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

Mr. Altsheler, like John Fox, Jr., is a Kentuckian, and like him, too, is a newspaper man. Mr. Altsheler began writing fiction while on the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, because his paper needed a story, and a suitable one could not be found. Since the first effort, several tales with a setting of American history have appeared. This last volume tells of the love of a Kentucky Unionist for the niece of a rascally army contractor, and it is largely occupied, too, in giving a picture of the battles of Gettysburg and Shiloh.

Eben Holden: A Tale of the North Country. By Irving Bacheller. 12mo, pp. 432. Boston: Lothrop Publishing Company. \$1.50.

Mr. Bacheller has selected the movement of hardy Vermont folks to the West a half-century ago to furnish the motive of his story. The hero, an orphan child, goes on a trek from Vermont to the Adirondacks. The boy comes

from the hardy wood-chopping, charcoal-burning life of an Adirondack farm to New York City and seeks work on the *Tribune*, giving Mr. Bacheller an opportunity to draw a striking portrait of Horace Greeley, and to give a very amusing account of the journalism of that day.

The Cardinal's Snuffbox. By Henry Harland. 12mo, pp. 319. New York: John Lane. \$1.50.

Mr. Harland's new story is very pleasant reading. The scene is laid in Italy, and a duchess, a cardinal, a castle, and a beautiful Italian garden keep us in the best sort of company. Mr. Harland has a rare and dainty style, slipping in a quaint and witty saying every page or so, and with a graceful love-story, beginning naturally and ending properly, one has a good book to while away a leisure hour.

The Secret of the Crater (A Mountain Moloch). By Duffield Osborne. 16mo, pp. 312. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.

Mr. Duffield Osborne has given free rein to his imagination in his last book. He creates an imaginary island in the South Pacific, with a beautiful princess and a young lieutenant of the United States navy as the chief characters of the story. All sorts of mysteries and dangers serve to keep the interest tense from chapter to chapter, and there is savage fighting enough to suit the most adventurous-minded.

Hilda Wade: A Woman with Tenacity of Purpose. By Grant Allen. 12mo, pp. 383. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

This story was the last work of the late Mr. Grant Allen. Indeed, the final chapter had only been roughly sketched by Mr. Allen, and was put in shape for publication by his friend, Dr. Conan Doyle. The scene is in London, with the central figure Hilda Wade, "a woman with a tenacity of purpose," as Mr. Allen describes her. Hilda's father was accused of having poisoned an English admiral in order to inherit his estate, and the daughter enters a hospital in London and devotes her life to discovering the true poisoner.

The Fox-Woman. By John Luther Long. 12mo, pp. 308. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. \$1.25.

The "Fox-Woman," like Mr. Long's "Miss Cherry Blossom," has its scene laid in Japan; but the vampire of this legend is an American woman who does her best to steal the affections of a Japanese artist who has a wife already. How the Japanese wife won the day by her gentleness, her loveliness, and the home that these qualities made, makes up the story. Mr. Long certainly has a rare gift of picturing the gentle, dainty, and generally incomprehensible women of Japan.

As the Light Led. By James Newton Baskett. 16mo, pp. 393. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.50.

Mr. Baskett belongs to the school of American writers who are showing in their works of fiction the strong impress of the community in which they live. Mr. Baskett is a Missourian, and the scene of this story is laid in Northeastern Missouri. The time is in the late sixties, when the political issues of that part of the world were deeply stirred by the disputes of the Immersionists and the Paedo Baptists. The volume gives a very excellent picture of the manners and customs of the Mississippi Valley. Mr. Baskett is an earnest writer who aims to do whatever he does with all his heart, and his purpose to depict in a story the life of his country is aided greatly by his most intimate knowledge of every rural feature and the local raciness of his style.

Féó. By Max Pemberton. 12mo, pp. 299. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.50.

Mr. Max Pemberton has become a very popular author of stories which do not busy themselves with any very stern or gloomy problems. Féó is the tale of the infatuation of a man of noble rank for a young opera singer, told with wit and discrimination. The scenes are laid in Vienna, London, and Paris.

The Cambric Mask. By Robert W. Chambers. 12mo, pp. 325. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. \$1.50.

Mr. Chambers became known to his readers very pleasantly in his stories of the Maine woods as possessing remarkably keen and loving appreciation for nature, and there is much evidence of this faculty in the love-story told in the present volume, to which presidents of distilling companies, railway promoters, and railroads give so distinctly a Yankee cast.

The Slave. By Robert Hichens. 12mo, pp. 463. New York: H. S. Stone & Co. \$1.50.

Mr. Hichens has utilized a most remarkable motive in this story. He makes the woman who is the central figure absolutely cold to human interests, and portrays in her a grand passion for jewels, not as ornaments or for their pecuniary value, but simply for themselves. Her broken-down husband makes the heroine his slave through this curious passion by dazzling her with the most wonderful emerald in the world. The characters of the novel are the exaggerated figures of London society people.

A Master of Craft. By W. W. Jacobs. 12mo, pp. 339. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. \$1.50.

Mr. W. W. Jacobs has become peculiarly the proprietor of the coastwise skipper in fiction. His volumes of short stories, "Many Cargoes" and "More Cargoes," were in their way inimitable. He can get more fun out of one of these simple yet shrewd half-salts of England than one could have supposed would be obtainable. Even in the short stories, Mr. Jacobs scarcely pretended to pay any deference to the laws of probability; and his skippers, and the wives and would-be wives who pester them, were so funny that no one cared whether the thing were probable or not. The present volume is a more pretentious effort, and while the same tang of salt air, and the same pleasant odor of oilers, are present, the defiance of the laws of probability, if not of possibility, has a rather more qualifying effect in a novel than in a short story.

Their Shadows Before: A Story of the Southampton Insurrection. By Pauline Carrington Bouvé. 12mo, pp. 202. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co. \$1.25.

Mrs. Bouvé gives in her very readable story an excellent picture of aristocratic Virginia life in 1830. The child who tells the story is a bright, daring and lovable girl, living in the ancestral home of the Winstons, surrounded by the usual army of negro slaves. The advent of a Northern tutor for this original spirit and the sudden catastrophe of a negro uprising make the dramatic dénouements of the tale. The negro-character delineation is especially true and vivid; indeed, we have rarely seen such a veridical presentation of the curious relations generally found between white child and black slaves as Mrs. Bouvé gives.

The Master-Christian. By Marie Corelli. 12mo, pp. 604. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. \$1.50.

Miss Corelli's latest novel is the longest and most elaborate romance she has yet produced, and she will probably become best known by this effort. She has never been wanting in vigor and daring, and these qualities are exerted to her utmost, in "The Master-Christian," to protest against orthodoxy—not orthodoxy in the abstract, but orthodoxy as we find it in the world before us. All of Miss Corelli's reprehensible characters are distinctly conformists, and all of her noble characters are distinctly heterodox.

The Unknown. By Camille Flammarion. 12mo, pp. 488. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$2.

The eminent French astronomer says in his introduction that this work "is an attempt to analyze scientifically subjects commonly held to have no connection with science, which are even counted uncertain, fabulous, and more or less imaginary." M. Flammarion does not contend that this investigation of ghostly happenings is rational, logical, or

productive of results—at least, he does not propose to prove any such excuses for his volume; but he does know that the subject is interesting, and helps us to know something of the nature of the human soul. He has chapters on "Credulity" and "Incredulity," on "Telepathic Communications," "Hallucinations," "The Psychic Action of One Mind upon Another," and a deal upon the subject of dreams. The author's large collection of psychic phenomena proves to his satisfaction "that we live in the midst of an invincible world, in which forces are at work of which we know very little," and he thinks it high time that there should be some fundamental basis for a scientific study of the unknown principles underlying such matters as he has described in this volume.

Fruitfulness. By Émile Zola. 8vo, pp. 487. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. \$2.

M. Zola's last work has been judged by various critics as a very hideous or as a very noble production. It is the first of a series of four works in which M. Zola proposes to embody what he considers to be the four cardinal principles of human life. The second volume will be called "Work," the third "Truth," the last "Justice." In "Fruitfulness," M. Zola argues with all the force of his genius that the crying need of France is larger families. "The greatest possible sum of life, in order that the greatest possible happiness might result; that was the act of faith in life, the act of hope in the justice and goodness of life's work." This gives, in short, the author's philosophic belief which inspired this volume. The story is characterized by Zola's usual frankness in dealing with themes that Anglo-Saxons are not accustomed to dilate upon except in medical works. The translator has cut out portions which would most offend American ears, but even in its present expurgated form the volume cannot be said to be *virginibus puerisque*.

RELIGION AND ETHICS.

The Life that Really Is. By Lyman Abbott. 12mo, pp. 320. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham. \$1.50.

This volume, entitled "The Life that Really Is," contains many of the sermons preached by Dr. Abbott during his last year as pastor of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. These sermons, originally delivered extemporaneously, have been preserved essentially in their original form. The well-known qualities of Dr. Abbott's style in pulpit discourse are here displayed at their best, and will be appreciated by every reader.

Introduction to Ethics. By Frank Thilly. 12mo, pp. 346. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

Professor Thilly, a pupil and follower of Friedrich Paulsen, has reviewed in this volume the general principles underlying ethics. This author devotes much space to the history and criticism of the various historical schools of ethics, beginning with Socrates. The concluding chapters deal with "The Highest Good," "Optimism vs. Pessimism," and "Character and Freedom," giving brief summaries of the best modern opinion on these topics.

The Making of Character: Some Educational Aspects of Ethics. By John Mac Cunn. 12mo, pp. 226. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.

Professor Mac Cunn treats the subject of character under four main heads: "Congenital Endowment; Its Nature and Treatment;" "Educative Influences;" "Sound Judgment," and "Self-Development and Self-Control." His subject is developed in a logical and systematic manner, and the whole presentation is calculated to interest as well as instruct the reader.

Would Christ Belong to a Labor Union? or, Henry Fielding's Dream. By Cortland Myers, D.D. 12mo, pp. 216. New York: Street & Smith. 50 cents.

Problem in Ethics; or, Grounds for a Code of Rules for Moral Conduct. By John Steinfort Kedney. 12mo, pp. 252. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

INDEX TO PERIODICALS.

Unless otherwise specified, all references are to the September numbers of periodicals.
For table of abbreviations, see last page.

- Acoustics, Modern Problems in, C. K. Wead, Mus, August.
Advertising, Public, Reform in, F. L. Omsted, Jr., BP.
Affirmation and Denial, M. E. Carter, Mind.
Africa, American Interests in, D. A. Willey, Arena.
Agnosticism? What Is, A. W. Benn, NW.
Agrippa, Cornelius, Harriett McIlquham, West.
Alaska, Civilizing the Natives of, W. T. Harris, Ains.
Arctic Circle, Summer in the, A. G. Kingsbury, NatM.
Arctic Coöperation, E. W. Lowry, Gent.
Arctic Highlanders, With, W. A. Wyckoff, Scrib.
Art:
Act-Drops by Arthur J. Black, MA.
Art Education for Men, C. N. Flagg, Atlant.
Art Education in the Public Schools of New York City,
Georgia F. Arkell, AE.
Attwood, Francis Gilbert, L. McK. Garrison, Cos.
Aumonier, James, Mrs. A. Bell, IntS.
Bookbindings by A. A. Turbayne, Art, August.
Books, Illustrated, Art in, G. Mourey, RRP, September 1.
Caricaturists Caricatured—III., M. H. Spielmann, MA.
Century of Art, M. Hamel, RPar, September 1.
Chaucer, Geoffrey, Portraits of—III., M. H. Spielmann, MA.
China, Figure Painting on, R. Bier, AA.
China, Old Sevres, C. Welsh, AI.
Christian Art, Katherine F. M. O'Shea, Cath.
Colored Pictures in American Periodicals, J. B. Carrington, Crit.
Color, Hints on Tone and Harmony of, AA.
Dean, Walter L., and Hendricks A. Hallett, A. Chamberlain, AI.
Decorations of the Peninsular and Oriental Pavilion at the Paris Exposition, IntS.
Decorative Art at the "Art Nouveau Bing," Paris Exposition, G. Mourey, IntS.
Dow, Arthur W., and His Work as a Teacher, F. W. Coburn, AE.
Dressler, Conrad, Sculptor-Potter, F. Miller, Art, August.
Embroideries at the Metropolitan Museum—II., Mrs. Lillian B. Wilson, AI.
Embroidery, English, in the 16th and 17th Centuries, Anna M. Brackett, Art, August.
Goya, Portraits by, Mrs. Margaret L. Woods, Corn.
Grafito Work for Wall Decoration, AI.
Hertford House Collections, C. Yriate, PMM.
Indian, American, Art of the, C. H. Bartlett, Chaut.
Inlaid Furniture at Buckingham Palace, F. S. Robinson, MA.
Lacquering and Lacquers, AA.
Maris, James, R. A. M. Stevenson, MA.
Medallists, Two French, E. F. Strange, MA.
Modeling in Clay, H. C. Gaskin, AA.
Nursery, Art in the—II., C. Aldin and J. Hassall, AJ.
Orlik, Emil, R. Muther, IntS.
Paris Exposition, Interiors and Furniture at the, W. Fred, Art, August.
Paris Salon of 1900, Art, August.
Pastel Drawing, Notes on, AA.
Pen Drawing for Reproduction, AA.
Pinturicchio, J. Destrée, HumN.
Portrait-Painting, F. Fowler, Cos.
Potter, Bessie, Sculpture by, Helen Zimmern, MA.
Pottery, Newcomb, E. Woodward, AE.
Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, and Edward Burne-Jones, N. H. Moore, Mod.
Siena, Maioica of, L. Douglas, NineC.
Sketching, Notes on, F. F. Frederick, AE.
Stencil Work, Design for, G. R. Rigby, Art, August.
Stephens, Alice Barber, F. B. Sheaffer, BP.
Wallace Collection, F. Rinder, APB.
Wall-Paper Designs by A. H. Baxter, Art, August.
Wendt, William, Landscapes by, C. F. Browne, BP.
Wilton, Arts and Crafts at, G. Fidler, AJ.
Wood-Carving, W. Aumonier, AA.
Woodwork, Artistic, G. E. Walsh, AI.
Atlantic, Across the, on a Freight Liner, D. A. Willey, Home.
Atonement, The, F. Johnson, Hom.
Assassination Mania, F. L. Oswald, NAR.
Astrophotographic Conference of July, 1900, PopA.
Austria, Constitutional Crisis in, M. Baumfeld, Forum.
Automobiles, Electric, W. Baxter, Jr., PopS.
Automobiles: Heavy Motor Vehicles for Road Service, F. W. Maynard, Eng.
Baireuth, Pilgrimage to, E. P. Frissel, Mus, August.
Bank Amalgamations in England, BankL.
Bankers' Association, American, BankNY.
Banking Methods, Modern, A. R. Barrett, BankNY.
Bank of Germany, Variations in Rate Charged by the BankL.
Banks and Bankers of North Carolina, BankNY.
Banks and the Refunding Law, BankNY.
Bashkirtseff, Marie, Unpublished Journal of, RRP, September 1.
Beethoven, Slow Movements of, E. Swayne, Mus.
Belgium, Elections in, H. Dumont, RPP, August.
Bering Sea, Summer Holiday in, J. Burroughs, Cent.
Bible and the People, B. F. De Costa, Cath.
Bible Lands, Occupations in, E. W. G. Masterman, Bib.
Bicycle, Moving: Can It Fall? G. S. Hodgins, O.
Birth, Mystery of, A. L. Mearkle, Mind.
Boats of the Far East, C. Whitney, O.
Body, Human, as an Engine, E. B. Rosa, PopS.
Bohemia, Agricultural Labor in, Katharine B. Davis, JPEcon.
Book-Making in the West, Delia T. Davis, Crit.
Borneo, Colonial Government in, J. M. Hubbard, NatGM.
British Columbia, Big Game in the, F. Ireland, Scrib.
Brook Lamprey, Nesting Habits of the, R. T. Young and L. J. Cole, ANat, August.
Brooks, Phillips, Anecdotal Side of, LHJ.
Browning, Religious Element in, W. B. Carpenter, Sun.
Brownings, Love and the, J. Mudge, MRNY.
Browning's Religion, A. T. Bannister, Hom.
Bryant, William Cullen, Study of, Wern.
Buffalo and Her Pan-American Exposition, S. G. Blythe, Cos.
Bugle-Calls, British, F. J. Crowest, Sun.
Bureau of the American Republics, W. W. Rockhill, Forum.
California, Fifty Years of, A. I. Street, Ains.
Canada and the American War of 1812, J. C. Hopkins, USM.
Canadian Gulf Waters, Cruise in the, F. Ireland, Scrib.
Catherwood, Mary Hartwell, Literary Work of, Mary E. Cardwill, Mod.
Cattlemen and Sheepmen in the West, J. H. McClintock, Ains.
Caucasus, In the, G. Passigli, NA, August 16.
Cavalry Drill Regulations, J. Bigelow, Jr., JMSI.
Cavalry, Notes on the Evolution of, F. N. Maude, USM.
Census Methods, American, W. F. Willcox, Forum.
Chaffee, Gen. Adna R., W. Fawcett, Home.
Change, Concept of, A. E. Davies, Phil.
Charity Organization Societies, E. T. Devine, Char.
Chicago, Picturesque, A. Fleury, BP.
Chicago's Housing Conditions, Char.
Chickamauga Crisis, J. D. Cox, Scrib.
Children in Royal Families, Cass.
Children, Literature for, H. S. Pancoast, Lipp.
Child, The, J. C. Fernald, Atlant.
Child-Training at Home, Jennie S. Campbell, Chaut.
China:
America and the Reconstruction of China, W. N. Brewster, AMRR.
American Consulate in Shanghai, Mary H. Krout, Chaut.
Anti-Foreign Uprising, H. P. Beach, MisR.
Army, Chinese, E. H. Parker, USM.
Associations in China, F. Murry, RRP, August 15.
"Boxers": The Associated Fists, G. T. Candlin, OC.
Catholic Church in China, Prospects of the, Cath.
China According to a Chinese, A. V. Vecchi, RasN, August 1.
China and the Powers, J. B. Walker, Cos.
China, Books Relating to, Black.
China: Can It Be Saved? A Proposal for a Scheme of Government, T. Williams, AMRR.
China, Conflict in, E. Buckley, IntM.
China—Past, Present, and Future, W. Ashmore, MisR.
China's Defensive Strength, J. H. Wisby, Arena.
China, the Empire of the Dead, F. E. Clark, NAR.
China: What It Really Is, J. B. Dane, Cos.
China: What Shall Be Done with, J. S. Fassett, Home.
Chinese Conservatism, Philosophic Basis of, A. K. Glover, Arena.
Chinese Tragedy, RRM, July.
Chinese: What They Think of Us, S. Bonsal, NAR.
Commercial Aspect of the Yellow Peril, A. Ireland, NAR.
Crime of the Powers, F. Cunliffe-Owen, Mun.
East, Problems of the, A. Rambaud, IntM.
Engineering Interests and the Crisis, J. Barrett, Eng.
Escape from the Boxers, An, G. H. Ewing, NatM.
European Diplomacy, China and, E. Réclus, HumN.
European Powers in China, RPar, September 1.
Europe, China and, F. P. de Lugo, EM, August.
Foreigners, Uprising Against, P. S. Reinsch, Forum.
Gordon's Campaign in China, Fort.
Illusions About the Conquest of China, J. de Bloch, RRP, August 15.
Japan's Present Attitude, J. K. Goodrich, AMRR; D. W. Stevens, Forum.
Kuang-Hsu ("Prince Hamlet of Peking"), C. Johnston, Arena.

- Military Skill of the Chinese, G. de Contenson, Nou, August 15.
 Missionary Enterprise, Our Asiatic, J. M. Scanland, Arena.
 Missionary in China, E. Mels, Pear.
 Missions, Chinese: Are They Worth While? H. L. Greetham, Home.
 Missions in China, J. S. Dennis, AMRR.
 Orient and Occident, Meeting of, P. S. Reinsch, Mod.
 Past and Present in China, A. H. U. Colquhoun, Can.
 Peking, British Capture of, in 1860, G. C. Craig, JMSI
 Religion, Chinese, A. Dörner, Mistr.
 Revolution in China and Its Causes, R. van Bergen, Cent.
 Root of the Chinese Trouble, J. Foord, NAR.
 Russia's Interest in China, B. Adams, Atlant.
 Settlement, Coming, Fort.
 Tartar Invasion of China, C. W. Hall, NatM.
 War, Chinese, D. Werner, Deut.
 Western World, Influence of the, D. Z. Sheffield, Cent.
 Chinese Art and Life in San Francisco, W. Jones, BP.
 Chorals, Old-Church, W. P. Bigelow, Mus.
 Christ as the Essence of the Preacher's Message, J. Parker, Hom.
 Christianity, Imperialism and, F. W. Farrar, NAR.
 Church and Crises of History, J. Petit, RGen.
 Church: Forward Movement Demanded, D. S. Gregory, Hom.
 Civilization, March of ("The Shrinkage of the Planet"), J. London, Chaut.
 Coal, Burden of, B. Taylor, NineC.
 Coal Problem in Great Britain, A. D. Provand, NatR.
 Coal, The World's, B. Taylor, CasM.
 Colorado Desert, D. P. Barrows, NatGM.
 Competitive Process, Ethics of the, W. W. Willoughby, AJS.
 Confederate Congress, J. Goode, Cons.
 Confucianism, M. Müller, NineC.
 Confucianism in the Nineteenth Century, H. A. Giles, NAR.
 Congressional Library, Mary Sewell, Ros.
 Constitution and New Territory, J. W. Burgess, PSQ.
 Consular Inspection, Plea for, A. H. Washburn, Forum.
 Corea, Journeying in, E. E. Rittenhouse, Int.
 Corsican at Home, C. Edwards, Mac.
 Cottonseed, the New Cereal, E. L. Johnson, Forum.
 Country Towns, Our, C. N. Hall, NEng.
 Cowper's Centenary and Cowper's Hymns, J. H. Ross, Hom.
 Crabs That Swim, E. Step, Sun.
 Cricketers, Seven Popular, M. R. Roberts, Cass.
 Cricket, Drawn Matches at, W. J. Ford, NatR.
 Cromwell, Oliver—XL, J. Morley, Cent.
 Cuba, Era of Education in, Mary C. Francis, Mun.
 Cuban Teachers at Cambridge, E. M. Camp, Chaut.
 Currency Act of March 14, 1900, J. F. Johnson, PSQ.
 Currency: Security for Circulating Notes, C. A. Conant, BankNY.
 D'Annunzio, Gabriele, Dramas of, W. Sharp, Fort.
 Dante, Realistic Conception in the Ideal of, A. Austin, NA, August 16.
 Daughters of the American Revolution in Paris, A MonM.
 Dauphins of the Temple, False, A. M. Hyamson, Gent.
 "David Harum"—II., Mary Bigot, BU.
 Deaf, Methodical Exercises for the, Dr. Urbantschisch, Deut.
 Declaration of Independence, H. B. F. Macfarland, A MonM.
 Delagoa Bay Arbitration, M. McIlwraith, Fort.
 De La Salle, John Baptiste, Ruth Everett, Ros.
 Detroit Bicentennial Memorial, Anna Mathewson, Cent.
 Devotional Life, T. Allen, MRNY.
 Didon, Pèrè, T. Bentzon, Cent.
 Diplomats, Our Literary—IV., L. Swift, BB.
 Diving, Natural, Useful and Ornamental, W. B. Northrup, LeisH.
 "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," Manuscript of, E. Limesdorfer, Bkman.
 Dog-Fancying, L. Mellard, Cham.
 Dominican Biblical School at Jerusalem, J. L. Bruneau, Ros.
 Dramatic Art in Japan, Dora E. Amnden, Over, August.
 Dress and Boots, Viscount d'Avenel, RDM, August 15.
 Drink Question in Russia, J. F. Crowell, MRNY.
 Dublin Castle, LeisH.
 Dunkeld, Scotland, H. Macmillan, AJ.
 Eclipse of the Sun, May 28, 1900, E. Verney, Gent; M. Moyer and W. W. Payne, PopA.
 Edinburgh, Romantic, Cham.
 Education:
 Children, Studies of, in Teaching History, R. V. Winterburn, Ed.
 Economics in Secondary Education, R. T. Ely, EdR.
 Education, Public, of the Twentieth Century, H. Schiller, Deut.
 German and Russian Experiments in Cosmopolitan Education, A. M. Loehr, Chaut.
 Germany, Secondary Education in, L. Viereck, EdR.
 Grammar School, Reorganization of the, C. H. Gordon, Ed.
 Herbart and Froebel, Synthesis of, J. Welton, EdR.
 High-School Education, Waste in, E. Van D. Robinson, School.
 High School: How Can It Reach Individuals? F. W. Atkinson, School.
 Manual Training in Germany, G. Sawter, San.
 Menace of Present Educational Methods, L. d'Aimée, Gunt.
 Milwaukee School System, D. Mowry, EdR.
 Moral Training, E. Lecamp, RRP, August 15.
 Münsterberg on the New Education, J. Lee, EdR.
 Music for Young Children, Mari R. Hofer, KindR.
 National Educational Association Convention, KindR.
 New York Regents' Syllabus, F. D. Boynton, School.
 Normal School Problems, A. G. Boyden, J. W. Cook, E. Conant, E. T. Pierce, and J. G. Thompson, Ed.
 Physical Geography in the High School, W. M. Davis, School.
 Play vs. The School, H. S. Curtis, Kind.
 Schoolboy's View of Schoolmasters, R. G. Hawtrey, NatR.
 Self-Support in College, L. K. Smith, NatM.
 Sociology, Field-Work in Teaching, Elsie W. Clews, EdR.
 Text-Books and Public Schools, E. J. Vert, Ed.
 Electricity in Collieries, S. F. Walker, Eng.
 Electricity in Large Cities, W. S. Barstow, CasM.
 Elephant-Hunting in Siam, C. D. H. Braine, Corn.
 England: see Great Britain.
 England: Land's End to John o' Groats, A. R. Quinton, LeisH.
 English, Best: Where It is Spoken, C. F. Remy, School.
 Etretat, Normandy, and Its Environs, A. T. Gibert, AJ.
 European Federation, Question of a, J. Novicow, RPP, August.
 Europe, North of, in 1825-26, Mrs. C. W. Earle, Corn.
 Expansion, Ethical and Political Principles of, T. Williams, Annals.
 Eye, Human, and How to Care for It, H. O. Reik, Cos.
 Fashion, New Philosophy of, Helen G. Ecob, Chaut.
 Fiction, Feasts in, W. E. G. Fisher, Corn.
 Fiction-Reading, Minister and, L. Gilbert, MRNY.
 Fire on the Water, Fighting, W. Fawcett, Pear.
 Fishermen, Sea, Dr. Bonnafy, RDM, August 15.
 Fishes and Their Meals, F. G. Afalo, Corn.
 Food Adulteration in Europe, J. T. DuBois, San.
 Food Products, Use of Bacteria in Our, H. W. Conn, IntM.
 Forest Preserves of the United States, NatGM.
 France:
 French Academy and the University, A. Renard, RRP, September 1.
 French Language: Reform of Orthography, A. Renard, RRP, August 15.
 French Language: Reform of Syntax, F. Brunetière, RDM, September 1.
 Navy, French, Masson-Forestier, RRP, August 15.
 Navy, Maneuvers of the, RDM, September 1.
 Sport in Ancient France, J. J. Jusserand, RPar, August 15 and September 1.
 Village in Rural France, C. Johnson, NEng.
 Work and Wages in France, W. B. Scaife, Forum.
 Frederick the Great—I., W. O'C. Morris, USM.
 Frog, Edible, in England, Cham.
 Game-Birds, North American, D. G. Elliot, O.
 Game Wardens, Efficient, Result of Having, S. E. Connor, O.
 Gas-Engine Fuels, Types, and Uses, C. V. Kerr, CasM.
 Geese, Wild, in Manitoba, C. Hanbury-Williams, Black.
 Germany:
 Anti-English Feeling Among the Germans, F. M. Müller, Forum.
 German Empire, Foreign Policy of the, R. Blennerhassett, NatR.
 National Feeling, Growth of, Carina C. Eaglesfield, Arena.
 Rhine-Elbe Canal, E. Von Bieberstein, Deut.
 Glenwood Springs, Colorado, Evelyn English, Int.
 God, Supreme, of the Lowest Races, J. H. Woods, NW.
 Golf, Acquiring Form in, H. H. Hilton, O.
 Golf, The Old, and the New, Black.
 Gospels: The Synoptic Question, O. Cone, NW.
 Gothic or Mixed Race? Are We a—IV., M. Emery, Gunt.
 Government, Council, vs. Mayor Government, E. D. Durand, PSQ.
 Gratry, le P., C. Bellaigue, RDM, September 1.
 Great Britain: see also Transvaal.
 Army System—III, USM.
 Artillery, Future of the, C. H. Wilson, USM.
 Clergy and the Transvaal War, Nora Twycross, West.
 Conscription, Case Against, A. W. Livesey, West.
 Government, Outgoing, H. Whates, Fort.
 Home-Rule Question, J. H. Schooling, PMM.
 Imperialism, Evolution of, G. M. Fiamingo, NA, August 1.
 Military Service, Obligatory, T. M. Maguire, USM.
 Navy, Some Needs of the, Black.
 Parliament, Coming Dissolution of, F. A. White, West.
 Public Service, Business Principles in the, E. Robertson, NineC.
 Sailor, British, Traditional, W. J. Fletcher, NineC.
 Greece, Some Things We Owe to, C. C. Taylor, Chaut.
 Greek Religion and Mythology, P. Carus, OC.
 Handel and the Handel Fetish, J. C. Hadden, Mus, August.
 Harrison, Frederic, New Essays by, W. P. Trent, Forum.
 Hats and Their Making, W. J. Gordon, LeisH.
 Hauptmann, Gerhart, Margarete Müller, Atlant.
 Hawkesworth, Dr. John, E. E. Morris, Gent.

- Heminway, Jacob, the First Yale Student, B. J. Hendrick, NEng.
- Historians, American School of, A. B. Hart, IntM.
- History and Evolution, Philosophy of, C. Rappoport, RSoc, August.
- Hoboken Fire, Story of the, R. L. Foster, Mun.
- Homeric Poems, Unity in the—H., E. Farquhar, Cons.
- Horses: Old Kentucky and the Thoroughbred, R. W. Woolley, O.
- Horses: Two-Year-Old Racing in America, W. H. Rowe, O.
- Hospitals, Dispensaries, and Nursing, H. M. Hurd, Char.
- House of Commons, Impressions of the, NatR.
- Huntington, Collis P., AMRR.
- Hutton, Richard Holt, A. Church, Crit.
- Hydrophobia, Delusions About, R. E. Smith, O.
- Icebergs, Gertrude E. Donaldson, Pear.
- Immigrant Depot, Romances of the, J. G. Speed, Ains.
- Imperialism, W. Baird, Cons.
- Imperialism, American, B. Martin, NineC.
- Imperialism and Christianity, F. W. Farrar, NAR.
- India, Cause of Famines in, J. T. Sunderland, NEng.
- India, Modern, Religious Life in, B. C. Pal, NW.
- Indian, American, Art of the, C. H. Bartlett, Chaut.
- Indian, Origin and Legendary Lore of the, C. M. Buchanan, Over, August.
- Indians: Four Days in a Medicine Lodge, W. McClintock, Harp.
- Indians, Lace-Making Among the, Jane W. Guthrie, Out.
- India's Famine and Its Cause, W. Brough, Arena.
- India, Some Notes from, J. P. Jones, MisH.
- Industrial Experiment, English, W. H. Hunt, West.
- Internationalism at Peking and Paris, W. T. Stead, RRL.
- Invertebrates, North-American—XII., H. S. Pratt, ANat, August.
- Ireland, The New, P. Hamelle, Nou, August 15.
- Irish Political Duel, Story of an, M. MacDonagh, Corn.
- Irish Witch Doctors, W. B. Yeats, Fort.
- Irrigation: Water Rights in the Arid West, R. P. Teele, JPEcon.
- Italians, Impoverished, in Spain, RGen.
- Italy:
- Humbert, Death of, A. Fogazzaro, NA, August 16; RasN, August 1.
- Humbert I., Heart of, A. Conti, RasN, August 16.
- Humbert I., Reign of, A. Monzilli, RPL, August.
- Italian Elections, Apropos of the, G. Pinardi, HumN.
- Italy, G. Bouniols, Nou, August 15.
- Italy, Events in, S. Merlino, HumN.
- Italy, Situation in, G. D. Vecchia, NineC.
- King, Funeral Sermon of the, A. Monti, RasN, August 16.
- King Humbert: A Character Sketch, AMRR.
- King, The Good, and the New Reign, RPL, August.
- Monarchy, Italian, Can It Endure? A. Diarista, Cath.
- Ivory, England, A. H. Malan, PMM.
- Japan:
- China, Japan's Present Attitude Towards, J. K. Goodrich, AMRR; D. W. Stevens, Forum.
- Christian Education in Japan, E. S. Booth, MisR.
- Dramatic Art in Japan, Dora E. Amsden, Over, August.
- Japan and the New Far East, NatR.
- Japan, Recent Books on, J. Inouye, Atlant.
- Japan, Root of Evil in, A. B. Hulbert, Gunt.
- Mission-Field, Modern Japan as a, T. N. McNair, MisR.
- Mission Work, Present Need of, F. Matsunaga, MisR.
- Japanese Tea-Garden in America, V. Van M. Beede, Chaut.
- Jefferson, Forgotten Chapter in the Life of, J. Brigham, GBag.
- Jesuits, Ancient and Modern, J. Langen, Deut.
- Jew in Europe the Christian's Antagonist, C. C. Starbuck, Cath.
- Johnston, Col. Richard Malcolm, Autobiography of—II., Cons.
- Journalism: The Press and Foreign News, R. Ogden, Atlant.
- Jupiter, Planet, G. W. Hough, PopA.
- Kentucky, Court of Appeals of—III., J. C. Doolan, GBag.
- Kindergarten and the Primary School, Emma A. Newman, KindR.
- Kindergarten: Plans and Principles, Frederica Beard, Kind.
- Kinship in the Nineteenth Century, C. B. R. Kent, Long.
- Kingsley Mary, Cham.
- Kipling, Rudyard, Life-Story of, VM.
- Kipling's Fiction, Women in, Analie, K. Boguslawsky, Mod.
- Klondike: Canadian Royalty in the Yukon, W. H. Lynch, AngA.
- Klondike, Impressions of the, C. C. Osborne, Mac.
- Klumpke Sisters, Bessie Van Vorst, Crit.
- Labor, Agricultural, in Bohemia, Katharine B. Davis, JPEcon.
- Labor: Eight-Hour Day by Legislation, E. Maxey, Arena.
- Labor Legislation and Philanthropy in Illinois, Florence Kelley, Char.
- Lanier, Sidney, Mod.
- Law, Biblical: Judgment of Solomon, D. W. Aram, GBag.
- Leadville Mining District, Fourth Era of the, T. Tonge, Eng.
- Legislatures, State, Representation in—IV., G. H. Haynes, Annals.
- Leo XIII. and the Next Pope, E. Meynier, Out.
- Life-Saving at Sea, H. H. Lewis, Mun.
- Lions, Man-Eating, H. de Varigny, RRP, August 15.
- Lions, Tigers, and Other Great Cats, Training of, S. H. Adams, McCl.
- Literary Conscience, Question of, Dial, September 1.
- Literary Criticism, French, C. Naucclair, Nou, August 1.
- Literature, Modern French, E. P. Bazan, EM, August.
- Literature, Russian, Vera Starkoff, RRP, August 15.
- Literature, Russian, and Its Latest Historian, J. A. Joffe, Bkman.
- Locomotive-Building, Records of, H. J. Shepstone, Cass.
- London Woods, J. B. Carlile, PMM.
- Louis XIV., Society Belle in the Reign of, J. A. Harrison, Chaut.
- Lowell, James Russell, Personal Retrospect of, W. D. Howells, Scrib.
- Lucian, Peregrinus of, J. R. Taylor, MRNY.
- Lutzen, Battle of, S. Crane, Lipp.
- Lynch Law, O. F. Hershey, GBag.
- Machine Shop, Organization of the—IV., Diemer, Eng.
- Madonna, New Shrine of the, Grace V. Christmas, Ros, August.
- Maeterlinck and Mystery, W. R. Archer, Crit.
- Malaria in Italy, E. Bertaux, RDM, August 15.
- Manx Life, Undercurrents of, Cham.
- Martineau, James, C. C. Everett, Atlant.
- Marvelous, Propensity Toward the, E. Mach, OC.
- Mason, William, Reminiscences of—III., Cent.
- Master, Life of the—IX., J. Watson, McCl.
- Matterhorn, On the, E. H. Cooper, Cass.
- Meat Inspection, Municipal, San.
- Methuen, Massachusetts, C. H. Oliphant, NEng.
- Mexican Shrine, A. J. H. Cornyn, Mod.
- Mexico, Imperial Régimes in—II., H. M. Skinner, Int.
- Mexico To-day, Cham.
- Microbes: Are They Pathogenic? M. L. Johnson, West.
- Milton as Seen in His Sonnets, G. Serrell, Temp.
- Missions:
- China, Missions in, J. S. Dennis, AMRR.
- China, Mrs. Bishop on Protestant Missions in, MisR.
- Education, Higher, in Mission-Fields, D. Z. Sheffield, MisR.
- Japan, Modern, as a Mission-Field, MisR.
- Japan, Need of Mission Work in, F. Matsunaga, MisR.
- Korean Ideas of God, J. S. Gale, MisR.
- Peking, Beleaguered, MisH.
- Rome and Protestant Missions, C. C. Starbuck, MRNY.
- Money, Law of the Value of, C. A. Conant, Annals.
- Money, Science of, L. Vann, Cons.
- Music, Best Books About, J. Huneke, BB.
- Music History, Study of—III., E. Dickinson, Mus, August.
- Music, Swiss, and the Festival at Munich, T. Lindenlaub, Mus, August.
- National Guard: How to Put It on a Military Basis, C. H. Hitchcock, JMSI.
- National Illusions, J. Novicov, RRP, September 1.
- Natural Selection, Biologists and, H. W. Conn, San.
- Naturalism and Its Results, C. C. Everett, NW.
- Neale, John Mason, C. M. Stuart, MRNY.
- Negroes of Chicago, Crime Among the, M. N. Work, AJS.
- New England Conservatory of Music, F. B. White, Mod.
- Nicaragua Canal, Water-Supply for the, A. P. Davis, NatGM.
- Nihilism and Anarchy, C. Johnston, NAR.
- North and South Poles, Walk to the, F. A. Cook, Can.
- Norway: Over Hardanger Vidde, Elizabeth Taylor, O.
- Norway: Romsdal, the Valley of Enchantment, H. Maxwell, Black.
- Novelists, Modern, "Bulls" of, W. M. Clemens, Mod.
- Novelists, Two Women: John Oliver Hobbes and Mary Cholmondeley, J. E. H. Williams, Bkman.
- Oaths in Legal Practice, GBag.
- Oberammergau in 1900, H. D. Rawnsley, Atlant; J. J. Lewis, Mun.
- Oberlin College, G. F. Wright, NEng.
- Occult, Modern, J. Jastrow, PopS.
- Oil Industry in the United States, W. Fawcett, NatM.
- Oklahoma, Helen C. Candee, Atlant.
- Old Testament, Attacks on the, A. Kamphausen, Deut.
- Old Testament, Septuagint Version of the, C. W. Votaw, Bib.
- Omar Khayyam as a Bore, A. Lang, Crit.
- Opera, Grand, as a Business, M. White, Jr., Mun.
- Ore-Dock Machinery, American, A. C. Johnston, CasM.
- Orthodoxies, The Two, C. A. S. Dwight, Hom.
- Palestine, Religious Interests in, RasN, August 1.
- Paris Exposition:
- Amusements of the Exposition—II., J. Schopfer, Cent.
- Canada at the Exposition, W. R. Stewart, Can.
- Locomotive Exhibit, C. Rous-Marten, Eng.
- Music, Picturesque, E. Bailly, HumN.
- Paris Exposition—V., H. de Varigny, BU.
- Paris in 1800, G. de Dubor, Nou, August 1.
- Paris in 1900 and the Exposition, E. Insley, Harp.
- Partridge, The, A. E. G. Hardy, Bad; R. Kearton, Cass.
- Pastimes in Moderation, F. G. Aflalo, Cham.
- Peace Propaganda, Souvenirs of My, F. Passy, RRP, August 15.

- Pearson, Cyril Arthur, Sketch of, RRM, July.
 Pearson, Fred Stark, W. P. Plummer, CasM.
 Penitentiary Congress, Sixth International, I. Maus, RGen.
 Pensions, Old-Age, W. D. Macgregor, West.
 Philippines:
 Independence, Filipinos' Vain Hope of, M. Wilcox, NAR.
 Philippines, Pressing Needs of the, J. H. Parker, AMRR.
 Philippines, Spanish Failures in the, C. G. Calkins, NW.
 Prisoner Among Filipinos—II., J. C. Gillmore, McCl.
 Problems of Government, P. S. Reinsch, Arena.
 United States and the Philippines, J. Foreman, NatR.
 Philosophy and Art, Ancient Feud Between, P. E. More, Atlant.
 Photography:
 Baths, Gold-Toning, Professor Namias, APB.
 Copyright and the American Photographer, APB.
 Prints, Silver, Without Toning, APB.
 Watson, Eva L., Artistic Photographer, W. B. Dyer, BP.
 Piano Music, How to Listen to, Belle Squire, Mus.
 Plagiarism, Real and Apparent, B. Samuel, Bkman.
 Pleasure as Ethical Standard, E. C. Moore, AJS.
 Poetry, Expression in, H. C. Beeching, NatR.
 Poetry, Lyric, Intensive Study of, B. A. Heydrick, Chaut.
 Poets, Death Song of the, S. G. Ayres, MRNY.
 Political Affairs in the United States:
 American Boss, F. C. Lowell, Atlant.
 Anti-Expansionists, Types of, Gunt.
 Campaign of 1900 from a Democratic Point of View, W. J. Stone, Forum.
 Democratic National Convention, R. C. Lewis, Mun.
 Democrats, Duty of, M. E. Ingalls, NAR.
 Expansion, Principles of, T. Williams, Annals.
 Imperialism, False Issue of, BankNY.
 Kansas City Financial Resolution, G. E. Roberts, Forum.
 McKinley and Bryan, S. J. McLean, Can.
 Political Discussion, Methods in, E. Maxey, Mod.
 Politics and Administration, H. J. Ford, Annals.
 Printing-Press in Politics, L. B. Little, Mun.
 Prohibition Party and Its Candidates, E. J. Wheeler, AMRR.
 Republican and Democratic Platforms, H. I. West, Forum.
 Socialism: Is It an Element of "Bryanism"? A. Watkins, Arena.
 Pompeian Life and Art, J. C. Egbert, Jr., Bkman.
 Post-Office: Rural Free Delivery, C. B. Todd, Gunt.
 Pouchkine and French Poetry, L. Leger, BU.
 Powder, Smoky, and Springfield Rifles, G. T. Bispham, JMSI.
 "Prairie-Chicken," Sturdy, H. S. Canfield, O.
 Presbyterianism and Infants, H. L. Singleton, Hom.
 Profit-Sharing as a System of Economics, L. Katscher, Cath.
 Psychology as Science of Selves, Mary W. Calkins, Phil.
 Puberal Hygiene, A. Marro, AJS.
 Putnam, Frank, and His Poems, J. M. Chapple, NatM.
 Quivera: An Ancient American Kingdom, E. E. Blackman, AngA.
 Race Question, Fourteenth Amendment and the, M. West, AJS.
 Railways, Government Ownership of, R. L. Richardson, Can.
 Reality, Professor Ladd's Theory of, W. A. Brown, NW.
 "Recollections of a Naval Life," J. R. Eggleston, Cons.
 Red, Psychology of—II., H. Ellis, PopS.
 Religion, Evolution of, J. T. Patch, Mind.
 Religion of the Future, Katherine Weller, Mind.
 Republican Party, Early Years of the, H. A. Cushing, Bkman.
 Revolution, Army of the, N. A. Miles, AMonM.
 Rights, Natural, A. I. Clark, Annals.
 Rimbaud, Arthur, A. Beaunier, RPar, September 1.
 Robinson Crusoe's Island, D. White, Over, August.
 Roman Catholic Church and Protestant Missions, O. C. Starbuck, MRNY.
 Roman Catholic Mission in the Northwest, E. A. Bridger, Cath.
 Roman Catholics and American Citizenship, J. A. McFaul, NAR.
 Roman Forum, Excavation in the, G. Boni, NA, August 1.
 Rome, Ancient, Muddles of, J. B. Hodge, USM.
 Russell, Lord, of Killowen, W. T. Stead, RRL.
 Russia, Drink Question in, J. F. Crowell, MRNY.
 Russia, Expansion of, A. Rambaud, IntM.
 Russian Sacred Pictures, E. W. Lowry, Sun.
 Russian Women in History, Marie Stromberg, RSoc, August.
 Russia's Aspirations in Asia, W. Durban, AngA.
 Saint Margaret, Contessa F. Gautier, Cath.
 Salons, Women of the—III., S. G. Tallentyre, Long.
 Science and Immortality, G. H. Bennett, MRNY.
 Science and Morals: The Town, M. Corday, RPar, August 15.
 Science, Some Forecasts of, Cham.
 Scotland, Impressions of, F. Roz, RDM, September 1.
 Scriptures, Recent Confirmations of the, J. Urquhart, Sun.
 Seine, Here and There Along the, Mary F. Nixon, Ros, August.
 Semitism, Anti-, and Zionism, HumN.
 Sewage, Purification of, by Means of the Soil, G. Janin, San.
 Seward, William H., Bancroft's Life of, B. A. Hinsdale, Dial, September 1; A. B. Hart, PSQA.
 Shakespeare, Staging of, W. H. Hallett, Fort.
 Shakespeare's Time, Domestic Life of, S. Lanier, Mod.
 Shakespeare, William—X., Histories and Comedies, H. W. Mabie, Out.
 Shasta, California, B. Shurtliff, Over, August.
 Similitudes, Use of, by Poets, L. Jervis, West.
 Singing, Few Ideas About, A. S. Thompson, Mus, August.
 Spido and Bernard—1858 and 1900, J. F. Taylor, Fort.
 Skirmishing, Art of, R. Holden, JMSI.
 Slave-Trade in America—II., J. R. Spears, Scrib.
 Sleep, Loss of, in Cities, G. Trobridge, West.
 Smith, Edwards Porter, J. M. Peres, GBag.
 Snipe: Where They Abound, F. A. Patridge, O.
 Social Activity, Three Laws of, L. M. Burrell, West.
 Social Catholic Idea in France, Two Precursors of the, G. Legend, RGen.
 Social Control—XVIII., E. A. Ross, AJS.
 Sociology and the Epic, A. G. Keller, AJS.
 Sociology, Scope of—V., A. W. Small, AJS.
 Sociology, Study and Needs of, W. H. Van Ornum, Arena.
 Soldier's Feet, Care of the, N. S. Jarvis, JMSI.
 Song Schools of Scotland, J. T. Fyfe, Gent.
 Songs of Freedom, L. Mead, Chaut.
 Songs, Old, That Live, Lue Vernon, Mus.
 South America, Some Aspects of, E. E. Treffrey, Mod.
 Southern Homes, Romances of, Mrs. T. Burrell, LHJ.
 Southern Newspaper, Old, Gleanings from an, W. P. Trent, Atlant.
 Sporting Spirit—Ancient and Modern, G. Hibbard, O.
 Sport in Portuguese East Africa, A. H. Sharp, Bad.
 Sports as Flying-Machines, F. A. Lucas, PopS.
 Sportsmen, Some Types of Continental, D. B. Varé, Bad.
 Stage, Foreign, in New York—IV., E. W. Townsend, Bkman.
 Stars, Spectra of the, S. Newcomb, PopS.
 State, Natural History of, A. R. L. Bridgman, NEng.
 Steam-Engine Performance, Recording, W. Ripper, Eng.
 Steamship, Ocean, Building an, R. S. Baker, McCl.
 Stellar Spectra, Representative, W. W. Payne, PopA.
 Stevenson, Robert Louis, Art of, G. W. T. Omond, NAR.
 Stickney, A. B.: A Unique Railroad President, W. S. Harwood, Ains.
 Story, Short, in the United States—II., Lillian V. Lambert, Mod.
 Submarine Torpedo-Boats, W. W. Kimball, Harp.
 Sugar as Food, G. H. Murphy, San.
 Sugar Engineering in Cuba, E. S. Gould, CasM.
 Suggestion, Doctrine of, H. Bernheim, RRP, September 1.
 Suicide, Statistics of, R. A. Skelton, NineC.
 Sunday-School Instruction, Use of a Doctrinal Catechism in: A Symposium, Bib.
 Surnames and Christian Names, E. F. Watrous, Chaut.
 Talmage, Rev. T. De Witt, L. W. Lillingston, Sun.
 Taxes, Direct, Under the Constitution, C. J. Bullock, PSQ.
 Tax, Income, and the National Revenues, M. West, JPEcon.
 Telegraphic Writing, Machine for, G. Roux, RRP, September 1.
 Telegraphy and the Telephone, Recent Progress of the, G. Caye, RRP, September 1.
 Telephoning Without Wires, C. M. McGovern, Pear.
 Telescopes, New Forms of, W. B. Musson, PopA.
 Telescope, Yerkes, F. Ballard, YM.
 Temptation of Mr. Bulstrode, Julia, H. Gulliver, NW.
 Tenements, Truth About the, C. M. McGovern, Home.
 Texas, Romantic History of, W. F. McCaleb, Dial, September 1.
 Thames from Wapping to Blackwall, Sir W. Besant, Cent.
 Theological Changes of View in England, F. W. Farrar, Out.
 Theology: Recent Gifford Lectures, J. Seth, NW.
 Thessaly, Annexation of, Count de Moty, RDM, August 15.
 Thought, Logical, Some Stages of, J. Dewey, Phil.
 Trust Under the Ban, C. Brinton, Crit.
 Trade, Foreign, of the United States—II., W. P. Stearns, JPEcon.
 Trade-Unionism, Tendencies in, A. F. Weber, IntM.
 Transvaal: see also Great Britain.
 Baden-Powell, Maj.-Gen. R. S. S., RRM, July.
 Boer, African, Olive Schreiner, Cos.
 Boers in South Africa—III., J. Villarais, BU.
 Boers, Psychology and Development of the, Olive Schreiner, RRP, September 1.
 British Military Blunders in the War, USM.
 De Wet, Gen. Christian, H. Robertson, Can.
 English Opinion and the War, A. Chevrillon, RPar, August 15.
 Future of South Africa, A. Hofmeyr, NatR.
 Hospitals, South African War, M. Guthrie, NineC.
 Men in Khaki, With the, RRM, July.
 Pretoria, British at, J. Barnes, Out.
 Pretoria, How We Escaped from—II., A. Haldane, Black.
 Staff Work in the War, L. Hale, NineC.
 Teuton Tug of War, J. Ralph, Harp.
 War Operations in South Africa, Black.
 Trees, Miniature, A. Maude, Pear.
 Troglodyte Dwellings in Cappadocia, J. R. S. Sterrett, Cent.

Tropics, Conquest of the, G. G. Groff, PopS.
 Troubridge, Sir Thomas, W. J. Fletcher, Corn.
 Trust Problem, Latest Phase of the, J. B. Clark, Gunt.
 Trusts: Consolidation and Monopoly, P. A. Robinson, Cons.
 Trusts: Great Britain and the "Trust" Problem, T. Scanlon, Arena.
 Trusts in Europe, C. C. Adams, Ains.
 Tuberculosis, Tenements and, S. A. Knopf, San.
 United States and the Philippines, J. Foreman, NatR.
 United States Bonds in England, Historic Sale of, G. S. Boutwell, McCl.
 United States: Status of the Natives in Our New Possessions, E. A. Belcher, AngA.
 Villebois-Mareuil, Colonel de—II., A. Veuglaire, BU.
 Virginia, Colonial, Court and Bar of, B. C. Washington, GBag.
 Waitress, Training of a, Mrs. S. T. Rorer, LHJ.
 "Wampanoag," Sloop-of-War, B. F. Isherwood, CasM.
 War, Care of the Sick and Wounded in, F. H. Welch, Fort.
 Warfare: Submarine Torpedo-Boats, W. W. Kimball, Harp.

War: Is It a Blessing? W. J. Baylis, West.
 War, Some Writers on, F. Lees, Fort.
 War with Spain, Maritime Law in the, J. B. Moore, PSQ.
 Waterloo, England's Allies at, H. Maxwell, NineC.
 Water-Power Governing, E. F. Cassel, Eng.
 Wesley, John, Life and Work of, J. W. Johnson, Mun.
 Wheat Harvest of the West, C. M. Harger, Out.
 White House, One Hundred Years in the, R. Bache, LHJ.
 Women as Psychics, Adelaide Keen, Mind.
 Women, Club, Practical Art Among, Adelaide S. Hall, Chaut.
 Women, Mediaval West Pyrenean, A. R. Whiteway, Gent.
 Women, Some Clever, A. Chisholm, Can.
 Women's Wages in Manual Work, M. B. Hammond, PSQ.
 Worcester Music Festival, W. M. Lancaster, NEng.
 Working Classes, Expenditure of the, H. Higgs, PopS.
 Workman's Insurance in Germany, R. Romme, RPar, August 15.
 Yachting, A. G. Bagot, PMM.
 Yachtsmen, Weather Wrinkles for, A. J. Kenealy, O.
 Zane, Elizabeth, Catharine H. T. Avery, AMonM.

Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

Ains.	Ainslee's Magazine, N. Y.	Ed.	Education, Boston.	NineC.	Nineteenth Century, London.
ACQR.	American Catholic Quarterly Review, Phila.	EdR.	Educational Review, N. Y.	NAR.	North American Review, N. Y.
AHR.	American Historical Review, N. Y.	Eng.	Engineering Magazine, N. Y.	Nou.	Nouvelle Revue, Paris.
AJS.	American Journal of Sociology, Chicago.	EM.	España Moderna, Madrid.	NA.	Nuova Antologia, Rome.
AJT.	American Journal of Theology, Chicago.	Fort.	Fortnightly Review, London.	OC.	Open Court, Chicago.
ALR.	American Law Review, St. Louis.	Forum.	Forum, N. Y.	O.	Outing, N. Y.
AMonM.	American Monthly Magazine, Washington, D. C.	FrL.	Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y.	Out.	Outlook, N. Y.
AMRR.	American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y.	Gent.	Gentleman's Magazine, London.	Over.	Overland Monthly, San Francisco.
ANat.	American Naturalist, Boston.	GBag.	Green Bag, Boston.	PMM.	Pall Mall Magazine, London.
AngA.	Anglo-American Magazine, N. Y.	Gunt.	Guntton's Magazine, N. Y.	Pear.	Pearson's Magazine, N. Y.
Annals.	Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila.	Harp.	Harper's Magazine, N. Y.	Phil.	Philosophical Review, N. Y.
APB.	Anthony's Photographic Bulletin, N. Y.	Hart.	Hartford Seminary Record, Hartford, Conn.	PhoT.	Photographic Times, N. Y.
Arch.	Architectural Record, N. Y.	Home.	Home Magazine, N. Y.	PL.	Poet-Lore, Boston.
Arena.	Arena, N. Y.	Hom.	Homiletic Review, N. Y.	PSQ.	Political Science Quarterly, Boston.
AA.	Art Amateur, N. Y.	HumN.	Humanité Nouvelle, Paris.	PopA.	Popular Astronomy, Northfield, Minn.
AE.	Art Education, N. Y.	Int.	International, Chicago.	PopS.	Popular Science Monthly, N. Y.
AI.	Art Interchange, N. Y.	IJE.	International Journal of Ethics, Phila.	PRR.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review, Phila.
AJ.	Art Journal, London.	IntM.	International Monthly, N. Y.	PQ.	Presbyterian Quarterly, Charlotte, N. C.
Art.	Artist, London.	IntS.	International Studio, N. Y.	QJ Econ.	Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston.
Atlant.	Atlantic Monthly, Boston.	IA.	Irrigation Age, Chicago.	QR.	Quarterly Review, London.
Bad.	Badminton, London.	JMSL.	Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H.	RasN.	Rassegna Nazionale, Florence.
BankL.	Bankers' Magazine, London.	JPEcon.	Journal of Political Economy, Chicago.	Record.	Record of Christian Work, East Northfield, Mass.
BankNY.	Bankers' Magazine, N. Y.	Kind.	Kindergarten Magazine, Chicago.	RefS.	Réforme Sociale, Paris.
Bib.	Biblical World, Chicago.	KindR.	Kindergarten Review, Springfield, Mass.	RRL.	Review of Reviews, London.
BSac.	Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O.	LHJ.	Ladies' Home Journal, Phila.	RRM.	Review of Reviews, Melbourne.
BU.	Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne.	Leish.	Leisure Hour, London.	RDM.	Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris.
Black.	Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh.	Lipp.	Lippincott's Magazine, Phila.	RDP.	Revue du Droit Public, Paris.
BB.	Book Buyer, N. Y.	LQ.	London Quarterly Review, London.	RGen.	Revue Générale, Brussels.
Bkman.	Bookman, N. Y.	Long.	Longman's Magazine, London.	RPar.	Revue de Paris, Paris.
BP.	Brush and Pencil, Chicago.	Luth.	Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa.	RPP.	Revue Politique et Parlementaire, Paris.
Can.	Canadian Magazine, Toronto.	McCl.	McClure's Magazine, N. Y.	RRP.	Revue des Revues, Paris.
Cass.	Cassell's Magazine, London.	Mac.	Macmillan's Magazine, London.	RSoc.	Revue Socialiste, Paris.
CasM.	Cassier's Magazine, N. Y.	MA.	Magazine of Art, London.	RPL.	Rivista Politica e Letteraria, Rome.
Cath.	Catholic World, N. Y.	MRN.	Methodist Review, Nashville.	Ros.	Rosary, Somerset, Ohio.
Cent.	Century Magazine, N. Y.	MRNY.	Methodist Review, N. Y.	San.	Sanitarian, N. Y.
Cham.	Chambers's Journal, Edinburgh.	Mind.	Mind, N. Y.	School.	School Review, Chicago.
Char.	Charities Review, N. Y.	MisH.	Missionary Herald, Boston.	Scrib.	Scribner's Magazine, N. Y.
Chaut.	Chautauquan, Cleveland, O.	MisR.	Missionary Review, N. Y.	SR.	Sewanee Review, N. Y.
CAGE.	Coming Age, Boston.	Mod.	Modern Culture, Cleveland, O.	Str.	Strand Magazine, London.
Cons.	Conservative Review, Washington.	Mon.	Monist, Chicago.	Sun.	Sunday Magazine, London.
Contem.	Contemporary Review, London.	MunA.	Municipal Affairs, N. Y.	Temp.	Temple Bar, London.
Corn.	Cornhill, London.	Mun.	Munsey's Magazine, N. Y.	USM.	United Service Magazine, London.
Cos.	Cosmopolitan, N. Y.	Mus.	Music, Chicago.	West.	Westminster Review, London.
Crit.	Critic, N. Y.	NatGM.	National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C.	Wern.	Werner's Magazine, N. Y.
Deut.	Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart.	NatM.	National Magazine, Boston.	WWM.	Wide World Magazine, London.
Dial.	Dial, Chicago.	NatR.	National Review, London.	WPM.	Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y.
Dub.	Dublin Review, Dublin.	NC.	New-Church Review, Boston.	Yale.	Yale Review, New Haven.
Edin.	Edinburgh Review, London.	NEng.	New England Magazine, Boston.	YM.	Young Man, London.
		NIM.	New Illustrated Magazine, London.	YW.	Young Woman, London.
		NW.	New World, Boston.		

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EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW.

CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER, 1900.

Scene at Mr. Croker's Banquet to the Democratic Candidates, October 16, 1900.	Frontispiece
The Progress of the World—	
The Election of 1896—A Comparison	515
The Ebbing of the Free-Silver Tide	515
Silver and the South	515
Silver in Kansas, Nebraska, and Dakota	516
In Colorado and the Mountain States	516
On the Pacific Coast	517
Silver in the Campaign at Large	517
How Bryan's Election Would Revive Silver	517
A Three-Cornered Situation that Might Have Been	519
Where Would Bryan Have Come In?	519
As Showing Southern Sentiment	519
"Dixie" as a Political Anomaly	519
A Curious Situation	520
Local Politics as a Factor	521
Tammany as an Example	521
A National Menace	522
The "Trusts" as a Fresh Issue	522
Mr. Bryan as the Paragon of Statesmanship	523
A Unique Instance	524
As to Cabinet Advisers	524
Mr. Bryan as an Autocrat	524
Willis Abbot on the Campaign Methods	524
A Quick Campaign in England	526
With the Expected Result	526
Standing by the Work of the Army in Africa	527
The Fate of the Boers	527
The British Policy of Tolerance	528
Mr. Chamberlain and His Office	529
The Kaffirs, Mr. Rhodes, etc.	529
Some Assets of the Salisbury Ministry	530
What if the Tories Had Been Beaten?	530
The Future of English Liberalism	530
The Canadian Election	531
Campaign Issues in Canada	531
Newfoundland's Remarkable Contest	532
Mr. Reid and His Monopoly	533
Settlement of the Coal Strike	533
A Fortunate Outcome	534
The German Chancellorship	534
Progress of the Chinese Negotiations	534
Marquis Ito in Authority Again	535
Norway's Independent Course	535
Queen Wilhelmina's Engagement	535
Marriage of the Belgian Heir-Apparent	536
Obituary Notes	536
Death of Charles Dudley Warner	537
Death of John Sherman	537
With portraits of Lord Salisbury, Arthur J. Balfour, Joseph Chamberlain, Henry Campbell-Bannerman, George J. Goschen, R. W. E. Middleton, J. Israel Tarte, L. H. Davies, Charles H. Tupper, Charles Tupper, Wilfrid Laurier, R. J. Cartwright, Hugh J. MacDonald, Lord Strathcona, William S. Fielding, Chancellor von Bülow, the Marquis Ito, Ernest Satow, the Prince of Flanders and the Princess Elizabeth of Bavaria, the late General Campos, the late John Sherman, and the late Charles Dudley Warner, cartoons, and other illustrations.	
Record of Current Events.	538
With portraits of Elihu Root and Henry C. Corbin, William P. Dillingham, Jonathan P. Dolliver, the late William L. Wilson, Queen Victoria and her Great Grandchildren, Sixto Lopez, John Markle, Rush Rhees, Mary E. Woolley, Henry S. Pritchett, the late Lewis A. Sayre, and the late Alfred Stillé.	
Some Cartoons, Chiefly of the Campaign.	542
How the Republican National Committee Works for Votes.	549
With portraits of Marcus A. Hanna, and Perry S. Heath, and other illustrations.	
The Management of the Democratic Campaign.	556
By Willis J. Abbot.	
With portraits of James K. Jones, Willis J. Abbot, and William J. Bryan, and other illustrations.	
The Hall of Fame.	563
By Henry Mitchell MacCracken.	
With portraits of Chancellor MacCracken, George Washington, U. S. Grant, Abraham Lincoln, Daniel Webster, Benjamin Franklin, John Marshall, Thomas Jefferson, R. W. Emerson, H. W. Longfellow, Washington Irving, Jonathan Edwards, D. G. Farragut, S. F. B. Morse, Henry Clay, George Peabody, Nathaniel Hawthorne, R. E. Lee, Horace Mann, Peter Cooper, Joseph Story, John Adams, W. E. Channing, Gilbert Stuart, Asa Gray, Robert Fulton, J. J. Audubon, Eli Whitney, H. W. Beecher, and James Kent, and other illustrations.	
The Political Beginnings in Porto Rico.	571
By John Finley.	
With photograph of the Porto Rican Executive Council.	
The American Negro at Paris.	575
By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois.	
With portrait of Dr. Du Bois, and a view of the exhibit of the American Negroes at the Paris Exposition.	
Trusts in England.	578
By Robert Donald.	
The British Czar: the General Elector.	585
By W. T. Stead.	
Leading Articles of the Month—	
The Truth About Mark Hanna	590
Compulsory Voting	591
The Canadian Elections	592
The British General Election	593
Continuity of Party Principles in England	595
The British Empire's Growth in the Century	596
England's Military Prestige Abroad	596
War Against Women and Children	597
Dr. Conan Doyle's Lessons from the Boer War	598
Milnerism in South Africa	599
The Settlement in South Africa	600
On the Beira Railway	601
The Amir of Afghanistan	602
Field-Marshal Count Waldersee	604
How Shall China be Punished?	605
What Is to Be Done in China?	606
China and Russia	610
The Russians in Manchuria	611
A French Russophobe	613
Tolstoi and Nietzsche	614
The Lessons of Galveston	615
West-Indian Hurricanes	617
Fruit-Growing in America	618
The Man Who Invented the Sunday Newspaper	619
With portraits of A. Conan Doyle, Abdur Rahman, and the late Friedrich W. Nietzsche, and a map showing the track of the great hurricane of 1900.	
The Periodicals Reviewed.	620
The New Books.	632
Index to Periodicals.	636

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SCENE AT MR. CROKER'S BANQUET TO THE DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES, NEW YORK CITY, OCTOBER 16, 1900.

In the middle of the standing row, and directly under Mr. Bryan's portrait, is Mayor Van Wyck, of New York City—the man with black hair and mustache. On Van Wyck's right is Mr. Bryan, and on his left Mr. Stevenson, candidate for Vice-President. On Mr. Bryan's right is Mr. Richard Croker. On Mr. Croker's right is Mr. Stanchfield, Democratic nominee for the governorship of New York. On the left of Mr. Stevenson is William R. Hearst, proprietor of the New York Journal, beyond whom is Mr. Webster Davis.

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

Review of Reviews.

VOL. XXII.

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER, 1900.

NO. 5.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

*The Election
of 1896—a
Comparison.*

In 1896, Mr. McKinley received 271 electoral votes, and Mr. Bryan received 176. The strength of the Bryan ticket came from two distinct sources. First, from a group of Western States in which the greater part of the population, regardless of previous political affiliations, was carried away by the free-silver doctrine. The other and principal element of Mr. Bryan's strength in 1896 was the vote of the Southern States, where for many years party divisions, such as exist in the North, have not been known, and where the Democratic ticket prevails irrespective of issues or candidates. It is well worth while to compare the conditions of the campaign of 1896 with those of the campaign of 1900, in order to see what significance is really to be attached to the results of the voting this year. Although the silver movement was not indigenous to the South, the doctrine had been propagated with success; so that four years ago, the States which contributed most of the Democratic electoral votes were willing enough to let the Democratic party stand for the scheme of opening the mints to the free coinage of silver. The silver movement was so aggressive that it forced the fighting, identified itself absolutely with the Democratic party, and compelled the Republican party to identify itself with the gold standard. If Mr. Bryan had been elected, it would have been with the unmistakable mandate from those who voted for him to do all in his power to place the business of the country upon a silver basis. Of the votes cast in that year, McKinley electors received a little more than 7,100,000, and Bryan electors a little more than 6,500,000 votes.

*The Ebbing
of the
Free-Silver
Tide.*

Organization began at once after Mr. Bryan's defeat, with the plan and purpose of renominating him in 1900, and of maintaining the fusion of the Populists and Silver Republicans with the Democrats. This work was so well managed that it resulted in Mr. Bryan's renomination this year on a sil-

ver platform, in spite of the fact that the people of the country were not thinking or talking about free silver, and were much more interested in questions growing out of new conditions. The free-silver movement was born of a period of hard times which the West and South were feeling with special severity. In such times the arguments for cheap money are always tempting to individuals or communities that are on the verge of bankruptcy. This year's campaign has come after several years of great prosperity, as compared with the years preceding the campaign of 1896. When communities have been highly prosperous for a long enough time to reestablish the equilibrium as respects other communities, they have no longer any particular temptation, either intellectual or moral, to desire cheap money. It happens that such a balance has been restored between the different parts of this country; and so the money question has lost its sectional aspect. The free-silver clause went into the Kansas City platform not so much because it represented present convictions as because it seemed so extremely embarrassing to drop an issue that had only lately been declared by the Democrats to be of vastly greater importance than all others.

*Silver and
the South.*

That is, if we had not had a silver question four years ago, we should certainly not have had a silver question this year. Political leaders and political parties have an idea of the need of consistency that is quite mistaken, and that often stands very much in the way of their success. One of the curiosities of what is, by all odds, the most curious political situation that ever existed in the United States is to be found in the fact that the only profoundly important thing for which Mr. Bryan stands is the immediate and unlimited free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1; and everybody knows that, if he is elected, he will do his best to bring about this result. Yet there has been no evidence in the campaign of any enthusiasm whatever in favor of free coinage. When

compared with the immense difference between the Republican and Democratic platforms on the money question, and the vital bearings of that subject, the difference between the Bryan Philippine policy and the McKinley Philippine policy amounts to nothing more than splitting hairs over trifles. The group of Southern States that always goes Democratic will, as a matter of course, vote for Mr. Bryan this year; but it ought to be remembered by all who wish to understand the political situation that these same States would all vote for Mr. Bryan by practically the same majorities—perhaps even by larger ones—if he had changed his money views altogether, and had become an advocate of the single gold standard. There is, indeed, reason to think that Mr. Bryan would be stronger in the South on a gold ticket than on a silver ticket. The free-silver doctrine had never sunk very deeply into Southern convictions—outside, perhaps, of Missouri; and the South in general wants stable business conditions, and has no objection at all to doing business on the monetary basis that the rest of the world finds, upon the whole, to be workable and convenient. It will take some Democratic politicians a little time to readjust themselves; but the business sentiment of the South is no longer concerned on behalf of the Bryan monetary doctrines, and the politicians will soon accept the business view.

Silver in Kansas, Nebraska, and Dakota. Apart from those States in the South that are Democratic for traditional reasons, no States except Nebraska and Kansas, and a few in the Far West, gave their electoral votes four years ago for Bryan and free silver. Bryan carried Nebraska by a plurality of 13,576 out of an aggregate vote of about 220,000. A change of less than 7,000 votes would have given the State to McKinley. This year, if the money question alone were under consideration, Nebraska would probably go against free silver by a considerable majority. The Republicans have been making special efforts to regain the State, with growing hopes of success as the campaign has progressed. Even Kansas, with its inclination toward Populism and politi-

cal extremes, gave Bryan in 1896 a plurality of only 12,269 out of a total vote of more than 330,000. Kansas has since had several large crops with good prices, and no longer craves relief of the kind that free silver has been supposed to afford indebted and depressed communities. The Republicans last month were quite confidently expecting to carry Kansas for McKinley and Roosevelt by a good majority. Four years ago, North Dakota gave McKinley a plurality of 5,649 out of a total vote of about 47,000; and South Dakota, although its vote went to Mr. Bryan, was almost tied, he receiving 41,225 and his opponent 41,042.

In Colorado and the Mountain States. Colorado, at one time a safely Republican State, went almost en masse for Bryan four years ago. The most important industry of Colorado had been the production of silver, and the State expected to profit greatly by the triumph of free coinage. There were cast 161,153 votes for Bryan and only 26,271 for McKinley. Nowhere else was the silver question taken so much to heart as in Colorado; and nothing, therefore, could be a better indication of the change in the sentiment of the country on that question than the fact that Colorado last month was regarded by the Republicans as belonging at least in the doubtful column. Earlier in the campaign it was supposed to be, as a matter of course, for Bryan; but the result promises to be comparatively close.



FOUR YEARS AGO.

Let us not forget what a Presidential campaign really is like.

From the *Evening News* (Detroit).

Utah, also a great silver-producing State, gave Bryan 64,517 votes and McKinley only 13,484. There will be nothing like that disparity in this year's result. Montana gave Bryan 42,537 and McKinley only 10,494; this also being due to the fact that Montana, like Utah and Colorado, is a great silver-producing State. But the silver question is not absorbing the attention of Montana this year, and no one regards the situation as hopelessly one-sided. Nevada, a State which in the past has been almost exclusively identified with the industry of silver-mining, gave 8,377 votes for Bryan and only 1,938 for McKinley; but, as an indication of the change of the political tide even in Nevada, it is to be noted that Senator Stewart, one of the chief

gave its vote to McKinley, though by a small plurality; and the same thing is true of California, where, indeed, the voting was so close that for some reason one Republican on the electoral ticket was defeated. This year the Republicans expect to carry Oregon and California by greatly increased pluralities.

Silver in the Campaign at Large. In none of those States eastward of the Missouri River carried by McKinley four years ago and vigorously contested by the Democrats this year,—such as Minnesota, Wisconsin, Indiana, Ohio, and New York,—is there any reason to think that the silver plank in the platform is a source of strength to the party. And if any of these States should give its electoral vote to Bryan this year, it would be in spite of the silver plank rather than on account of it. Even the Populist element of Mr. Bryan's support would not have deserted him had free silver been omitted from the Kansas City platform;—for the Populists are, after all, not in favor of any metallic basis whatever for the country's monetary issues; and, so far as their theories go, they are just as much opposed to Democratic bimetalism as to the Republican single standard. They do not like the existing national-bank system, with its circulating note issues; they believe, rather, in paper money issued on Government credit. It is not, therefore, so much Bryan's money views that hold the Populists as his opposition in a general way to the party that is now identified more than any other with the things that they condemn. To sum up the analysis of this year's situation as compared with that of four years ago, it may be said that, even should Mr. Bryan be elected on the Kansas City platform, it would still be true that the campaign has not developed much of the intense zeal for silver that was shown four years ago, when a Bryan victory could have meant nothing but free silver.

1896
"OLD BILL STEWART, THE
DEMAGOGIC BLATHERSKITE
AND ANARCHIST."



1900
"SENATOR STEWART, OF
NEVADA, STATESMAN, PATRIOT
AND SCHOLAR."



TWO REPUBLICAN PORTRAITS OF SENATOR STEWART.

From the Chronicle (Chicago).

founders of the free-silver movement as such in this country, who supported Bryan with all his energies four years ago, is now working against Bryan with equal energy and supporting the Republican ticket. Wyoming four years ago gave its three electoral votes to Bryan by a plurality of only 583 votes.

Washington cast 51,646 for Bryan and 39,153 for McKinley. The tide of Populistic tendency is no longer so high in Washington, and Republicanism seems to be in the ascendant again. Oregon four years ago

How Bryan's Election Would Revive Silver. It does not follow, however, that Mr. Bryan's election would not result in bringing the silver question to the front again. It is highly probable that it would have just that effect. The more persistent of the free-silver theorists would join with many people directly interested in the silver-mining business in an endeavor to resuscitate the "lost cause;" and Mr. Bryan himself could not do otherwise than promote that cause with all his power. He would, of course, name a free-silver secretary of the treasury and a free-silver controller of the currency. A certain class of Bryan voters in the South and West would bring pressure to bear upon their Democratic Congressmen to keep

On the Pacific Coast.

them in line for silver. The agitation thus immediately set on foot would be likely to frighten capitalists, and greatly disturb credit conditions, at a time when the unprecedented expansion of all sorts of business has made it dangerous to have confidence thus suddenly destroyed. The curtailment of credits would lead to many failures, and these first failures would be the cause of many subsequent ones. There would, probably, ensue a panic of the most violent sort; and this would have the usual sequel of a prolonged period of depression and hard times. Hitherto, such a period of hard times has invariably led, in the United States, to a demand for money inflation on one plan or another; and the cheap-silver dollar would undoubtedly be the method of inflation that would now come into fresh demand. Thus the election of a strong-willed free-silver candidate for the Presidency in a period of prosperous times, when the country, for all practical purposes, is well enough satisfied with the existing sound-money basis, would almost inevitably result in a new agitation which in its turn would produce those conditions of doubt and fear that breed panic in times of extended credit, with resulting bad times and a new demand on the part of many victims of the collapse for cheap money in the form of free silver. The pretense of some of the Eastern sound-money men, who are supporting him on other grounds, that the present Congress can fix the law in such a way that Mr. Bryan could not break down the gold standard, wholly misses what is really the vital

point. The thing to be concerned about is not so much what Mr. Bryan might or might not do in the executive office as the way in which his election would react, first, upon business conditions; and, second, upon the political resurrection of a question that ought not to be brought up again for many years.

Two Notes for the Future Student. There should be put on record, for the benefit of the future historian of this political season, the undeniable fact

that the country as a whole had become so well reconciled to the decision on the money question, as made in 1896, that if David B. Hill and the others who urged the omission of the silver plank had prevailed at Kansas City the free-silver phase of the money question would have dropped out of American politics. Another fact is, that a great many shrewd and sagacious Democratic politicians, who are thoroughly opposed to free silver, have all along been of opinion that Republican success was inevitable this year, and have thought it well to put the Chicago candidate and the Chicago platform in the field in order to have Bryanism finally disposed of. These Democrats are saving their own party regularity in order to be on hand to take the lead in a conservative reorganization of the party.

A Three-Cornered Situation that Might Have Been. It is interesting to imagine a situation that might easily have existed this year, and that would have illustrated, better than anything else, the real political sentiment of the country. The first of the important political conventions was that of the Populists, held at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, in May. That convention unanimously nominated Mr. Bryan for the Presidency, with the full understanding that he would accept the nomination. When the Democratic convention met at Kansas City on July 4, it was discovered that a majority of the delegates was in favor of dropping the silver question, but that Mr. Bryan insisted upon having the silver plank in the platform, if he was to be the candidate. Earlier in the year, it will be remembered, there was some talk of Admiral Dewey as the Democratic candidate; and the gallant admiral was himself willing enough. There had been a time still earlier—when Admiral Dewey was on his way home from Manila—when it might have been easy enough to have made his nomination by the Democrats a certainty, if he had then been willing to entertain the idea. It was as a somewhat late afterthought that the Democrats took up “anti-imperialism,” as a party cry. At the time when they were seeking to secure Dewey as a candidate, they were enthusiastic for keeping



"Alchemists may doubt
The shining gold their crucibles give out,
But faith, fanatic faith once wedded fast
To some dear falsehood, hugs it to the last."—*Moore.*
From the *Journal* (Detroit).

the Philippines, and were disposed to rename them the "Dewey Isles," in case that bold mariner should confess himself a Democrat and put himself in the hands of his friends. There is absolutely no reason, in the nature of things, why the Democrats this year are on one side of the annexation question and the Republicans on the other. A very slight change of circumstances might have reversed the Democratic position. Let us imagine, then, that the Kansas City convention had followed its best judgment and dropped the silver issue as obsolete, then taken up Dewey as its candidate, and, following its natural instinct, made the most of Dewey's achievement in acquiring the Philippine Islands for the United States. We should thus have had three conspicuous tickets in the field.

Where Would Bryan Have Come In? Mr. Bryan would have been running, as now, on a pro-silver, pro-income-tax, anti-imperialism, anti-militarism, anti-trust platform. He would have had the nominations of the Populist party and the Silver-Republican party, with, presumably, that of a Silver-Democratic party made up of a bolt from the convention which nominated Dewey. The regular Democratic ticket, headed by Dewey, would have been supported on a platform rather ambiguous on the money question, but favoring sound money between the lines; and its principal indictment of the Republican administration would have been based, not upon the acquisition of the Philippines, but upon the alleged bungling and inefficiency which had prolonged the Philippine War. What then would have been the result on the 6th of November? The answer is plain. Dewey, representing in his own person both militarism and the policy of Philippine annexation, and standing also, undoubtedly, for sound money, the upholding of the courts, and many of the same ideas as those represented by Mr. Cleveland, would undoubtedly have carried every Southern State. McKinley and Roosevelt would have carried all the Northern States that Dewey had failed to carry. Mr. Bryan, on his free-silver and anti-imperialism platform, would not have carried a single State or won a single electoral vote; and this result would not have been due to any personal unpopularity of Mr. Bryan, but rather to his platform. Let us imagine, however, that his Populist supporters and Bryan himself had not entertained anti-annexation views, but had dwelt chiefly upon the silver question, the trust question, and the like. It would still be true that Bryan would not have won a single electoral vote, for the reason that the silver policy had lost its drawing power. Finally, let us suppose that Bryan had frankly dropped his advocacy of free silver in order

to accept the nomination of anti-imperialists, and had devoted himself to this so-called "paramount issue." It would still hold good that Bryan would not carry a single State or win a single electoral vote. The "Solid South" would vote for Dewey and the Democratic ticket, as representing a more aggressive kind of militarism and annexationism than that which the "halting opportunism" of McKinley had supported.

As Showing Southern Sentiment.

That the three tickets might have been in the field in just this way is not so improbable as to make it hard to imagine. If the campaign could, indeed, have shaped itself in such a fashion, the result would have shown clearly—first, that the free-silver question as such had no further hold on the public mind; and, second, that no considerable element in the community supposes, for a moment that there is any such thing as American "imperialism" to combat, while no element of any great numerical strength would, if the issue were made distinct, vote in favor of taking the American flag down from any place where it now represents lawful sovereignty. This analysis of the situation is meant to make it the more clear to the reader that the Southern States, which will give Mr. Bryan most of the electoral votes that he will receive, are voting for him because he is the regular Democratic nominee, and not because their opinions are like his. Thus if ex-Senator Gray, of Delaware (now Judge Gray), the distinguished and accomplished Democrat who served as one of the American commissioners to negotiate the treaty of peace at Paris, and who favored the acquisition of the Philippines, had been nominated for the Presidency by the Democrats this year, the whole South would have supported him with the utmost enthusiasm, and would have found his views on expansion and annexation to be especially congenial to the way of thinking that really prevails south of Mason and Dixon's line.

"Dixie" as a Political Anomaly.

The great anomaly in American politics is the position held by the group of Southern States that votes as a matter of course for Bryan, although McKinley better represents their political opinions. The South for many years has held a place in American politics analogous to that which Ireland holds in the politics of the United Kingdom. Throughout the greater part of Ireland there is, for all practical purposes, only one party—that of the Irish Nationalists. They feel that Irish interests compel them to stand together, and so they do not divide, to any great extent, into parties on the plan of England and Scotland.

Irish Nationalism represents a certain spirit of patriotism and a certain attitude of self-defense. In somewhat the same way, the solidity of the so-called "Solid South" in national politics has been due to a spirit of sectional patriotism and an attitude of self-defense. This is a matter of history and tradition. It has grown out of the war, and out of the political and racial questions which led up to the war and which have followed it. Since the Republicans of the North were politically responsible for the conquest of the Confederate States, the freeing of the slaves without compensation to their owners, and the enfranchisement of the freedmen as a condition of the readmission of the Southern States to the Union; and since the Republican party for a long time was identified with the policy of safeguarding the negro vote by federal bayonets,—it is not strange that the great bulk of the white population of the South should have allied itself politically with the Northern opponents of the Republican party. There seems to have been no other alternative.

A Better Outlook. It is an extremely difficult thing to eliminate the race question from our party politics. But it is to be noted that the Republicans of the North no longer talk of the federal regulation of elections, and that

they have looked on with comparatively little avowed disapproval at the action of the four States which have now, by constitutional amendment, practically disfranchised the greater part of their negro voters. If it were not for the race question and for the strength of the traditional prejudice of the South against the name "Republican," the white vote of the Southern States would divide naturally upon the real issues before the country; and it is likely that the points of view that Governor Roosevelt has presented in his remarkable stumping tour of the West would find even greater acceptance in the South than in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and the Northwest. It is to be hoped that this peculiar condition in the South may come to an end in the near future. It is not a good condition for the South itself, and it is unfortunate and even dangerous for the rest of the country. For, while the North has heard the issues of the campaign thoroughly discussed, there are great regions of the South where the Republican party is practically non-existent; where a very light vote is cast, and where the election goes, as it were, by default. These regions will give their votes to Mr. Bryan without the slightest reference to the principles for which Mr. Bryan stands. He has been doing nothing whatever to gain their vote, yet he starts with it as a sure perquisite that goes with the Democratic nomination.

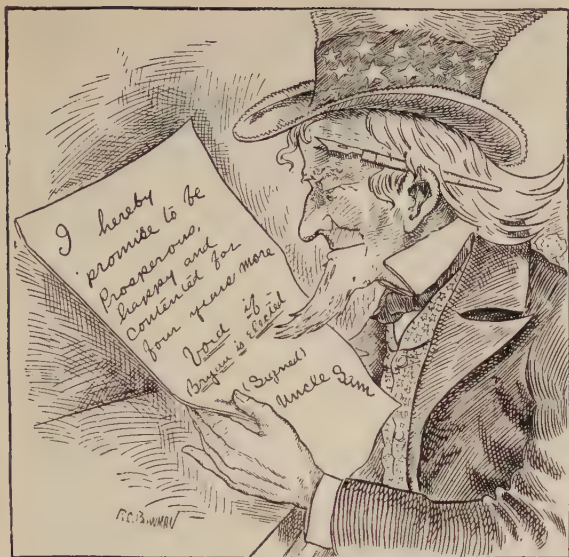


AN UNCONSTITUTIONAL INEQUALITY.

Total vote for Congressmen, 1898.	Total vote for President, 1896.
Mississippi..... 28,000	Mississippi..... 69,000
Minnesota..... 240,000	Minnesota..... 252,000

From the *Times* (Minneapolis).

A Curious Situation. It is this situation, more than anything else, that makes it so extremely difficult to know what would happen in case the Democratic party should come into full power. Eastern Democrats and some of their Southern colleagues in Congress would certainly be disposed to join a Republican minority against the sort of monetary legislation that Mr. Bryan would advocate. It is likely enough, also, that a good many Southern and Western members of Congress would join the Republican minority in opposing his policy of giving up the Philippines. It became more and more evident, as the campaign progressed, that there was no part of the country, North, South, East, or West, which was not prepared to acquiesce in the result,—and that very cheerfully, indeed,—in case of Mr. McKinley's reelection; and yet Mr. Bryan's friends seemed to be both sincere and intelligent in their claim, up to the last, that their candidate had a good chance of being elected. No situation quite like this has ever existed before in American politics; nor have we known anything like it in the political experience of any other country. If, then, Mr. Bryan should really be elected, the result would not be due principally to the fact that a prepon-



ANOTHER "PROVISO" CONTRACT.

From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

derant public opinion has accepted his views, but rather to the force of certain fixed factors which always give the Democratic party a large nucleus to begin with, irrespective of platform, candidates, and public opinion. The foremost of these fixed factors has already been mentioned. It is the anomalous condition of the Southern States, whose electoral vote belongs in any case to the Democratic nominee, no matter what doctrines and policy the ticket and platform may represent.

Local Politics as a Factor. The second great fixed factor is the strength and influence of party organization and machinery, and the fact that the President and Vice-President are not the only candidates to be voted for on November 6. On the contrary, there are Congressional campaigns in every part of the country, and elections for State officers in a very great majority of the States. Besides these are the county elections, the township elections, and in many States municipal and village elections. Assuming that there are something like 6,000,000 Democrats in the country who will have enough interest in politics to go to the polls this year, it is probable that there are at least 2,000,000 who are either active candidates for local offices on the Democratic ticket or are, in one way or another, closely interested for personal reasons in working for Democratic success. No matter how much general conditions may make for an "era of good feeling," and for a decline of the partisan spirit, it will still remain true that we have this great

ramification of party politicians extended through States, Congressional, and judicial districts, counties, townships, cities, towns, villages, wards, road districts, school districts, and voting precincts. And while in times of great stress, when public feeling runs high, there may not be enough tenacity in the mere organization itself to keep men in line,—as, for example, when the Republican party went to pieces in the Far-Western States four years ago, on account of the silver craze,—it is almost always the case, on the other hand, that where public opinion is not deeply stirred up, the strict party organization holds its normal strength. This, of course, is more true of the Democratic party than of the Republican, because the average Republican is rather more of an independent thinker and less of a party man than the average Democrat.

Tammany as an Example. Organization strength as a fixed factor in politics finds its most extreme illustration in that extraordinary

society known as Tammany Hall—a society without a vestige of opinion or sentiment on any real political question, and connected with the Democratic party solely because it finds the connection a necessary and highly profitable one. Mr. Croker, the head of Tammany Hall, has, next to Mr. Bryan himself, been by far the most conspicuous personage in the Democratic party during the present political season. It was Mr. Croker's control over the New York delegation at the Kansas City convention which prevented the silver plank from being stricken out of the platform; and it was Mr. Croker's control over the State Democratic Convention in



SUITOR BRYAN OBLIGED TO WOO MISS NEW YORK STATE WITH FATHER CROKER ALWAYS IN EVIDENCE.

From the *Times* (Minneapolis).

New York that prevented the nomination for governor of the Hon. Bird S. Coler. The power of Tammany Hall, with Mr. Croker as its absolute chief, has been augmented by the consolidation of the cities of New York and Brooklyn; and Tammany controls the annual collection and expenditure of a municipal income now amounting to about \$100,000,000. Besides its direct authority over a great army of voters who hold office subject to its pleasure, Tammany has close relations with contractors and large private corporations, so that it can provide "jobs" for other thousands of men willing to vote the Tammany ticket. Again, it has in its power thousands of saloons, each of which controls several votes.

Thus Tammany Hall binds together, not by ties of disinterested and patriotic political conviction, but rather of private interest, something like half of all the voters who live in New York City—a city that has a greater voting population than any other city in the world.

A National Menace:

If it were not for Tammany Hall, which is at bottom a conspiracy for private plunder rather than a legitimate organization for political purposes, there would not be the remotest chance this year for Mr. Bryan to obtain the electoral vote of the State of New York; and, without the electoral vote of the State of New York, there could be no reasonable chance of his carrying the country. It is simply a question whether or not the Republican majority of the State outside the limits of New York City will be overcome by the Tammany-Bryan vote that will be rolled up under Mr. Croker's leadership in the metropolis. Every principle and method that Mr. Bryan and his Western followers have professed most deeply to abhor finds embodiment in Tammany Hall; and yet Mr. Bryan's election is inconceivable without the Tammany vote. In every Presidential year the dangerous character of Tammany Hall becomes a question of national concern; for the electoral vote of the State of New York is so large that there is always a chance that the main result may turn upon it. With a solid South as an undisputed Democratic asset, and with



Courtesy of New York Journal.

TAMMANY'S RECEPTION TO MR. BRYAN, MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, OCTOBER 16.

Tammany Hall as another, the Democrats always enter a campaign hoping to add the electoral vote of the State of New York to the Southern vote, and then to elect their ticket by winning three or four of the so-called doubtful States like Indiana and Maryland.

The "Trusts" as a Fresh Issue.

Four years ago, the sound-money movement in New York State assumed such strength, as against the free-silver doctrine, that it carried even the metropolis against Bryan, and gave McKinley the huge plurality of 268,500. As the campaign progressed this year, the Democrats avoided the silver question even more than at the beginning; and, generally speaking, they seemed to have found the Philippine issue unprofitable. Toward the middle of October they began to concentrate, to a marked extent, upon phases of the trust question and kindred matters in a way designed to stir up the prejudices of labor against capital. They sought to identify the Republican party with all that is objectionable in the rapid tendency toward the amalgamation of industries, and claimed for Mr. Bryan the position of the highest special authority on the whole subject of trusts—their causes, their development, and especially the means by which they are to be destroyed or rendered harmless. This was the favorite theme of Mr. Bryan's many speeches in the State of New York in the middle of last month.

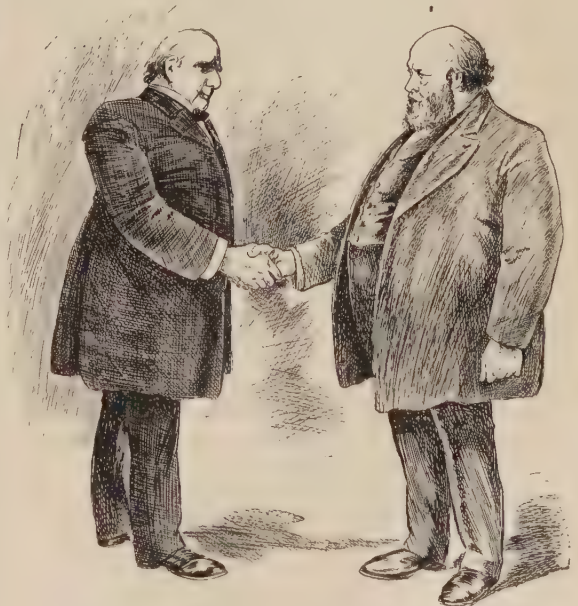
Mr. Bryan as the Paragon of Statesmanship. It has hurt rather than helped Mr. Bryan to have so much claimed for him in the way of preëminent statesmanship. Up to four years and four months ago, he was a promising and estimable young Nebraskan lawyer, politician, and public man, little known to the country at large, and not at all known as a foremost authority. But in this brief



THE ONLY CURE.—From the *Verdict* (New York).

period he has been brought forward, successively, as the highest authority in this country on three subjects of vast importance. First, he has been declared supremely wise with respect to matters of monetary science and policy, including banking systems and the various departments of public finance. Second, the country has been asked to accept his leadership as the man best qualified to deal with the results of the Spanish War, to save us from the dangers of militarism and imperialism, and to apply rightfully the Constitution and the principles of the Declaration of Independence to our new territorial problems. In the third place, Mr. Bryan has been confidently placed before the American people as the man best qualified to deal with a question far more difficult than either of those other two great problems—namely, the true economic and political treatment of the present colossal movement in the direction of the concentration of productive capital. There are other questions of no small degree of importance concerning which it is claimed that Mr. Bryan is an authority of the first rank, in knowledge and statesmanship. One

of these is the general subject of taxation; and Mr. Bryan comes forward as the earnest advocate of a national income tax, with pronounced views on the reconstruction of the tariff and the internal-revenue system. Upon the very delicate subject of the foreign relations of the United States, Mr. Bryan is also set in the forefront as the man whose lead the people should implicitly follow. Thus he antagonizes the exceptionally pleasant relations that have existed between our Government and that of England during the last three years, and holds that we should have acted in some manner different from that which we have actually pursued toward the struggle in South Africa. He has been doing everything in his power to stir up the nationality prejudices of voters of Irish and German descent, together with those of other nationalities, on the ground that Mr. McKinley has placed the government of the United States on unduly friendly terms with a country that Irishmen in Ireland and Germans in Germany at present very much dislike. The following cartoon, published in Mr. Bryan's interest, represents the point of view that Democrats were expressing last month. It is intended to convey the impression of a close understanding between President McKinley and Lord Salisbury.



FRIENDS AND ALLIES.

THE PRESIDENT: "Congratulations, my Lord. Your policy in South Africa has been nobly vindicated."

LORD SALISBURY: "Many thanks, Mr. President. Hope you will do as well in November."

From the *Times* (Washington).

A Unique Instance.

It has not been of advantage to Mr. Bryan's reputation that he has been heralded as the one man in the United States who knows most about the money question; most about what to do with the Philippines, and how to manage the army and navy; most about the intricate subject of trusts and great corporations; most about the manifold problems of taxation, and most about diplomacy and international law, relationships, and policy. It gives one the feeling that if some other huge question, no matter what, should suddenly loom into unexpected prominence, Mr. Bryan would just as confidently be named as the only man who has always known all about it. Even in the case of statesmen like Gladstone and Bismarck,—preëminent in the eyes of the whole world for half a century,—expert knowledge on all subjects has never been looked for. And in the United States no great political party has ever before brought forward a man who alone, exclusively, in his own person, represented the party's wisdom on all leading subjects. Washington relied on Hamilton for wisdom in questions of taxation and finance, and on men like Jefferson and Jay as authorities in matters of foreign policy. Mr. Lincoln had his Searles, Chases, and Stantons. Mr. McKinley's statesmanship has been shown in the sagacity and good judgment that knows how, when, and where to take and apply expert counsel rather than in his own preëminent and solitary possession of superior statesmanship in half a dozen different fields. But Mr. Bryan stands out alone, and unrelieved, as the one Democratic authority on all the questions of the day.

As to Cabinet Advisers.

Who of his conspicuous supporters, for instance, are, in case of his election, to be his main reliances when he comes to deal with the question of trusts? Surely not the three great lawyers of cabinet rank and national fame who have come most vigorously to his support in the campaign—namely, the Hon. Richard Olney, of Boston; the Hon. Edward M. Shepard, of New York (who presided at the great Bryan meeting of October 16), and the Hon. Bourke Cockran. These three men, any of whom might well be expected to go into Mr. Bryan's cabinet, are all of them diametrically opposed to his views on the subject of trusts, and are all reputed to be corporation lawyers of large practice. Again, on the subject of the management of the Philippine Islands and kindred questions, Democrats like Senator Morgan, of Alabama, who have been heretofore most prominently identified with the foreign policy of the country and its results, do not entertain views that resemble Mr. Bryan's. The Hon.

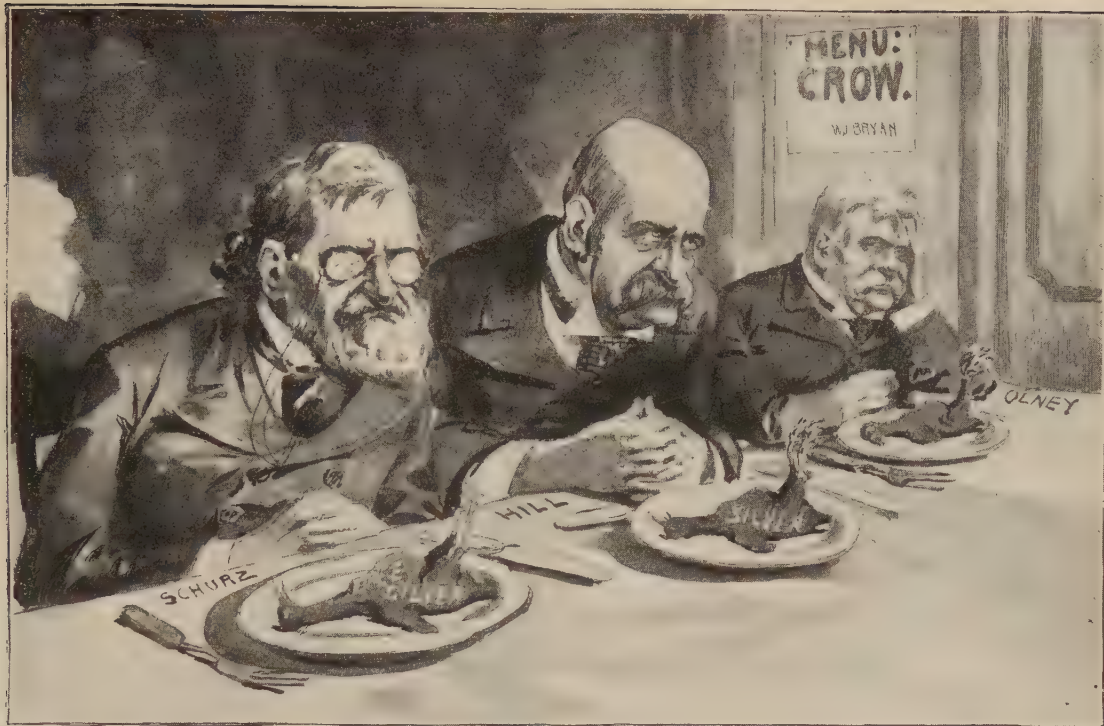
Carl Schurz, and some others of his way of thinking, now zealous supporters of Mr. Bryan, were his most vociferous opponents four years ago, on account of monetary views which Mr. Bryan has not, meanwhile, altered in the slightest degree. The President's cabinet is not merely a group of men charged severally with the management of particular departments of administration. It is also charged with the duty of advising the President in a general way on all subjects. Mr. McKinley's cabinet is in harmony upon questions that affect the treasury and financial policy of the Government, as well as upon questions relating to Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, the position of the United States in China, and all other leading matters, both domestic and foreign.

Mr. Bryan as an Autocrat.

But how could Mr. Bryan, who stands with equal and uncompromising boldness for the immediate free coinage of silver; the immediate imposition of an income tax; the immediate renunciation of our sovereignty in the Philippines; the immediate reversal, in important respects, of the present policy of the United States in Cuba and Porto Rico; the immediate smashing of trusts, and the immediate and peremptory snubbing of England,—how could Mr. Bryan, with his positive programme, embracing all these and some other demands, with his unyielding strength of will and his scorn of half-measures and compromises, form a cabinet from his best-known supporters? In case of his election, it will be for him to answer the question; and, most assuredly, he will answer it in his own way, without casting about for hints and suggestions. There is, after all, something superb in Mr. Bryan's poise and self-confidence. There is nothing of a *Hamlet* about him, either in mind or in temper. His strength and vigor as a man are, in some sense, a disqualification for public affairs; for we do not get the best results from autocrats as presidents. And Bryan is the most autocratic person now in American public life, not excepting Hanna. To see what he would really do if put into the White House would be so interesting as to afford at least a partial compensation for some of those harmful consequences that the conservative mind has conjured up as probable.

Willis Abbot on the Campaign Methods.

We publish elsewhere two interesting articles upon the practical methods employed in this campaign. One of these is by Mr. Willis J. Abbot, who has played the leading part in the conduct of the Democratic propaganda by means of the press and printed matter; the other is by a New



"WE CAN EAT IT, BUT—" From the *Herald* (New York.)
(Carl Schurz, David B. Hill, and Richard Olney would not be happy at Bryan's Cabinet table.)

York newspaper man who has seen much of the work at the Republican headquarters. Mr. Bryan, in a speech made last month to his former neighbors in Illinois, is reported to have said :

If the election were held to-day, there is no doubt that we would have a majority in the Electoral College and in the popular vote. But the Republican managers are now collecting from the monopolies a large campaign fund. They will buy every vote that can be bought. They will coerce every vote that can be coerced. They will intimidate every laboring man who can be intimidated. They will bribe every election judge who can be bribed. They will corrupt every count that can be corrupted.

Mr. Abbot, writing from what we may call the "Intelligence Bureau" of the Democratic campaign, does not bear out the feeling conveyed in these words of Mr. Bryan's. He takes the position that his opponents have not deliberately tried to gain the day by corrupt methods ; and that campaign work, as in the main practised on both sides, is of a kind that could be subsequently revealed to the whole world without shame. There is, of course, much attempt on both sides at effective and secret strategy ; but the secrecy is of doubtful value, and consists chiefly in finding out the relative strength and weakness of parties in particular States and neighborhoods. Nothing could be more absurd,

for instance, than to suppose that the Republican solicitude—which in the early part of the campaign was very great,—about the German vote of the Northwest led to any attempts at bribery or corruption. What it did lead to was a most careful analysis of the German-American state of mind, in order that printed arguments and stump speeches might bring the utmost possible persuasion to bear upon these voters to act this year as four years ago. Almost all of the money that has been spent on both sides has gone into kinds of work which, if fully explained, would enhance rather than harm the reputations of political parties in the United States both at home and abroad.



THE OPPOSING MANAGERS.
SENATOR HANNA AND SENATOR JONES (in chorus): "You're a friend of the wicked trusts."—From the *Record* (Chicago.)

*A Quick
Campaign
in England.*

The people of the British Isles have chosen a new House of Commons. Their Parliamentary elections are not all held on the same day, but run through a period of about two weeks. This arrangement is for the benefit of proprietors owning land in different places, who are entitled to travel about the country and cast a vote wherever they have holdings. One of the chief demands of the Liberals, for a number of years past, has been "One Man—One Vote," as in the United States; the multiple vote of property-holders redounding chiefly to the benefit of the Tories. This year's voting, which began on Monday, October 1, and ended virtually on the 13th, was upon the basis of the old registration of five years ago, and, of course, also upon an unchanged basis of distribution of seats—or apportionment, as we would say. The use of a five-year-old registration list or "voting-roll" operated as a practical disfranchisement of many voters; and this was distinctly detrimental to the Liberals. The whole thing was put through with something like indecent haste. It was announced on September 17 that the old Parliament would be dissolved on September 25, and that its newly elected successor would assemble at Westminster on November 1. (It has now been decided, however, not to hold a session until February.)

*With the
Expected
Result.*

The results of this English election were a foregone conclusion. The Ministerialists—to use the word that came to be quite generally adopted for those who were supporters of the Salisbury-Chamberlain government—have secured almost exactly the same majority in the new Parliament that they won five years ago. Although this is a large majority,—about 132 in a total house of 670,—it is by no means, under all the circumstances, a highly brilliant victory. Modern England had never indulged in such transports and paroxysms of enthusiasm over anything else as over the pitiable war for the destruction of the two tiny Dutch republics of South Africa. And the election was held on the eve of Lord Roberts' formal announcement of the annexation of the Transvaal—the annexation of the Orange Free State having been accomplished several months earlier. To most Englishmen, the South African struggle has presented itself as a life-and-death matter for the British empire; and the ministry—perhaps less worthy of the nation's enthusiasm on its own pure merits than any ministry that England has had for a very long time—has been indorsed, not because it has been genuinely admired, but because there has seemed, to the majority of Englishmen, to be a supreme necessity for presenting to the

outside world an appearance of standing by one's own country and one's own government.

*Which Was
Also a
Necessary
Result.*

This, under the circumstances, was not merely natural, but commendable. The defeat of the present government at just this juncture would have hurt England in the outside estimation, particularly in view of the fact that there was no coherent



LORD SALISBURY, WHO ENTERS ON A NEW PERIOD AS PRIME MINISTER.

and united opposition, with an acknowledged leader and a definite policy of its own. The great army in South Africa—the largest ever sent so far away from home by any European country in modern times—was still encamped on hostile soil, not with great battles to fight, it is true, but with an irritating and difficult state of guerrilla warfare to contend with. This was not the moment for changing parties, nor was it a reasonable time for holding an election. The war cannot now be undone, needless and bad though it was; and the annexation of the Boer republics could not be reconsidered without producing a convulsion throughout the British empire. It was indeed inevitable, when Krüger issued his ultimatum and made his appeal to arms, that British supremacy should be completely established in the Transvaal. As we have maintained from the beginning, there was nothing in the



RT. HON. ARTHUR J. BALFOUR.

(Conservative leader in House of Commons.)

RT. HON. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN.

(Colonial Secretary.)

SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

(Liberal leader in House of Commons.)

practical alternatives that lay before Mr. Krüger and his colleagues at Pretoria that in the least justified war. So long as the contest was simply a diplomatic one, the people in England who sympathized with Mr. Krüger as against Mr. Joseph Chamberlain's diplomatic methods were many and influential. The only hope for the Boers lay in appeals to English public opinion. This chance was forfeited when resort was made to force. We do not, of course, justify the English Government in refusing arbitration; but the Boer ultimatum and invasion of Natal left England with nothing else to do than fight. And when a war comes, no matter what provoked it, any nation worthy to exist will fight as hard as it can. The English were at once committed irretrievably to the permanent reduction of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

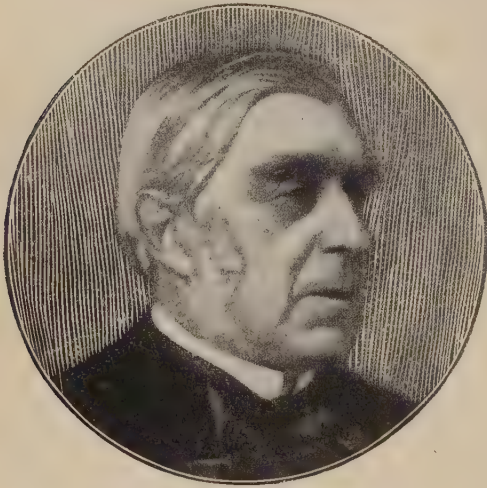
Standing by the Work of the Army in Africa. There may have been other solutions more ideal; but there was no other that was practical, in view of the exigencies of the British empire and the facts of human nature. The thing most to be desired, therefore, was that the war should be prosecuted with the utmost vigor, and brought to an end promptly, with the least suffering and loss of life on either side. The stubborn resistance of the Boers, after it was certain that they must yield in the end, may have been heroic from one point of view; but it was too cruel and useless to be admirable. Heroism is a word that should be kept to apply to cases where brave and self-sacrificing deeds have an adequate reason and motive. To continue fighting in a hopeless cause, merely through vindictive determination to make an enemy's victory cost him the more dearly, is not

heroic in the best sense. Considering their numbers, the Boers have displayed an amazing military prowess, and their officers in particular have shown qualities, by comparison with which the British officers have not gained admiration anywhere except in their own country. But the great, blundering British army in South Africa has been brave, has done its best, has shed an appalling amount of blood, and has suffered almost indescribable hardships incident to the horrible regions in which it has had to march and fight and suffer from fevers. And from the point of view of this great army, still suffering in South Africa, and from that of the tens of thousands of enfeebled men invalided home, it would have been wellnigh inconceivable that the country should not have put the stamp of its approval upon them and their work. But how else could it show its appreciation and express its purpose to evolve some kind of valuable result out of the army's painful achievement except by taking the patriotic view of the war and the situation, and by voting to sustain the government.

The Fate of the Boers.

The vote was, therefore, not so much a vote of confidence in Salisbury, Chamberlain, Lord Lansdowne, secretary of state for war, and the rest of the ministry, as a vote recognizing "things as they are," and indicating John Bull's firm determination to see a difficult piece of business clear through to a fixed and stable conclusion. Thoughtful people, in their calm and reflective moods, must admit that there are worse fates for small outlying regions in Asia, Africa, and other remote parts than to be brought under the protecting folds of the British flag and accorded the

kind of law and administration that are characteristic of the British empire. The Transvaal could not have continued a great while as an independent republic under the government of men like Krüger. This was as impossible as was the



RT. HON. GEORGE J. GOSCHEN.

(Who retired last month as head of Naval Department in British Cabinet.)

continuance of Mexican-Spanish rule in California after the discovery of gold. It may be a long time before men of pure British blood shall outnumber, in South Africa, those of the Dutch-Huguenot or Boer stock; but England's control of Cape Colony, Natal, and other extensive regions in South Africa, and her preëminence in commerce, mining, and business enterprise of all sorts, had made it probable that sooner or later the Transvaal would come into close relationship with British South Africa. The Dutch element of the population in Cape Colony could not well be in a better position. Being in the majority, it can, if it chooses, control the colonial parliament, and carry on local affairs to suit itself. It has every right it could ask as regards the use of its own language, the freedom of worship, and the education of its children. It has long enjoyed the perfect protection of the great navy of England, without having any of the bills to pay. The Boers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State must simply learn to reconcile themselves to the pleasant fate of their brethren in Cape Colony.

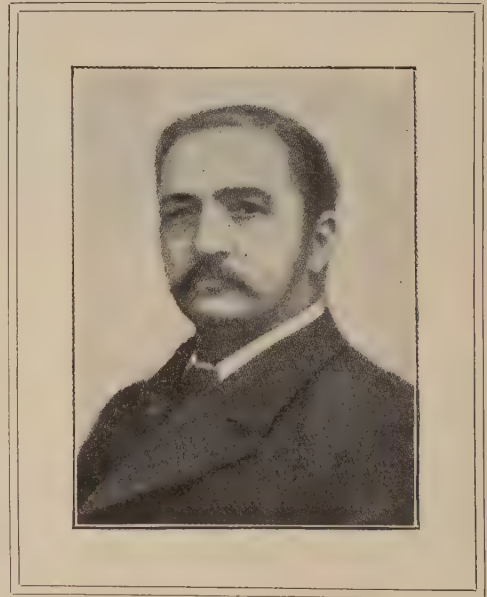
Leave
the Future
to Posterity.

South Africa may or may not be destined at some time to go its own way as an independent country. However that may be, nothing could be more cer-

tain than that the best way for South Africa to attain that future position is to cast the present idea of it into the deepest well of oblivion. There can be no independent South Africa until there has developed a great, prosperous, and fairly homogeneous community. Such a development will require time—say, fifty or a hundred years; and no other conditions could be nearly so favorable for such development as the same kind of cheerful and loyal acquiescence in the British connection as is shown by the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia. The Dutch of South Africa should study history, cultivate the philosophical attitude of mind, and promptly conclude to become the most exemplary and least troublesome people in any portion of Queen Victoria's dominions.

*The British
Policy
of Tolerance.*

The Finns and the Poles hate Russia's domination, not so much for theoretical reasons, or because the sentiment of nationality and the longing for independence survive, as for the far more practical reason that Russia's domination is oppressive to them in their every-day life. It means to the Finns not only the conscription of their sons



R. W. E. MIDDLETON.

(Chief manager of the Conservative campaign.)

into the Russian army, but the giving up of local liberties and customs that were very dear to them; the Russians being determined to assimilate them in language and religion as well as in administrative and military methods. But

the British empire has been most successful in proportion to its employment of the very opposite policy. It has given the French in Canada far more freedom as Frenchmen than they would have had if they had remained a colonial possession of France. It is now determined that those men of Dutch descent in Cape Colony who violated their British allegiance by giving direct or indirect aid to the Boers in the recent war are neither to be hanged nor imprisoned for life as traitors, but simply to be deprived of their voting rights for a longer or shorter period, as the courts may sentence them individually. This lenity of treatment shows a swift and hopeful recovery of sound political sense. It was to be feared, several months ago, that a very severe course might be pursued, which would only result in the perpetuation of discord. It will depend chiefly upon the Boers themselves, in the two annexed republics, how soon the English army of occupation shall be withdrawn and institutions of local self-government established. The sooner and more completely they accept the results of the war, the better it will be for them.

Mr. Chamberlain and His Office.

As for Mr. Chamberlain, he has now the great opportunity of his life to exhibit a broad statesmanship. Under the new Parliament, Lord Salisbury will continue to be prime minister, and will also, it is expected, continue, for some time to come, to keep in his own hands the portfolio of foreign affairs. It had been reported that Mr. Chamberlain, who is now by far the most conspicuous figure in the government, would be transferred from the Colonial to the War Department; but it is more likely that he will prefer to stay where he is. Mr. Chamberlain has certainly magnified his office. He has brought into the administration of colonial affairs a new conception, which lifts that administrative post into the most important one in the cabinet, not even excepting the foreign secretaryship; for, with Mr. Chamberlain occupying the position of colonial secretary, the office is not that of the head of a routine department engrossed with sundry red-tape details, but it is rather the very heart and center of the great British empire, intensely concerned with the political and commercial development of that empire—as one great whole made up of a multitude of parts, each having its own peculiar conditions. Thus the manifold problems of Canada, Australia, South Africa, India, and other parts of the world's map that are tinted with British red, concern primarily the colonial office, even where they belong incidentally also to the foreign office. However one may sympathize with the Liberals in their deep dislike and dis-

trust of Mr. Chamberlain, it may not be denied that his game of British imperialism is played on a magnificent scale, and that he has the support of the country in his aspiration for British aggrandizement.

Some Demands on Statesmanship. He is only at the very beginning, however, of the work in South Africa that must test his statesmanship.

Or, rather, he must make a second start, with the obligation to redeem the bad beginning that plunged the country into war. It may be the final verdict of history that it was Mr. Chamberlain's bungling and overreaching style of diplomacy that made it necessary for England to acquire the Transvaal by fire and sword, where a wiser and more skillful method would have established British paramountcy throughout South Africa without stirring up race feeling and without the firing of a single gun. Having landed his country in war at the end of a period of acrid correspondence with the Transvaal Government, in which Mr. Chamberlain was constantly shifting and changing his demands, the situation passed out of his hands into that of the war department; where it has continued to remain. It is to be supposed, however, that a civil régime will now soon make its appearance by the side of the military occupation, and will gradually gather up the reins of authority. The better the statesmanship shown in the establishment of this civil régime, the sooner will the British taxpayer be relieved of the burden of keeping a great army in the newly conquered territories.

The Kaffirs, Mr. Rhodes, Etc.

The Kaffir negroes greatly outnumber the white population in the Transvaal, and the Boers have kept them down by a system of servitude that falls a little short of slavery on the one hand and greatly short of British principles of individual freedom on the other hand. It will not be possible for England to permit this system to continue; but it will be difficult to readjust it, and at the same time to win the good-will of the Boer farmers, who think that their system of managing the Kaffirs is necessary for the safety of the white population. Some very difficult problems, moreover, must be faced in the acquisition, from Mr. Rhodes and his chartered company, of certain rights and possessions in the great Rhodesian territories west and north of the Transvaal that it has now become needful for the British colonial empire to absorb in the complete sense. Thus the statesmanship of Mr. Chamberlain in South African affairs, so rudely interrupted at its outset by the war, is now to be resumed with problems to face that will test it to the utmost; and,

in dealing with these problems, Mr. Chamberlain will find himself obliged to reckon at every point with the views of a man no less masterful than himself—namely, Mr. Cecil Rhodes, of Kimberley and Cape Town, who has now reëntered South African politics, and who seeks to regain the confidence and support of the Dutch element.

Whether for good or for ill, the Salisbury government was what might be called a "going" concern. It had behind it a large working majority in the House of Commons, almost unanimous control over the House of Lords, the manifest good-will of the Queen and the royal family, and—what is not to be disregarded—the prestige and strength that comes from being on excellent terms with the governments and the public opinion of the great self-governing British communities of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. It had to its credit Lord Curzon's acceptable management of the affairs of India, and Lord Cromer's conduct of the affairs of Egypt. It had further to its credit the splendidly successful expedition of General Kitchener to Khartum, resulting in the opening up and pacification of the Sudan and the annexation of a great part of it to the British empire. And still further, and of no small consequence in the estimation of the British public, it had to its credit a record of exceedingly amicable relationship with the government of the United States—a condition of things that amounts to a very valuable asset to the British empire. As for the South African war, it had at least been prosecuted successfully to what was a practical ending of organized military opposition on the part of the Boers, and it had resulted in the solution of full annexation. It had subjected the British army to a highly necessary test, giving England fresh confidence in her essential strength and a new determination to remedy the conspicuous defects of her military system.

As against all these things,—that could be said either in positive praise of the doings of the Salisbury government or in apology for them,—what lay before the country as an alternative? What if it had refused to vote the Salisbury party a new lease of office and power? The situation was, in many ways, analogous to that presented by current party politics in the United States. The most conspicuous difference, however, lay in the fact that in this country the various factors of opposition, while holding no set of opinions in common, were united upon a leader who happened to be fitted out with a large and complete

stock of opinions, each single one of which took, so to speak, the form of a strong hook upon which to hang some different element of his support. In England no Liberal leader appeared during the general elections just held. Mr. Campbell-Bannerman makes a respectable appearance as a nominal Liberal leader in the House of Commons, but no one would think of him as the authoritative head of the party. Sir William Harcourt is a trenchant debater, but has never held the full confidence of the elements opposed to the Tory government. Even the Irish Nationalists have found it practically impossible to unite upon any effective leadership for their own group; much less have they found any English Liberal generalissimo, since Gladstone's time, under whom they are ready to serve. The only man who might possibly have come forward to lead the Liberals in the recent election was Lord Rosebery. But he has nominally retired from Liberal party politics, and is, moreover, an imperialist to whose mind the only fault of the Salisbury administration seems to be that it has not been so efficient, in its aggressive military work, as it ought to have been. If, perchance, the Ministerialists had not come out of last month's election with a majority, the Liberals themselves would have been surprised and disconcerted. They would have had to cast about them both for a leader and a policy, with a forlorn prospect of being able to agree upon either.

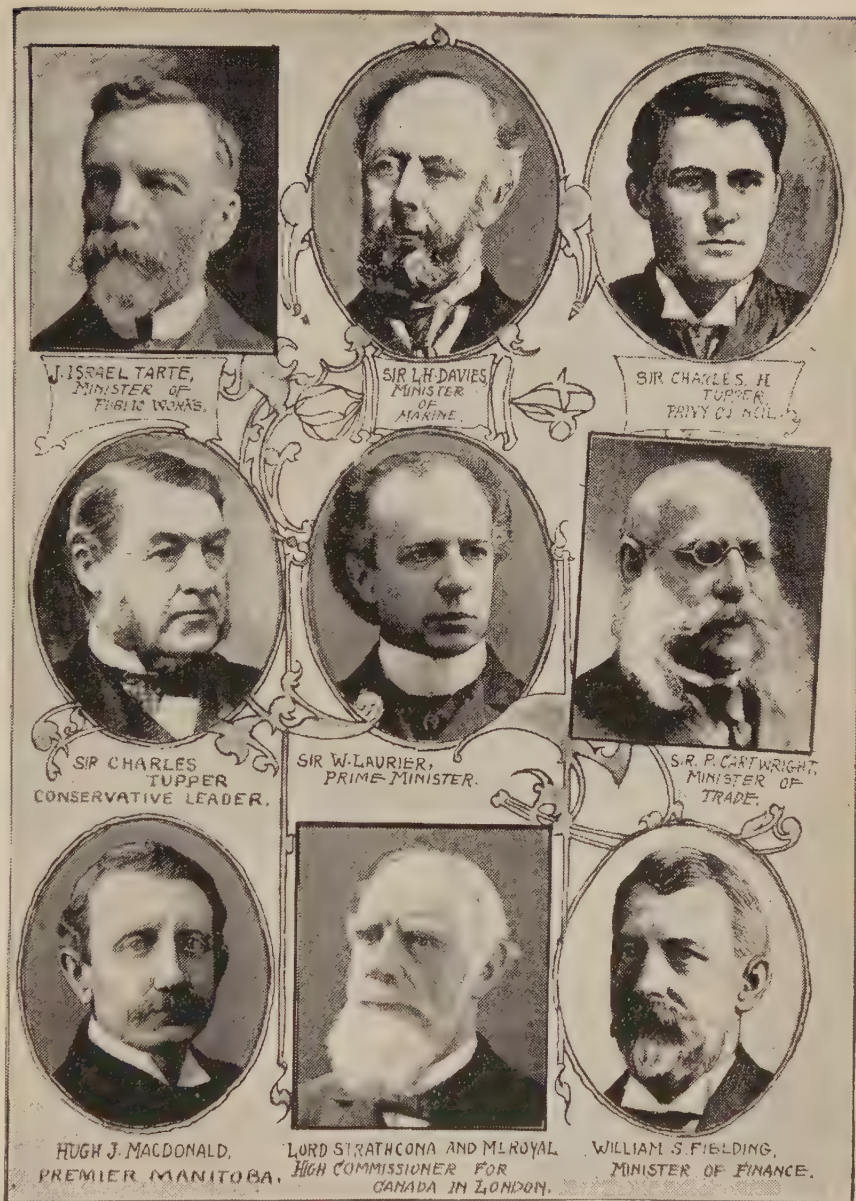
*The Future
of English
Liberalism.*

But in due course of time the Liberal party will find itself again, and have ample work to do. It is too much to expect that property-holders will be allowed, without opposition, to retain the multiple suffrage in England, and thus to exercise imperial authority over great democratic communities like Australia and Canada, where the pure democratic principle of manhood suffrage prevails. Furthermore, the Liberal party will have a sufficient excuse for existence so long as the Tories keep their hereditary House of Lords, with its power to veto all bills passed by the House of Commons. And it is rather inconceivable that there should not be a Radical opposition so long as there remains an Established Church, with the unequal privileges now enjoyed by that organization. The principle of "one man—one vote;" that of the reform of the House of Lords; that of secular education as against the subsidizing of church schools with the taxpayer's money, and that of the equitable taxation of landed property, are, with several other kindred principles, the basis of a programme that will not allow the Liberal party in England to perish until its demands have been satisfied.

*What if the
Tories Had
Been Beaten?*

The
Canadian
Election.

The election of a new Dominion parliament occurs on November 7. The Liberal government, under Sir Wilfrid Laurier as prime minister, came into power four years ago, with a parliamentary majority of about 30. That majority, by subsequent changes, has been almost doubled. Sir Wilfrid belongs to the French-Catholic half of Canada; and his administration, besides the general support of the Liberal party as such, has the special support of the French-Canadian element. The Conservative party in the present contest is headed by Sir Charles Tupper, aided by Hon. Hugh John MacDonald, who is prime minister of Manitoba. He is the son of the late Sir John A. MacDonald, who served for so long a time as the Conservative prime minister of Canada, and who was the father of the protective policy. Canada has, of late, seen better times than usual, and there seems to have been far less drifting—both of French-Canadians and also of young and ambitious English-speaking Canadians—across the line into the United States. Manufactures and agriculture have prospered more than ever before; transportation interests and systems both by land and by water have greatly improved; the prestige of Canada in London was never so high; relations with the United States, in spite of various open questions yet to be adjusted, are not disagreeable; and to the onlooker there would not



By courtesy of the New York Tribune.

SOME LEADING STATESMEN OF CANADA.

seem to be any sufficiently clear reasons brought forward by the opposition why the Conservatives should now be restored to power.

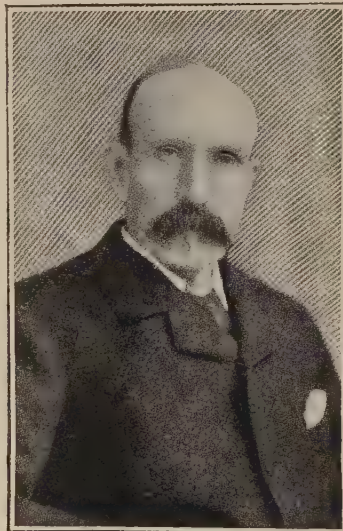
Campaign
Issues
in Canada.

The best reason against such restoration of the Conservatives would seem to lie in the needless emphasis it would give to the race and nationality question. Some of the Conservative newspapers have been guilty, in the present campaign, of exceedingly

rancorous and irritating attacks upon the French-Canadians, who are accused of being disloyal at heart, and ready at the first favorable moment to oppose everything English. There is no means so likely to sow the seeds of disloyalty in the French-Canadian mind as these British jingo accusations; and nothing could be so well calculated to promote harmony as the indorsement at the polls of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his administration. The settlement of the Manitoba school question will naturally hurt the Laurierites in that province; and the Conservatives profess to have reasons for hoping to carry British Columbia. They expect, also, to make gains elsewhere; but a fair estimate would seem to be that the Laurierites will carry the day, though by a reduced majority. The Conservatives were disposed to advocate the policy of securing preferential arrangements in England for the admission of Canadian food products, in return for the arrangement now existing in the Canadian tariff by which British manufacturers have a 33½ per cent. preference over American manufacturers. But the Canadian Liberals have shown the uselessness of any such demand: first, because England certainly would not grant it; and, second, because if it were granted the British manufacturers would demand the freedom of the Canadian market—a proposition that would be instantly antagonized by the growing manufacturing interests of Canada. For some years there has been a disposition on the part of the Canadian Government to foster and promote cold-storage facilities on land and water for the development of the export trade in Canadian food products. Sir Charles Tupper has now made it a part of the Conservative programme to promise a great enlargement of cold-storage facilities; whether as a direct government undertaking or by aid to private enterprise is left rather uncertain. What is desired is very greatly to increase the export of Canadian butter, eggs, fresh meats, and other food supplies to the English market, which now draws principally upon the United States, New Zealand, France, Denmark, and other countries. Such a policy, however, is one that the Liberal government is in just as good a position to carry out as the Conservative opposition.

Newfoundland's Remarkable Contest. Newfoundland, which, though a British colony, is wholly independent of Canada, is also in the throes of a political campaign that is regarded by all Newfoundlanders as of vital interest and importance. The election will be held on November 8, one day after the Canadian election, and two days after our own. There is much in this New-

foundland situation that is dramatic and picturesque. The present prime minister is Hon. Robert Bond, and his most influential supporter is Hon. Edward P. Morris, Q.C. For a number of years Mr. Bond has been known as the advocate of closecommercial relations between Newfoundland and the United States. When Mr. Blaine was secretary of state, he and Mr. Bond, in 1890, negotiated the so-called Bond-Blaine commercial convention, which was in the general line of Mr. Blaine's reciprocity policy, and which seemed to offer many points of mutual advantage.



R. G. REID, ESQ.

(Known as the "Czar of Newfoundland.")

The Canadian Conservative government of that day, however, disliked the idea of closer relations between Newfoundland and the United States, and persuaded the British Colonial Office to refuse to allow the treaty to go into force. The people of Newfoundland have looked on at the advantageous commercial arrangements negotiated between British West Indian islands and the United States, and they see no reason why Canadian jealousy should be allowed to interfere with their exercising the same privilege of trading on favorable terms with their best natural market. Mr. Bond still stands for the policy of close relations with the United States, and he believes that the British Government could not now very well refuse its assent if an arrangement similar to that of 1890 were again negotiated. This, however, does not form the pressing issue in the pending Newfoundland campaign. The matter that has agitated the Newfoundlanders for several years past has been the monopoly conferred upon Mr. R. G. Reid. Mr. Bond and the Liberals are not friendly to this monopoly; while the Conservatives, under the leadership of Mr. Morine—who, by the way, is Mr. Reid's principal legal counsel—are as heartily for the Reid monopoly as the English Tories are for the landed gentry, the House of Lords, and vested interests in general.

*Mr. Reid
and His
Monopoly.*

Mr. Reid was a Scotch boy who made money in Australia and subsequently turned up in Canada as one of the contractors who grew rich out of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Some seven years ago he obtained from Newfoundland a contract by which he was to construct, for the government, a railroad almost 600 miles long across the entire island from west to east. He was to receive the sum of \$15,000 a mile for grading the road and laying down the rails. Before the road was completed, however, the Newfoundland government had entered upon a period of extreme financial difficulty, and the railroad was an elephant on its hands. Mr. Reid came forward with a proposition to furnish the rolling-stock and full equipment for the road, and then to operate it for a period of years, in consideration of his receiving an immense land grant, plus a yearly mail subsidy of \$60,000. The government's difficulties increased, and it could not pay the cash subsidy. Thereupon Mr. Reid offered to release it from the obligation to pay the money, on condition of its giving him the railroad at the end of a term of years, and immediately adding to the extent of his already vast land grant, besides giving him a complete monopoly of the right to build and operate railroads anywhere in Newfoundland, and also the telegraph monopoly. Mr. Reid's great land grants include mineral rights, and he is presumably the largest landholder in the world. In association with his sons, he has opened mines, operates coastwise steamships in connection with his railroad, owns and operates the trolley lines in the capital town, has established paper-pulp mills to work up the forest resources tapped by his railroad, and seems to have turned the island of Newfoundland into something like one immense private estate. There seems no opportunity to break down the contracts under which Mr. Reid has given so little and obtained so much. Newfoundland sold its birthright for a mess of pottage. It gave away the rights and the untold wealth of future generations to tide over a small, temporary financial stringency. The British Government did an exceedingly bad piece of business when it ratified this contract. The worst of it all is that, if the British Government had not been false to the true interests of Newfoundland by vetoing the Bond-Blaine commercial treaty, the island would have had prosperity, and a revenue ample enough to have saved itself from the plight under stress of which it sold itself into perpetual servitude to the monopoly. Besides owning pretty much all the prospective wealth of the island, it appears that Mr. Reid owns the Conservative party. It is reported that, as a

general campaign object-lesson, he has closed his mills and stopped various developing enterprises, in order to teach the voters their dependence upon him for the means of earning their daily bread.

*Settlement
of the
Coal Strike.*

The anthracite-coal strike, which began on September 17, was practically ended on October 17 by the announcement of the great coal companies connected with the Philadelphia & Reading and Lehigh Valley railroads that they had decided to concede the demands of the strikers. It was morally certain that the coal operators throughout the anthracite district would follow the influential example of these two enormous factors in the situation. Public opinion was rather strongly inclined in favor of the striking miners from the very beginning, and this sentiment grew steadily throughout the strike. The miners had been ready and anxious at all times to submit the dispute to arbitration; and the reasons advanced by the mine-owners and operators for refusing to arbitrate had been anything but convincing to the impartial mind. Under the disguise of coal companies, the coal-carrying railroads are the real owners and operators of a great part of the anthracite mining district; and the miners on the one side, and the public that consumes fuel on the other, have been the victims of a combination of the roads, by virtue of which several times as much per ton was paid for carrying this anthracite coal as railroads in the bituminous districts received for carrying soft coal. A general advance in wages of 10 per cent. was conceded; and it was agreed that this should hold good at least until next April, and that the sliding-scale system of wages should be abolished. The other grievances of the miners, such as the overcharge to which they had been subjected for the powder they use in their work, and the extortions that in many of the mines, though not in all, are practised by the company stores with which the miners are compelled to trade, are left to be settled by further conference, on principles which may be expected to work out a decided improvement in conditions. It must not be supposed that we have any disposition to censure individual owners and operators of anthracite collieries, or individual railroad men prominent in the management of the coal-carrying lines. The situation, from their point of view, presented many serious difficulties, for which few of them were personally responsible. The miserable conditions that prevailed for a long time in the bituminous mining districts have been wonderfully transformed by the plan of an annual representative conference of all interests, in which wages and all questions affecting the relations of operators to miners are adjusted for the coming year.

A Fortunate Outcome.

The recent strike does not seem to have left much bitter feeling on either side; and the spirit in which concessions have been made by the operators will probably add to their future influence with the miners, and make it still easier to adjust questions that may subsequently arise. The operators, though not wishing to deal directly with President Mitchell, of the United Mine-Workers, had quite generally posted notices of a 10-per-cent. advance in wages. These notices were posted on October 5, and were conditional upon the miners' returning to work almost at once. The miners, on their part, had arranged for a representative convention to be held at Scranton, Pa., on October 12, and it was agreed that none of them would accept the 10-per-cent. advance or go back to work until the whole subject had been carefully considered at the convention. Mr. Mitchell won great praise by the excellent spirit and judicious tone of his remarks to the miners at the opening of this convention, and the delegates themselves were conservative and exemplary in their conduct. Their demand that the 10-per-cent. rise should be guaranteed for a definite period of at least six months was obviously reasonable; and their determination to stand shoulder to shoulder throughout the anthracite region was also the prime requisite of any success whatever. It was, indeed, their evident firmness in standing together that won the concession of the added 10 per cent. Thus the final remark to be made about the anthracite-coal strike is, that it was justified by its success. Strikes are, as a rule, a hazardous and unfortunate recourse; and millions of people in the United States gave a sigh of relief when they read, on the morning of October 18, in the newspaper headlines that the operators had yielded, that the strikers had won, and that there was no prospect of further trouble in the Pennsylvania coal regions. Incidentally, it had been felt that the prolongation of the strike would lead to a kind of military interference that would hurt the Republican party and would help the Bryanites. The termination of the strike would appear to have no political bearing one way or the other.

The German Chancellorship.

There has been a change in the chancellorship of the German Empire. The retirement of Prince Hohenlohe was announced at Berlin on October 17. He had been in ill health since the death of his wife a year or more ago; and he is, moreover, well past eighty years of age. He had succeeded to the imperial chancellorship on the resignation of Count Caprivi in October, 1894. For twenty years previous he had rendered tactful and valuable service to Germany, first



CHANCELLOR VON BÜLOW, OF GERMANY.

as ambassador at Paris, and then as governor of Alsace-Lorraine. As chancellor he has been esteemed and respected, but has not shown himself "a man of iron." The Emperor himself has, in fact, been his own chancellor. It was natural and proper that Count von Bülow should be immediately named as Prince Hohenlohe's successor. Bernhard von Bülow was born in 1849, and is, therefore, fifty-one years old. When he entered the German foreign office in 1873, his own father was secretary of German foreign affairs under Chancellor Bismarck. The young Bülow was secretary of embassy at Rome, St. Petersburg, and Vienna; served in Athens at the time of the Russo-Turkish War, and was afterwards at St. Petersburg, Paris, Bucharest, and Rome. Bülow is a man of great influence and popularity in Germany, and has been a highly successful minister of foreign affairs. It is undoubtedly a part of his policy to cultivate good relations with the United States. The Emperor's Chinese policy has had the full and constant support of Bülow, although the aged Hohenlohe was said to be not in sympathy with adventures of that sort.

Progress of the Chinese Negotiations.

It was not to be expected that so momentous a business as the settlement of the Chinese trouble could be accomplished offhand. A good deal of deliberation and discussion was essential. The steadfast adherence of the United States to a just and reasonable policy has exercised what in the end

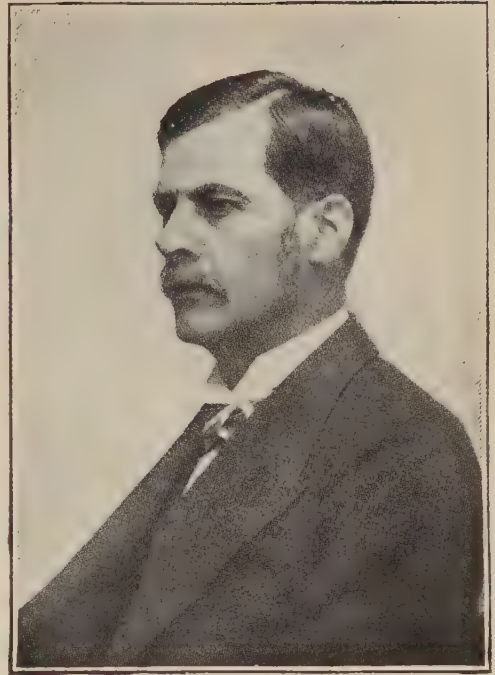
will be recognized as having been a determining influence. On October 20, official announcement was made of an agreement between Germany and England to maintain the territorial integrity of China and to keep open to the trade of all countries the Chinese ports on the sea-coast and principal rivers. An invitation to the other leading powers—including the United States and Japan—to accept these principles, was made a part of the agreement. England and Germany, while pledging themselves not to use the present complication to obtain any territorial advantages, reserved to themselves the right to take such steps for the protection of their own interests as they might subsequently find best in case any other power should start the game of grab. The English are now represented at Peking by Sir Ernest Satow, who has been transferred from Japan to succeed Sir Claude Macdonald. It is enough to say that the settlement of the Chinese question seemed last month to be making some progress in the right direction. We shall, in our next number, sum up the diplomatic aspects of the situation more fully.

*Marquis Ito
in Authority
Again.*

October opened in Japan with the resignation of the Yamagata ministry and the summoning of Japan's most famous statesman, the Marquis Ito, to form a new cabinet. The Marquis Ito has often been called the Bismarck of Japan. He is a soldier, statesman, and diplomat, familiar with the political institutions of all countries, and an especially devoted friend of the United States. He is not, on the other hand, an admirer of Russia. It was Ito who, as High Admiral of the Japanese Navy, crushed the Chinese warships in September, 1894, and who afterward negotiated the terms of peace with Li Hung Chang. It was Russia that deprived Japan of the advantages of that treaty, as Ito well remembers. He, more than any one else, was the author of the Japanese constitution. He is now prime minister for the third time. He would fight Russia, rather than permit that country to annex Northern China and Korea.



THE MARQUIS ITO.



SIR ERNEST SATOW, BRITISH AMBASSADOR AT PEKING.

*Norway's
Independent
Course.*

The Norwegian elections, held several weeks ago, resulted in practically no change of party strength in the Storting, or Parliament. Since the previous election of 1897, however, there had gone into effect a new suffrage law which extends the franchise to every male citizen twenty-five years old, and practically doubles the number of legal voters. The Radicals continue to hold twice as many seats in the Storting as their Conservative opponents. They show no disposition to moderate their feeling on the subject of their relations with Sweden, and King Oscar's task is growing more and more bewildering. It is no great matter that the Norwegians have determined to use a totally distinct flag; but the law they have passed for the establishment of a separate diplomatic and consular service will involve the Crown in peculiar difficulties. Envoys in foreign countries are regarded as representing the sovereign rather than the legislature; and if, as reported possible, King Oscar will give his consent to this law, his dual representation at the courts of other nations must have aspects at once ludicrous and embarrassing.

*Queen
Wilhelmina's
Engagement.*

It is announced that the young Queen of Holland is to be married in the early future to the man of her choice, who happens not to be of sufficient importance



THE PRINCE OF FLANDERS AND HIS BRIDE, THE PRINCESS ELIZABETH, OF BAVARIA.

among royalties and nobilities to make the engagement an affair of international politics. Her fiancé is Duke Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. Queen Wilhelmina was twenty years old on the last day of August, and it is said that the wedding will take place next spring. Mecklenburg-Schwerin is a little duchy on the northeast coast of Germany, and its ducal family is of very ancient lineage. Duke Henry is a lieutenant in the Prussian Guards, and is four years older than Queen Wilhelmina. This young sovereign has evidently modeled her career upon that of Queen Victoria—which is a mark, in her, of wisdom and character. Prince Henry will come to Holland as a naturalized Dutch subject.

*Marriage of
the Belgian
Heir-Appa-
rent.*

It should be noted that a royal neighbor of Queen Wilhelmina's—namely, Prince Albert of Flanders, heir-apparent to the throne of Belgium and twenty-five years old in April—was married a few weeks ago at Munich to the Princess Elizabeth of Bavaria, who is described as young, beautiful, and charming. Prince Albert is one of the most promising of the younger scions of European royalty, highly educated, and of broad views.

*Obituary
Notes.*

In the obituary list of the month, recorded on another page, will be found the name and portrait of William L. Wilson, president of Washington and Lee University at Lexington, Va. He was a



THE LATE GENERAL CAMPOS.

member of President Cleveland's last cabinet, and before that time a distinguished member of Congress from West Virginia. He had been ill for many months. He was justly held in the highest esteem. The

Hon. Samuel F. Carey, of Ohio, died several weeks ago at a great age. He ran on the Greenback ticket with Peter Cooper. Gen. Martinez Campos—Spain's best-known soldier and public man—has passed away at the age of sixty-six.



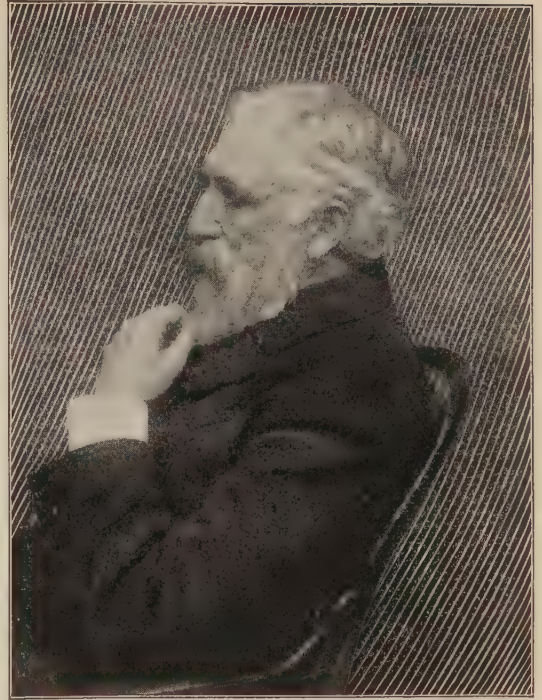
VIEW OF THE QUARTERS, IN THE ISLAND OF ST. HELENA, WHERE THE BRITISH HOLD MANY BOER PRISONERS OF WAR.

*Death of
Charles Dudley
Warner.*

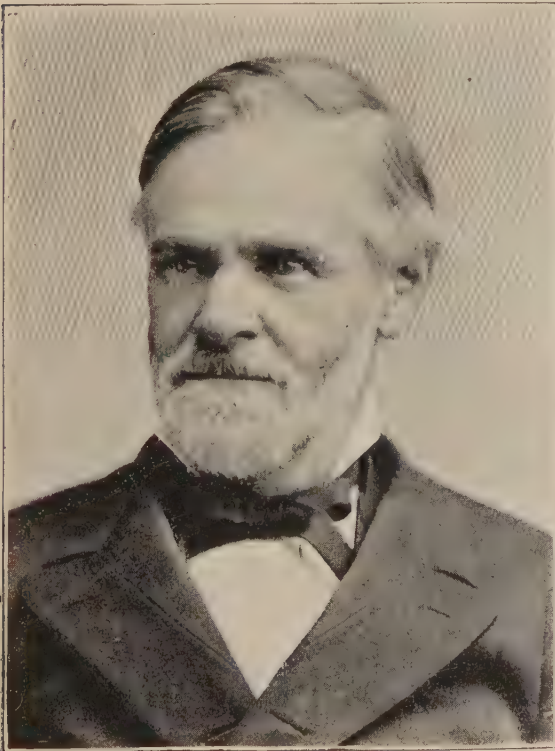
Later in the month came the news of the death of two Americans of international reputation. Mr. Charles Dudley Warner, man of letters, publicist, and journalist, died at Hartford, Conn., on October 20. He was born in September, 1829, and was therefore 71 years old. He graduated at Hamilton College in 1851, having made the beginnings of his reputation as a writer even while an undergraduate. After two or three years of writing, Western travel, and editing, he studied law at Philadelphia, and practised that profession in Chicago. In 1860 he became an assistant editor, in Hartford, under Joseph R. Hawley. Mr. Hawley went into the war, as every one knows, and Mr. Warner became editor-in-chief of the paper. His connection with Hartford journalism was never wholly severed, although his attention in later years had to do with the literary rather than the political side of editorial work. As an essayist and a writer of books on travel, he attained a high rank among the foremost men of letters this country has produced.

*Death of
John Sherman.*

John Sherman, who was the most eminent of surviving American statesmen, died at Washington, October 22, in consequence of a general decline of physi-



MR. CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER.



JOHN SHERMAN.

cal and nervous force. Mr. Sherman was born in Ohio in May, 1823, and was therefore in his seventy-eighth year. After a varied practical experience in early life, he had in 1840 entered his brother's law office, and on May 11, 1844, having completed his twenty-first year, he was promptly admitted to the bar and taken into partnership. He plunged at once into politics, that being the year of Henry Clay's great campaign against James K. Polk; and thus, it will be seen, his active political career covered more than half a century. He was elected to Congress in 1854. By the end of his second term, he was the most influential man in Congress, and in his third term was chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. He would have been Speaker in his fourth term, but the retirement of Chase from the Senate to enter Lincoln's Cabinet made a vacant seat in the upper branch, to which Mr. Sherman was at once promoted. In 1877 he entered Mr. Hayes' Cabinet as Secretary of the Treasury. His foremost part in the resumption of specie payments, and his distinguished services as a public financier, will give him his best title to a permanent place in the history of American statesmanship. He left the Senate to become Secretary of State in Mr. McKinley's Cabinet in 1897, but retired a year later on account of ill health.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From September 21 to October 20, 1900.)



SENATOR-ELECT WILLIAM P.
DILLINGHAM.
(Of Vermont.)



SENATOR JONATHAN P.
DOLLIVER.
(Of Iowa.)

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

September 21.—The Clark Democrats and the Populists of Montana agree on a fusion ticket, with J. K. Toole (Dem.) for governor.... Benjamin B. Odell, Jr., Republican candidate for governor of New York, pledges himself to oppose the Ramapo water-supply scheme.... Connecticut Democrats nominate E. L. Bronson for governor.

September 24.—Hawaiian Republicans and Democrats hold conventions and nominate native candidates for the office of Territorial Delegate to Washington.

September 26.—Governor Roosevelt speaks on the issues of the Presidential election in Colorado; Bryan partisans cause some disorder in Victor, a mining settlement.

September 27.—Adlai E. Stevenson accepts, by letter, the Populist nomination for the Vice-Presidency.... Mr. Bryan starts from Lincoln, Neb., on his final campaign trip.

September 28.—The Addicks and anti-Addicks Republican factions in Delaware agree on a compromise State ticket.

September 29.—James Howard, convicted in Kentucky of the murder of William E. Goebel, is sentenced to be hanged on December 7.

September 30.—The Federal party of Porto Rico, in convention at Caguas, adopts resolutions affiliating itself with the Democratic party in the United States.

October 1.—Governor Roosevelt makes thirteen campaign speeches in Nebraska.... Mr. Bryan speaks at Duluth, St. Paul, and other Minnesota cities.

October 2.—The bolting, or Daly, Democrats of Montana indorse the regular Democratic nominations for Presidential electors, and nominate Thomas Hogan (Pop.) for governor.... Massachusetts Democrats nominate Robert Treat Paine, Jr., for governor.

October 3.—The new Vermont Legislature meets.... The National convention of Democratic clubs is opened at Indianapolis.... Gov. Allen D. Candler (Dem.) is re-

elected in Georgia by a plurality of about 65,000.... Negroes take entire control of the Republican organization in South Carolina.... The New York tax commissioners make public the value of special franchises as assessed under the new law.

October 4.—Massachusetts Republicans renominate Gov. W. Murray Crane.... Gov. W. W. Stickney is inaugurated in Vermont.... Messrs. Bryan and Stevenson address the Indianapolis convention of Democratic clubs.

October 7.—A street fight between Federals and Republicans in Guayama, Porto Rico, results in the death of four persons, one of them a woman.

October 8.—The United States Supreme Court opens its fall term.

October 9.—Both houses of the Kentucky Legislature agree to the bill substituting the old election law in force when the Goebel law was enacted.... Trial by jury is inaugurated in Cuba under the auspices of the United States military authorities.

October 13.—The first two days of registration of voters in New York City and State show heavy gains, as compared with the records of the corresponding days in 1896.

October 16.—Mr. Bryan addresses four great mass-meetings in New York City.



SECRETARY ROOT AND ADJUTANT-GENERAL CORBIN.

October 17.—Mr. Bryan begins his campaign tour of New York State.

October 18.—The Vermont Legislature elects Ex-Gov. William P. Dillingham (Rep.) to the United States Senate.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

September 21.—Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman and Sir William Vernon Harcourt issue British election addresses.... The "French Labor Party's" Congress opens in Paris.... The Cape Colony House of Assembly passes the treason bill by a vote of 46 to 37.

September 22.—The French Government banquets 22,000 mayors of cities and communes in the Tuileries Garden, Paris.

September 24.—Lord Salisbury issues his address to the British electorate.

September 25.—Writs are issued by the British Government summoning a new House of Commons.

September 29.—Lord Roberts is gazetted commander-in-chief of the British Army, to succeed Viscount Wolseley.... Mr. Chamberlain and 59 Unionist members, 5 Liberals, and 2 Irish Nationalists are returned unopposed to the British Parliament.... Alderman Frank Green is elected Lord Mayor of London.

September 30.—On the resignation of the Japanese Cabinet, the Mikado summons Marquis Ito to form a new government.

October 1.—Of 132 members of the British Parliament, the Conservatives elect 93, the Unionists 8, the Liberals 13, and the Nationalists 8; the Conservatives gain 2 seats.

October 2.—Arthur Balfour and John Burns are reelected to the British Parliament by increased majorities.... The Peruvian Cabinet resigns office.

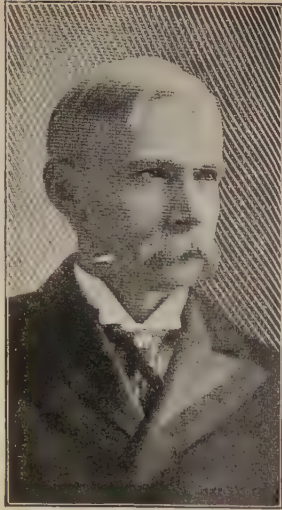
October 3.—The Peruvian Congress passes a vote of censure against the late cabinet; a new cabinet is formed.

October 8.—The Dominican Government decrees the suspension of constitutional guarantees.

October 12.—The Chilean Cabinet resigns office, and the President convenes Congress for a special session, beginning October 14.

October 13.—The Cape Parliament is prorogued.

October 16.—It is announced that Sir Richard Webster (Lord Alverstone) has been appointed Lord Chief Justice of England.... The British Parliamentary elections are complete, with the exception of those in the Orkney Islands; the representation of the United Kingdom will probably be: 334 Conservatives, 67 Liberal-Unionists, 187 Liberals and Labor men, and 82 Irish Nationalists; the government's majority being 132.



THE LATE WILLIAM L. WILSON.
(President of Washington and Lee University.)

October 17.—Count von Bülow succeeds Prince Hohenlohe as German Chancellor.

October 18.—The new British Parliament is prorogued till December.

THE CRISIS IN CHINA.

September 21.—The United States commissioner arrives at Peking.... The British countermand the order for winter clothing for the troops.... Count von Waldersee arrives at Shanghai.

September 23.—The United States declines to identify herself with Count von Bülow's circular note; Li Hung Chang and Prince Ching are accepted as plenipotentiaries; Mr. Conger is authorized to enter into relations with them. The reply to Russia is that the United States has not at present the intention of removing its legation from Peking.

September 24.—The German minister (with a squadron) leaves Shanghai for the North.... Li Hung Chang leaves Tientsin for Peking, escorted by Russian and Japanese troops.

September 25.—Russia and Japan reply to the German circular note.

September 26.—The United States decides to change the status of the American forces before the arrival of Count von Waldersee.

September 27.—A Shanghai telegram states that rinderpest has broken out among the cattle purchased for the German commissariat.... Count von Waldersee arrives at Tientsin.

September 29.—The Russian minister, M. de Giers, and all the members of the Russian Legation, leave Peking for Tientsin; Russia leaves 1,300 troops in Peking.... A decree is promulgated by the Emperor and Empress of China which degrades Prince Tuan and four other princes who encouraged the Boxer movement.

October 1.—Official announcement is made of the appointment of a Chinese commission to make terms of peace with the powers.



Princess Victoria of York. Prince Edward of York.
Prince Albert of York. Prince Henry of York.

QUEEN VICTORIA AND HER GREAT-GRANDCHILDREN.

October 3.—The withdrawal of the United States troops from Peking is begun.... Germany makes a modified proposition regarding the punishment of the Boxer leaders.

October 6.—The withdrawal of the Japanese troops from China is begun.

October 9.—In reply to the demands of Germany, the Chinese Government promises that three of the mandarins guilty of fomenting the Boxer movement will be beheaded, that three will be sentenced to life imprisonment, and that Prince Tuan will be banished to the Siberian border and degraded.

October 17.—The allied forces enter Pao-Ting-Fu, meeting with no opposition.

October 18.—A message from the Emperor of China to President McKinley, and the President's reply, are made public.

October 20.—The terms of an Anglo-German agreement in regard to China are made public.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

September 21.—Extraordinary rainfall is reported from northern India; half of the city of Calcutta is submerged.... Heavy rains in Texas flood the river-beds and cause loss of life and property.

September 23.—Conference committees of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers and of the manufacturers sign a wage-scale to be effective till July, 1901; employment will be given to 60,000 men who have been idle since June last.... The International Socialist Congress opens in Paris.... One hundred cases of yellow fever are reported under treatment at Havana, Cuba.... Three thousand Boers surrender to the Portuguese, having previously destroyed all their cannon; the British occupy Komatipoort.

September 24.—The attempt to resume work in some of the anthracite coal-mines of Pennsylvania results in failure; more miners join the strikers.

September 28.—A conference of the superintendents of the great anthracite coal companies is held at Wilkesbarre, Pa.

September 29.—Forty-five lives are lost in a collision of a Japanese steamer with a Norwegian steamer off the coast of Japan; the Norwegian steamer is sunk.



MR. JOHN MARKLE.

(Member of the firm of anthracite coal operators prominent in the great strike.)

September 30.—British troops capture and burn several Ashantee villages in West Africa; 70 of the natives are killed.... The International Peace Congress opens in Paris.

October 2.—The corner-stone of a new bridge over the St. Lawrence River is laid at Quebec.

October 5.—The principal anthracite coal operators decide to offer a net increase of 10 per cent. in wages, and to reduce the price of powder.

October 6.—Two thousand striking miners compel the closing of the collieries at Lattimer, Pa.

October 9.—The United States Army Board of Ordnance and Fortifications recommends to the Secretary of War that no more disappearing-gun carriages be made.

October 10.—The north half of the Colville Indian reservation is opened to settlement, and is entered by 4,000 home-seekers.... The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions meets at St. Louis.

October 12.—Announcement is made of the appointment by President McKinley of Judge George Gray, of Delaware, as a member of the permanent arbitration tribunal to be established under the Hague Treaty.

October 13.—The anthracite coal-miners in convention at Scranton, Pa., vote to accept the 10-per-cent. increase of wages offered by the operators, provided the advance be continued in force till April 1, 1901, and the sliding scale be abolished; arbitration is proposed as an alternative, if terms are unacceptable.

October 14.—The business section of Port Limon, Costa Rica, is destroyed by fire.

October 16.—The betrothal of Queen Wilhelmina of Holland to Duke Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin is announced.

October 17.—Count Zeppelin makes successful tests of his airship at Friedrichshafen, in Würtemberg.... The New York Yacht Club accepts Sir Thomas Lipton's challenge to races for the *America's* cup, to be sailed in August.

OBITUARY.

September 21.—Dr. Lewis Albert Sayre, an eminent physician and surgeon of New York City, 80.

September 23.—Marshal Arsenio Martinez Campos, Spanish soldier and statesman, 66.... Charles C. Burr, a Boston philanthropist, 84.... George D'Vys, last surviving member of the Kane relief expedition of 1855, 68.

September 24.—Dr. Alfred Stillé, a distinguished Philadelphia physician, 87.... Justice Thomas N. Haskell, of the Maine Supreme Court, 57.



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SEÑOR SIXTO LOPEZ.

(The Filipino now visiting the United States.)



DR. RUSH RHEES.
(Rochester University.)



MISS MARY E. WOOLLEY.
(Mt. Holyoke College.)



DR. HENRY S. PRITCHETT.
(Massachusetts Institute of Technology.)

THREE NEWLY ELECTED COLLEGE PRESIDENTS.

September 25.—Ex-United States Senator John M. Palmer, of Illinois, 83....Miss Elizabeth Van Lew, who, during the Civil War, furnished the Union forces with valuable information against the Confederates, 84....Hon. Felix Gabriel Marchand, Premier of Quebec, 68.

September 26.—Ex-Justice James C. Smith, of the New York Supreme Court, 84....Ex-Gov. George F. Drew, of Florida, 73.

September 27.—Thomas H. Lane, poet and author, an early associate of Edgar Allan Poe, 85.

September 29.—Thomas Gaskell Shearman, the well-known New York lawyer and writer, 66.

September 30. — Ex-Congressman Samuel Fenton Carey, of Ohio, 87.

October 1.—John E. Hudson, president of the American Bell Telephone Company, 61.

October 3.—Gen. Olney Arnold, a well-known citizen of Rhode Island, 78.

October 6.—Judge John Olney, the oldest member of the Chicago bar, and the last Illinois elector of President Lincoln, 79.

October 8.—George Roberts Blanchard, formerly commissioner of the Joint-Traffic Association, 59.

October 9.—John Patrick Crichton-Stuart, the third Marquis of Bute, 53....Maj. Selden Noyes Clark, a well-known Washington correspondent, 56.

October 11.—Ex-Mayor Walter C. Flower, of New Orleans, 50.

October 13.—Ex-Congressman Jay Abel Hubbell, of Michigan, 71.

October 16.—Sir Henry Wentworth Dyke Acland Radcliffe, librarian at Oxford University, 85....Zdenko Fibich, the Bohemian composer, 50.

October 17.—Ex-Postmaster-General William L. Wilson, president of Washington and Lee University, 57....James Parsons Major, the oldest steel engraver in America, 83.

October 18.—Gen. John W. Fisher, a veteran of Gettysburg, 86....Ex-Congressman John Little, of Ohio, 63.

October 19.—Sir Roderick William Cameron, the Canadian steamship-owner, 75.

October 20.—Charles Dudley Warner, the distinguished author and editor. 71.



Photo by Rockwood, New York.

DR. LEWIS A. SAYRE.
(Of New York.)



Photo by Gutekunst Philadelphia.

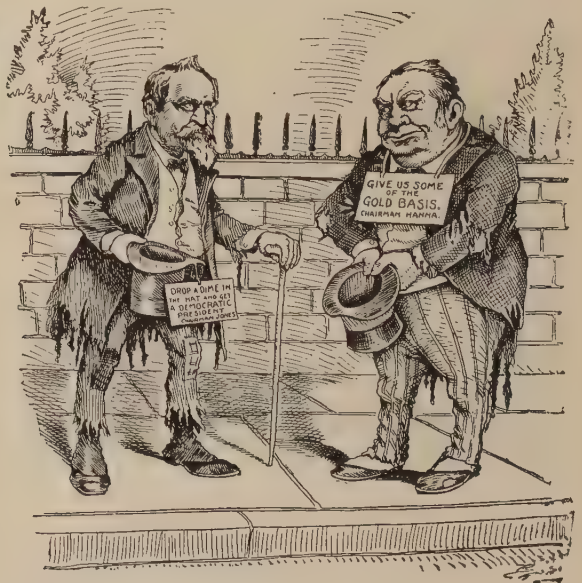
DR. ALFRED STILLÉ.
(Of Philadelphia.)

TWO DISTINGUISHED AMERICAN PHYSICIANS, RECENTLY DECEASED.

SOME CARTOONS, CHIEFLY OF THE CAMPAIGN.



"I GUESS I'M IT."—From the *Evening News* (Detroit).



THE ABSENT-MINDED BEGGARS.

JONES: "Say, Mark, I don't see any signs of your prosperity."

MARK: "You don't? Well, have you seen any free silver?"—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



TAKE YOUR CHOICE OF THE TWO BILLS!
From *Judge* (New York).



DOES THIS LOOK LIKE APATHY?

REPUBLICAN EMBLEM: "Hurrah for a full ballot-box, a full dinner-pail, and continued prosperity!"

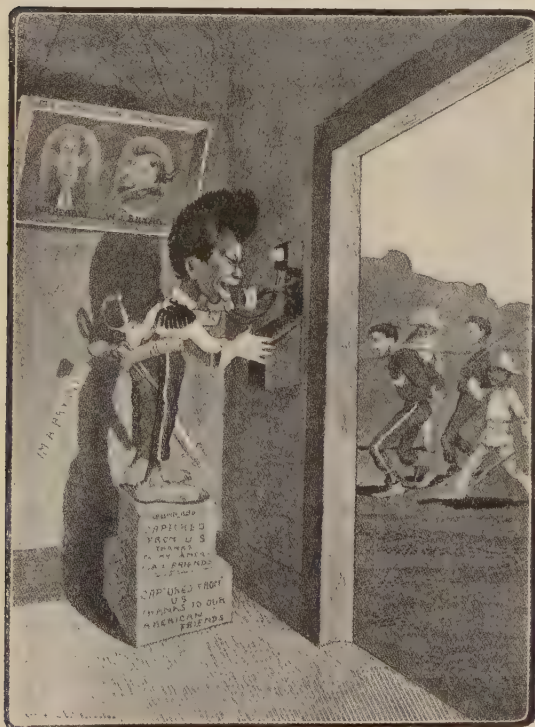
From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia).



SUMMING UP THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

UNCLE SAM: "Gentlemen, neither of you is quite big enough to have your defeat ruin the country."

From the *Wasp* (San Francisco).



TELEPHONE TO MANILA.

AGUINALDO (the fleet-footed): "Hello, Lincoln, Nebraska! Yes, Bill, I'm keeping the game going all right at this end of the line. Whoop it up, old boy, and we'll make a dish-rag of the American flag on these islands after November."

From the *Wasp* (San Francisco).



ASTROLOGER: "You will be defeated once more."

BRYAN: "And after then?"

ASTROLOGER: "Then you will get used to it."

From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.).



THE "ROUGH" IDEA IN POLITICS.

TEDDY: "Ah! just what was needed to carry out the effect."—From the *Evening News* (Detroit).



THE PROGRESS OF THE CAMPAIGN—IN THE WEST.
From the *Times* (Washington).



APPROACHING NEBRASKA.

BRYAN: "That looks like a bad storm coming."
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



WIDE-OPEN NEW YORK WELCOMES MR. BRYAN.

From *Harper's Weekly* (New York).



THE POLITICAL SHYLOCK.

"Beware, Bryan! Shylock will surely demand his pound of flesh."—From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



SLAVERY AS IT IS PRACTISED TO-DAY.

From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

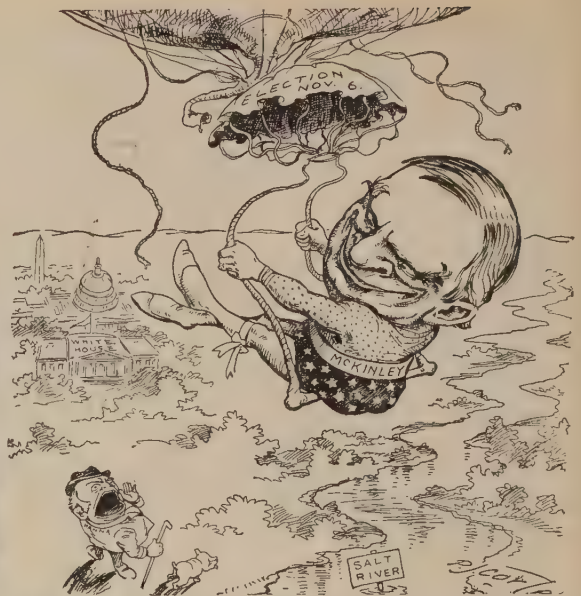


THE OHIO MAN'S BURDEN.—From the *Times* (Washington).

MR. W. B. STEWART has returned to Washington, where his cartoon attacks on Republican leaders and policies several years ago were frequently reproduced in this magazine; and his work last month was so striking that, with his coöperation, we have reproduced four or five of his drawings in this number. His work and that of many other cartoonists represented in our pages this month make some points that



THE DREAM OF EMPIRE.—From the *Times* (Washington).



MARK (on the ground): "Be careful, Bill! I ain't sure yet where you're going to light."

From the *Times* (Minneapolis).

need no explanation to those even slightly acquainted with the issues of the campaign and the leading personalities in our current politics. The Democratic cartoonists have made a great deal out of Mr. Hanna's



WILLIAM MCKINLEY.—From the *Journal* (New York).



BASE INGRATITUDE.

HANNA (to the Coal Baron): "I hate to do it, old man, but I have to."—From the *Evening News* (Detroit).

statement that there are no trusts; and a number of them, as in the cartoon at the top of this page, have attributed the settlement of the coal strike in Pennsylvania to Mr. Hanna's sense of political exigencies. There have been literally hundreds of cartoons, some of them very amusing, on Roosevelt's cyclonic tour of the West,

while Mr. Croker figures in cartoons without number. McKinley, Roosevelt, Bryan, Croker, and Hanna are the personalities with whom the cartoonists have dealt most freely and unsparingly.



NEEDLESS ALARM.

HANNA: "Trusts in America? Dear me! I never heard of them! Those chaps on the porch? Oh, they are merely industrial combinations."—From the *Journal* (New York).



HANNA'S DREADFUL INFIRMITY.
From the *Chronicle* (Chicago).



ISN'T THIS CALLING UPON MR. BRYAN TO TOTE A PRETTY BIG LOAD?

Former Governor Stone returned from the East with the news that Croker is thoroughly in earnest and confident that Bryan will carry New York.—Political Item.

From the *Times-Herald* (Chicago).



JOHN BULL TO THE RESCUE.

"There is little reason to believe the majority of the American people desire to overthrow the administration which has brought them renown abroad, affluence at home; which has flattered American pride and filled American pockets. Still less does the intelligent majority desire to put in its place an administration which, at best, would forfeit the foothold which America has won in the far Pacific, break up the foundations of domestic order, shatter American credit and make a political adventurer President. Neither surrender nor repudiation has proved a good campaign cry. Bryan is for both, and for something very like anarchy, as well."—*London Times*, Oct. 6.

From the *Times* (Washington).



"HOW CAN HE GET THERE?"—From the *Star* (St. Louis).

HOW THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE WORKS FOR VOTES.

“LET the other fellows have the fiddles and the barbecues! Our argument exists *per se* at the bench, in the workshop, at the desk, in the counting-room, at the chair by the fireside. Let them do the shouting; we will do the showing. They may have the hysterics; we have the conditions. ‘Let well enough alone’ is a mighty good saying, if it *is* well enough, as it is now for a good many more than a majority of the voters of these United States. We need not wave the flag. If they force it—the people of our country are patriotic. We need not win any gory victories on the stump, nor storm any Spanish armies from wagon-ends. The war is over,

untried and likely to be found wanting,—in short, to the sanity of the nation.”

It was some weeks before the renomination of President McKinley that Senator M. A. Hanna made this little speech in the course of a discussion with four or five men high in the councils of the Republican party. That the choice of the voters in November must lie between William McKinley on the one side and William J. Bryan on the other, was of course as certain as anything in mundane futurity. It is, nevertheless, worthy of notice to what an almost exclusive extent these remarks of the chairman of the National Committee, made over half a year before the election, have formed the keynote of the Republican campaign. Quite apart from any question of “bossism,” Senator Hanna has the confidence of the Republican leaders. He has shown, over and over again, his almost intuitive grasp of the popular feeling. He combines this faculty for taking a correct view of the general situation with an attention to detail and capacity for unlimited work that cause political leaders of thirty or forty years’ standing to defer to him, and to make him in fact, as well as in name, the head and director of the Republican campaign of 1900.

In considering the campaign particularly, it must not be forgotten that it did not grow up like a gourd in the night, but that it has been in progress steadily during the term of the administration—not merely in the general way of the administration making a record by which it should be judged, but literally. The Congressional Committee, with a member from each State, is constantly distributing campaign literature. While this is intended more particularly for Congressional purposes, it serves to keep the voters in touch with the issues; and much of the matter prepared during the four years by the Congressional Committee is used again in the Presidential campaign.

Senator Hanna, having succeeded himself as chairman of the Republican National Committee, which is the post of Commander-in-chief of the Army of Campaign, took time in selecting his staff, the Executive Committee. It was not until after earnest consultation with the President, Governor Roosevelt, and other leaders of the party that the composition of the Campaign Committee, as the Executive Committee of the National Committee is popularly called, was an-



SENATOR MARCUS A. HANNA.

(Chairman of the Republican National Committee.)

and over with the utmost credit to the Republican administration. The people know that, and we need not weary them by dwelling upon it. Our appeal, and it need not be an appeal—still less a defense—is to sober common-sense as against visions; to what is, and is satisfactory, as against what may be and may be disastrous; to present prosperity, as against probable panic; to what has been tried and found true, as against what is

nounced. It is considered, and is, in fact, as strong a fighting body as the party ever had to wage its battles—consisting of Henry C. Payne, of Wisconsin; Richard C. Kerens, of Missouri; Graeme Stewart, of Illinois; Harry S. New, of Indiana; Joseph H. Manley, of Maine; Nathan B. Scott, of West Virginia; Fred S. Gibbs, of New York; and Franklin Murphy, of New Jersey, with Perry S. Heath, of Indiana, secretary, and Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York, treasurer. These are names to conjure with. Every one of these men is thoroughly skilled in the art of political warfare; and, if William McKinley is defeated by William J. Bryan, it will not be because of lack of earnest, unrelenting, intelligent work on the part of the Republican campaign managers.

The appointment of Mr. Heath as secretary was inevitable. He resigned the responsible and honorable post of first assistant postmaster-general to take his old place, where he is a tower of strength. No man in the country is more familiar with the details of actual campaign work than Mr. Heath, and much of the more important campaign literature comes direct from his pen. It was decided again to divide the national headquarters into two branches—one in New York and one in Chicago. While the New York headquarters keep up the dignity of the metropolis and the East generally, it is no secret that the party leaders regard Chicago as the base of the more important work.

Until 1896, the National Headquarters were always in New York, and always in a brownstone front, private house on Fifth Avenue. This year the more important Chicago headquarters of both parties are in a big office-building, and in New York the Republican National Committee carries on its work in the Metropolitan Life Building, at No. 1 Madison Avenue. A visit to the offices of the National Committee in October gives an impression akin to that made by the

executive establishment of a great railroad or a great manufactory.

The enormous task of preparing campaign literature, the routine work of the fight, went on steadily from early summer. Tens of thousands of pamphlets, leaflets, and documents of varying sizes were compiled, setting forth figures and arguments on the issues as they had shaped themselves, and as they were outlined and defined in the platforms of the Republican and Democratic conventions. The *pièce de résistance* of this matter, "The Republican Campaign Text-Book," was ready for distribution in August. This is a compendium of invaluable information, compiled with great care and enormous labor, and intended primarily for the use of the thousands of men who were to do duty as orators in the Republican cause. A general outline of its contents will give some idea of the relative importance attached to issues by the leaders. The book leads off with an exposition of "Prosperity Under Republican Principles," regarding business interests, manufacturers, farmers, and working-men. The Spanish War is reviewed historically; ten pages are devoted to the situation regarding Cuba and Porto Rico, forty to the Philippines, two to Hawaii, one to the Samoan Islands; fourteen come under the head "Imperialism," twenty under "The Currency Question," and eight under "Trusts." The miscellaneous literature distributed broadcast is devoted mainly to these topics. It is not mailed directly from the Literature Bureau at headquarters, but shipped in bulk, by the carload often, to the chairmen of State and local committees, who attend to the individual distribution. In 1896, the cost of this branch of the work was something over \$700,000. This year it may get near the million-dollar mark.

The three distinct lines of effort used to make Republican votes are public speaking, the dissemination of documents,—leaflets, brochures, books, posters, badges, and buttons,—and the insertion of Republican editorials and news articles in the weekly and daily papers of the country. Most of the committee officials consider the last rather the most effective of the three kinds of propaganda, and the machinery for utilizing the papers is most elaborate and ingenious.

In Chicago, Mr. Charles R. Buckland is the head worker in this field, under Secretary Perry S. Heath. Mr. Buckland has seven assistants, two of whom read all current literature interested in political matters for good articles worth using for campaign services, while five write the matter to be inserted in the newspapers. There are three ways of getting these articles and editorials in the papers of the country: the country



MR. PERRY S. HEATH.
(Secretary of the Republican National Committee.)

weeklies receive "patent insides;" about 200 papers, many of them country dailies, get stereotyped matter, and to the more important papers proof-slips are mailed, to be set up at the editor's discretion. Practically all of the Republican papers use this matter, and some Independent organs. In fact, many of the country papers—2,000, it is estimated—have no other political news and discussion except what is sent out from Republican headquarters. The total result of this effort is enormous; nearly 4,000 papers publish the articles and editorials regularly. The articles are on the most varied subjects—"Troop Transports," "Rural Free Delivery," and "Sheep in Oregon;" but the net result of every one of them is an earnest exhortation to vote the Republican ticket. The ingenious journalists intrusted with the task of "education" do not disdain, either, devices like the "Dear Boy" letters, ostensibly containing a father's advice to his son, but cunningly leading on into resounding arguments for McKinley and Roosevelt. A majority of the papers among the faithful use an average of two columns per issue of this matter, and Editor Buckland and his colleagues have written now, at the end of the campaign, about 750 columns. Such a resourceful



Courtesy of *Leslie's Weekly*.

A MAMMOTH DINNER-PAIL AT THE HEAD OF A REPUBLICAN PROCESSION.

(This vessel, 14 feet high, led the working-men's parade at the opening of the national Republican campaign at Youngstown, Ohio.)

THE FOOLISH CALF

A LESSON TO LABOR



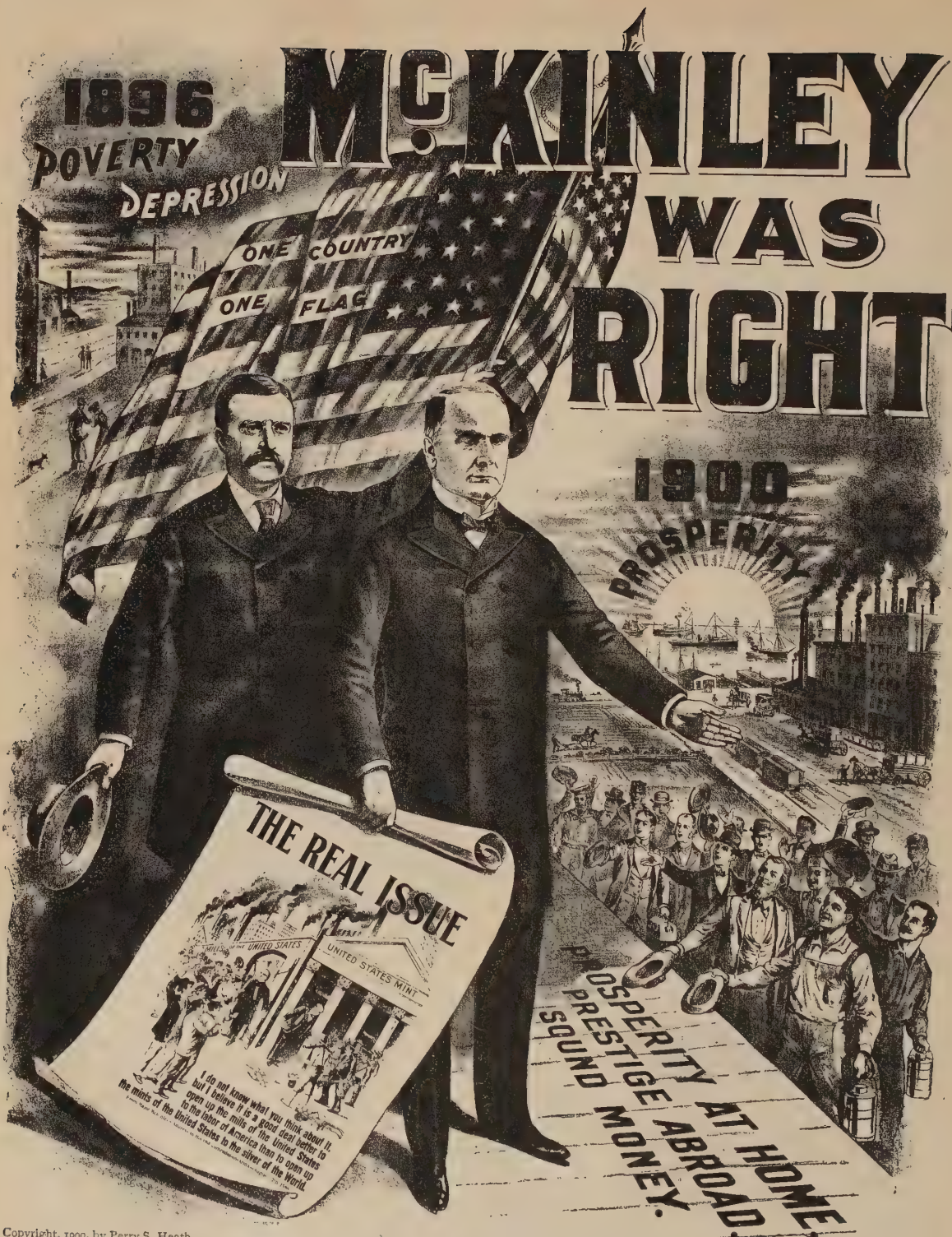
WHILE BEING DRIVEN HOME ONE EVENING BY A BOY, A FOOLISH CALF LEFT ITS MOTHER AND RAN AFTER A GELLOWING STEER. THE BOY TRIED IN VAIN TO BRING IT BACK TO ITS MOTHER'S SIDE, WHEN, FINALLY EXHAUSTED, HE SHOOK HIS FIST AT THE CALF AND CRIED: "YOU LITTLE FOOL, YOU LITTLE FOOL, YOU, YOU—FOOL, YOU'LL BE SORRY WHEN SUPPER TIME COMES."

MORAL—REMEMBER THE HARD TIMES OF 1896. DON'T BE A BRYAN CALF AND GET STEERED AWAY FROM THE FULL DINNER PAIL, OR "YOU'LL BE SORRY WHEN SUPPER TIME COMES."

A POSTER, 18 BY 26 INCHES, DISTRIBUTED THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES.

editor as Mr. Edward Rosewater, in charge of the national campaign in Nebraska, has been reprinting in his paper, the *Omaha Bee*, the actual news items of four years ago, showing the distress of the country four years ago. Beside these notices of foreclosure, statistics of starving men, and of applications at the soup-houses of Omaha, he prints the news of the present day, showing the railroads searching for men, offers of money at 4 per cent., current statistics of mortgage liquidation, and other features of prosperity.

So much for the utilization of the press. The pamphlet, leaflet, and poster work is even more enormous in dimensions and in cost. Over 70 different documents and eight posters have been put out,—80,000,000 copies of them,—at a cost of \$164,000. One of the illustrations of this article shows perhaps the most popular of the posters, "McKinley Was Right," of which 550,000 copies were printed and distributed. The Republicans have kept very honestly to their avowed purpose of using only dignified logic and discussion for persuading voters; but the campaign button, coming more under the "notion" classification, could not be wholly omitted, and 3,000,000 of these, of three different sorts, have been sent out.



Copyright, 1900, by Perry S. Heath

THE MOST POPULAR POSTER ISSUED BY THE REPUBLICANS.

(Mr. McKinley is shown holding in his hand a poster of the 1896 campaign, the burden of which is upheld by the events of the past four years.)

Original size, 48 by 34½ inches.

The 70 different documents range from mere leaflets to the remarkably comprehensive and intelligent Republican "Campaign Text-Book," which is a closely printed, well-bound volume, of 456 pages. On the next page is reproduced a typical sample of the folders. This "Ignorant Foreigners" document makes the most of Senator Jones' phrase and its offensive possibilities in twelve languages—English, German, Italian,

copies in English, 500,000 in German, 250,000 in Norwegian, 250,000 in Swedish, 100,000 in Bohemian, the same in Polish, and 50,000 in Italian and Dutch, respectively.

Sectional prejudices are being carefully considered in the general dissemination of literature. About three-fifths of all the literature is sent out from Chicago, about 18,000,000 pieces from Philadelphia, and a large part of that which goes to the Northwestern States is issued from Milwaukee and St. Paul. For special conditions of sentiment, such as exist in the Silver States of Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and Idaho, special arrangements are made. The regular campaign literature is edited by a well-informed gentleman in Denver, to adapt it to the tastes of the Mountain States, and is then distributed from Denver. So there is a special service for negroes and their papers, and the religious papers are supplied with sermons turning on political questions.

There is less use being made this year than in 1896 of special cartoons made for a political purpose by the committee's artists. Instead of this, the Republicans have gathered from the papers the striking cartoons making the points which help them most, have bound them in a book, and distributed it.

The third division of campaign effort is in public speaking—or, colloquially, "spellbinding." In this division of the campaign, Major Henry C. Hedges, of Ohio, manages the public speaking from the Chicago headquarters, with the assistance of Willis G. Emerson, of Wyoming. In New York, the department is under the general supervision of the Hon. Joseph H. Manley, of Maine, and Senator N. B. Scott, of West Virginia. Before the campaign, a complete list is made up of the available speakers in the country of the Republican way of thinking and those best suited for the purpose are selected. Many of them have salaries as well as expenses, while others receive only their expenses. They range in importance and dignity from the ordinary cart-tail "spellbinder" to great oratorical stars, like Governor Roosevelt, with their private cars and special trains. There are a great number of applicants for the work of political oratory; the qualifications of these are examined into by members of the committee, and sometimes they are unexpectedly called on for a sample speech to test their powers.

Over 600 regular committee orators are managed from the Chicago headquarters, and several hundred from the New York headquarters. These figures do not by any means suggest the total number of speakers, for there are hundreds of volunteers; and, when a "regular" orator holds forth at a particular town, prominent

Ο Λόγος τοῦ Προέδρου Μακ Κίνλεϊ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀποδοχῇ τῆς Ὑποζηφιότητος.

Ἡ Σημαία τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ πάλιν ἀνεπετάσθη ἰσχυροτέρα. Ἡ ἀτελείτῃτος ἀληθὺς ἐθραύσθη καὶ τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ ἐξερχομένου χρυσοῦ ἀνεκόπη. Ἡ πίστῳσις τῆς χώρας ἔχει φθάσει εἰς ὑψίστον σημεῖον μεταξὺ τῆν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν. Ἡ Νομοθεσία ἔχει ἀπόφασιν ἥτις ἐφαρμοζομένη ἀσφαλίζει ὁρισμένην ἀξίαν δι' ἕκαστον τάλληρον τὸ ὁποῖον εἶνε τὸ μᾶλλον γνωστὸν εἰς τὸν πολιτισμένον κόσμον. Δασμολόγων τὸ ὁποῖον προστατεύει τὴν Ἀμερικανικὴν ἐργασίαν καὶ βιομηχανίαν καὶ παρέχει ἀφθονὰ εἰσδδήματα ἔχει γραφῇ ὡς κοινὸς Νόμος. Ἐχομεν μικροτέρους τόκους καὶ ὑψηλότερα, ἡμερομίσθια, περισσότερον σχρῆμα καὶ ὀλιγοτέρας ὑποθήκας. Αἱ ἀγοραὶ τοῦ κόσμου ἤνθησαν εἰς τὰ Ἀμερικανικὰ προϊόντα, ἔχουν φθάσει ἐκεῖ ἔθνα πατέ δὲν ἤχουν φθάσει πρῶτον. Ἐνῷ εἰμθα εὐώται ἀμυλογιών, ἐγείνομεν πληρωταί; ἀπὸ ἔθνος δανειζόμενον ἐγείνομεν ἔθνος δανειστῶν, ἐνῷ εἰχομεν ἐλάματα εἰς τὰ οἰκονομικά μας, ἔχομεν ἤδη περισσεύματα, ὁ φόβος μετεβλήθη εἰς ἐμπειστοσύνην, καὶ ἡ ἀναγκαστικὴ ἀργία εἰς ἐπικερδὴ ἐργασίαν. Ἡ ἀπειλή τοῦ 16 πρὸς 1 κρέμαται ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν μὲ ὅλας τῆς φορικδοῖς συνεπείας εἰς τὴν πίστωσιν καὶ πεποιθῆσιν τῶν ἐργασιῶν καὶ τῆς βιομηχανίας.—Οἱ ἔχθροί τοῦ καλοῦ νομίσματος συνκεντρώνουν τὰς συντηρεμένας δυνάμεις των. Ὁ λαὸς πρέπει μίαν ἐσέτι φοράν νὰ ἐνοθῇ καὶ νικήσῃ τοῦς συνηγούρους τοῦ διμεταλισμοῦ, καὶ δὲν πρέπει νὰ παύσῃ τὰς ἐνεργίας τοῦ, μέχρις ὅτου θριαμένην καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῆς κοινῆς τιμῆς καὶ τοῦ στερεοῦ νομίσματος. Ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ συνελύθῃ τῶν ἔθνων ἐν χάγῃ ἐπιβεβαιώσαμεν καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸν κόσμον τὸ δόγμα τοῦ Μοιροῦ, τὰς πρὸς αὐτὸ ὑποχρεώσεις μας καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπόφασιν τοῦ νὰ μὴν συμπεδοχόμεν εἰς τὰς περιπολοῖας τῆς Εὐρώπης. Αἰσῶσις ἡλῆθῃ καὶ Ἑυρωπαϊκὴ συμμαχία ἐν Σαμβά, ἡσφαλισαμεν δὲ δι' ἡμῶν ἕνα ἐκ τοῦ σπουδαιότερον λημμένων ἐν τῷ Εἰρηνικῷ Ὁκεανῷ, συνάμα δὲ τὸ ἐλεύθερον ἐμπόριον ἐν Κίνα, ὅπερ μᾶς παρέχει αἰσῶν καὶ ἰσον συναγωνισμὸν εἰς τὸ ἐμπόριον τῆς Ἀνατολῆς.—Ἡ αἰφνυδιὰ καὶ φοβερὰ κρήσις ἐν Κίνα προκαλεῖ σοβοράς σκέψεις, καὶ μὴν περιμένεται ἀπὸ ἐμὲ ἡδὴ περισσώτερας φράσεις, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μόνον λέγω ὅτι αἱ μεγαλύτερα μὲν ἐνέργεια θὰ διευθυνθῶσιν πρὸς τὸν σκοπὸν νὰ προστατεύσω τὴν ζωὴν τῶν ἡμετέρων πολιτῶν ὅτινες κινδυνεύουν, πρὸς διατήρησιν Εἰρήνης καὶ εὐνομίας ἐν Κίνα, πρὸς περιφρούρησιν δλων τῶν δικαιωμάτων τῶν ἡμετέρων συνθηκῶν καὶ ἐκείνων τῶν προνομιῶν τὰ ὅποια ὁ πεπολιτισμένος κόσμος εἶνε ὑποχρεωμένος νὰ διατηρήσῃ.—Περιεπλανήθημεν εἰς ἀδοκιμαστούς ἀτραπούς, ἀλλὰ τὰ βήματα ἡμῶν ὑπαγορεύθησαν ὑπο τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τοῦ κινήματος.—Δὲν ἐπιτρέπεται πλέον εἰτε δισταγμός, εἰτε υποχωρησις. Δὲν ἐπολεμήσαμεν, οὔτε εἰς τὸ μέλλον θὰ πολεμήσωμεν παρὰ μόνον διὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα. Θὰ ἐκτελέσωμεν ἀνευ φόβου ὅλας τῆς ἐθνικὰς καὶ διεθνέως ὑποχρεώσεις.

A PORTION OF PRESIDENT M'KINLEY'S SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE, PRINTED IN GREEK.

French, Norwegian, Swedish, Polish, Hungarian, Greek, Dutch, Bohemian, and Hebrew.

President McKinley's letter of acceptance was, too, printed in several languages—2,500,000

"STRANIERI IGNORANTI"

QUE CHE DICE L'AMMINISTRATORE DI BRYAN.

"Centinaia di migliaia di stranieri che sono qui levando il pane di bocca al lavoratore, hanno votato nell'ultima elezione per il candidato di McKinley. Il loro consiglio dei seguaci di McKinley rappresentano una buona parte degli Stati Uniti." — James K. Jones, Bunds-Senator und Vorsitz der demokratischen National-Comites, 20. Januar 1897.

"Unwissende Ausländer."

Das Bryan's Manager sagt.

"Hunderttausende unwissender Ausländer, welche hier der christlichen Arbeit das Brot aus dem Munde nehmen, stimmten bei der Wahl auf Order von Anhängern McKinley's. Die Hälfte der Stimmen die McKinley erhielt, kamen von diesen Ausländern." — James K. Jones, Bunds-Senator und Vorsitz der demokratischen National-Comites, 20. Januar 1897.

"Kann man zweifeln, wer siegen wird, die siebenhalb Millionen intelligenter Stimmen gegen Bryan, oder die vierhalb Millionen ungewissen Ausländer für McKinley?" — James K. Jones, Bunds-Senator und Vorsitz der demokratischen National-Comites, 20. Januar 1897.

Demokratische Partei hat alles Mögliche, um amerikanische Bürger für Bryan zu gewinnen, sie habe wenigstens die Deutschen zu gewinnen.

Die "Ausländer" meistens für McKinley, kurz nach der Wahl hielt Senator Jones vor den Abgeordneten seines Staates am 20. Januar 1897 eine Rede, in der er "ausländische" amerikanische Bürger, als "unwissende Ausländer" bezeichnete.

"ETRANGERS IGNORANTS."

E QUE DIT LE DIRECTEUR DE BRYAN.

"Centaines de mille Etrangers Ignorants ont ici le pain de la bouche des honnêtes citoyens, votèrent, à la dernière élection, sous les partisans de McKinley. Ces étrangers ont pleinement la moitié du nombre des voix par McKinley." — James K. Jones, Bunds-Senator und Vorsitz der demokratischen National-Comites, 20. Januar 1897.

"Peut-on douter sur ce qui prévaudra, les sept millions et demi de votants intelligents pour Bryan, ou des trois millions et demi d'étrangers qui voteront pour McKinley?" — James K. Jones, Bunds-Senator und Vorsitz der demokratischen National-Comites, 20. Januar 1897.

La Démocratique Party a tout fait possible, pour gagner les citoyens américains, elle a au moins les Allemands à gagner.

Les "étrangers" généralement pour McKinley, peu après l'élection le Sénateur Jones a fait un discours devant les députés de son Etat le 20 Janvier 1897, dans lequel il a désigné les "étrangers" américains, comme des "étrangers ignorants".

"Uvidende Ubløndinger."

Godt Bryans Manager siger.

"Hundreder af Uvidende Ubløndinger, som er tomme på for at tage Brodet ud af Mundens på ærlige Arbejdere, stemte ved det sidste Valg, som McKinleys Tilhængere havde. Halvdelen af de Ubløndinger, som McKinley fik, kom fra disse Ubløndinger." — James K. Jones, Bunds-Senator og Chairmand af det demokratiske National-Comite, 20de Januar 1897.

"OKUNNIGA UTLÄNNINGAR"

Hvad Bryans Kampagn-Direktør sagde.

"Hundra tusentals okunniga utlänningar kommer med afsett att taga brödet ur munnen på ärliga amerikanska arbetare, röstade vid det senaste valet på anbefallning af McKinleys följare. Dessa okunniga utlänningar utgjorde med säkerhet halva antalet röster för McKinley." — James K. Jones, Bunds-Senator och Chairmand af det demokratiske National-Comiteen, 20de Januar 1897.

"CIEMNI OBCOKRAJOWCY."

CO MÓW: BRYANA PRZEWODCA.

"Setki tysięcy ciemnych obcokrajowców, którzy odejmowali od nas chleb u kłóży robotników, głosowali przy ostatnim wyborze na korzyść McKinleya. Pół z głosów na McKinleya pochodziło z tych ciemnych obcokrajowców." — James K. Jones, Bunds-Senator und Vorsitz der demokratischen National-Comites, 20. Januar 1897.

"BUTA KÜLFÖLDIEK."

BRYAN FÖKORTSÉNEK A VÉLEMÉNYE.

"A Buta Külföldiek százai, akik a kenyérért, szavaztak a múlt választáson McKinley kortársainak a parancsa szerint külföldi szavazatok épen felet tették a szavazatoknak, melyeket McKinley kapott." — James K. Jones, Bunds-Senator und Vorsitz der demokratischen National-Comites, 20. Januar 1897.

"Lehet-e kétség, hogy ki fog győzni fél millió művelt ember, a kik Bryanra, vagy a három és fél millió Buta Külföldiekre szavaztak?" — James K. Jones, Bunds-Senator und Vorsitz der demokratischen National-Comites, 20. Januar 1897.

A demokrata párt örököseinek követelése, hogy rábírja a "Külföldiek" amerikai polgárokat, hogy Bryanra szavazzanak novemberben. A demokrata párt azt állítja, hogy végre sikerült a németek szavazatait Bryan számára biztosítani.

"IGNORANT FOREIGNERS."

WHAT BRYAN'S MANAGER SAYS.

"Hundreds of thousands of Ignorant Foreigners, who were here taking bread out of the mouths of honest labor, voted at the last election at the dictation of McKinley's supporters. These foreigners comprised fully one-half of the number of votes received by McKinley." — James K. Jones, United States Senator and Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, January 20, 1897.

"Can there be any doubt as to which will prevail, the six and one-half millions of intelligent Bryan voters, or the three and one-half millions of Ignorant Foreigners who voted for McKinley?" — James K. Jones, United States Senator and Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, January 20, 1897.

The Democratic party is using every effort to induce the "Foreign" American citizens to vote for the election of Bryan next November. The Democratic party claims that it has at least secured the German vote for Bryan.

In the election of 1896 the "Foreign" vote was cast mainly for the election of President McKinley. Shortly after that election in a speech delivered in his own State, Arkansas, and addressed to the legislature in joint informal session at Little Rock, on the night of Wednesday, January 20, 1897, Senator and Chairman Jones stigmatized the "Foreign" American voters as "Ignorant Foreigners," as quoted above.

Senator Jones was then the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Senator Jones is now the Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. He is now asking the "Ignorant Foreigners" to vote for Bryan this year.

How will the "Ignorant Foreigners" respond to the request of Bryan's manager, the Democratic National Chairman?

BAND, MCNALLY & CO., PRINTERS, CHICAGO.

"Nevzdělaní cizinci."

Co pravil Bryandy manager.

"Stovky tisíců nezdělaných cizinců, kteří zde berou chléb z úst poctivé práce, hlasovali při poslední volbě dle přání McKinleyových přívrženců. Tito cizinci tvořili polovinu hlasů pro McKinleyho." — James K. Jones, Bunds-Senator und Vorsitz der demokratischen National-Comites, 20. Januar 1897.

"Απειροί Είνον."

Αλφει ο Διευθυντής του Μπράν.

"Εκατοντάδες Απειροί Είνον, οι οποίοι εδώ παίρνουν το ψωμί από το στόμα των ειλικρινών εργατών, ψήφισαν στην τελευταία εκλογή σύμφωνα με τις οδηγίες των υποστηρικτών του Μακ Κίνλεϊ." — James K. Jones, Bunds-Senator und Vorsitz der demokratischen National-Comites, 20. Januar 1897.

"TENDE VREEMDELINGEN"

AT BRYANS MANAGER SAGEN.

"Honderden van onwetende vreemdelingen namen hier het brood van eerlijken arbeid af van de laatste verkiezing naar den wil van de ondersteuners. Deze vreemdelingen vormden de helft van het getal der stemmen voor McKinley." — James K. Jones, Bunds-Senator und Vorsitz der demokratischen National-Comites, 20. Januar 1897.

"Kan er twijfel zijn wat de bovenhand zal hebben een half miljoen van denkende Amerikanen, of drie en een half miljoen onwetende vreemdelingen die stemde voor McKinley?" — James K. Jones, Bunds-Senator und Vorsitz der demokratischen National-Comites, 20. Januar 1897.

De Democratische partij spant al hare krachten in om de Amerikaanse burgers te bewegen Bryan te kiezen.

Republicans, lawyers, and officials of the community join him to make the demonstration a success. In the different States the chairmen of the State committees have in their care a large number of "spellbinders," whose selection and movements are made in the course of constant consultation with the National Headquarters. The manager of these speakers, with a hundred or more every night on his hands, with itineraries to lay out and dates to be made without conflict and with the best total effect in relation to the evening's movements—has no small task on his hands. Among the Republican "spellbinders" are 50 Germans, 25 Swedes, 25 Norwegians, 10 Poles, 10 Italians, 5 Frenchmen, and 6 Fins. There is no difficulty whatever in obtaining the necessary quantity of campaign speakers; 5,000 have sought engagement at Chicago. The difficulty comes in procuring the proper quality, and in obtaining money to pay them. Altogether in the weeks immediately preceding the election, it is estimated that 7,000 speeches are made every week-day night.

In addition to the speeches proper, there are Republican and sound-money parades and rallies to be brought off with *éclat*, and such picturesque demonstrations as are now taking place in Chicago, where "prosperity wagons" are sent out on the streets every day, with Republican enthusiasts to give heart-to-heart talks to laborers throughout the city.

The preparation and distribution of literature, with the engagement and assignment of speakers forms the great bulk of the routine work of the campaign. What requires the acumen and experience of Senator Hanna and his immediate associates lies in meeting issues as they arise—in taking advantage of circumstances, in determining what States may be considered safe without extra effort, and what States need the concentration of party energy. It may happen, as it has happened, that a State conceded to the other side can be won by properly directed efforts. The Campaign Committee receives almost daily reports from the State committees. In this regard, the Republican organization is better perfected this year than ever before. In every State local committees are hard at work, so that not an inch of ground is left uncovered. These local committees report frequently to the State committees, which in turn report to the executive committee, so that Senator Hanna and his advisers are kept constantly in touch with the conditions all over the country as they vary from week to week.

From the general to the concrete: It was early determined, by the Republican leaders, that the real fighting-ground of this campaign lay in the

States of the Middle West; and they have had no reason to change their views. So that there, if anywhere, are they concentrating their energies. No voter in Indiana, for example, will go to the polls without having had an opportunity to know the Republican arguments. A systematic, virtually house-to-house canvass will be made, so that it is safe to say that on the day before election the Campaign Committee will know, within a very few thousand, of how the State will throw its 600,000 votes. Senator Hanna has all along regarded New York, with its 36 electoral votes, as perfectly safe; but he is too old a campaigner to relax any efforts there. Indeed, he insists upon unremitting vigilance—even going so far as to allow himself to be quoted, in the midst of the campaign, as follows: "I admit that New York is doubtful, in the sense that the Republicans cannot set it down as certain to give its electoral vote to McKinley. We must fight for New York." It may be stated authoritatively, however, that the chairman of the National Committee is as sure of Republican victory in the Empire State this fall as he is of anything in the world. With equal positiveness it may be said that he is not at all sure of Ohio, whose 23 votes in election forecasts are usually put in the Republican column; that he feels that hard work is necessary in Illinois, with 24 votes, and that he is considerably doubtful of Indiana, with its 15 votes. Another State, usually put on the Republican side, in which great care is to be taken is Iowa, with its 13 votes. It is considered that there is a very fair chance of Kansas, which went Democratic last time. The personal popularity of Governor Roosevelt in the Sunflower State, and his early summer trip there, count for much. South Dakota, in 1896 the closest State of all, is another where the efforts of Governor Roosevelt are expected to turn the electoral vote Republicanwards.

From the first, the Republican leaders have considered that the Democratic issue of anti-expansion made the Pacific States safe for McKinley; that the free-silver issue, properly emphasized, would guarantee Republican success in the East; and that the general argument of prosperity would be effective all over the country. Along these lines the campaign is carried. Orders were given early that nowhere, especially in the East, should the voters be allowed to lose sight of the fact that a vote for Bryan was a vote for free silver; and the Democratic efforts to make "imperialism" the "paramount" issue in States where free silver was unpalatable have been met by the Republican lime-light burning steadily upon the words, "Sixteen to One."

THE MANAGEMENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN.

BY WILLIS J. ABBOT.

(Manager of the National Democratic Press Bureau.)

THE public, reading day by day in the newspapers of the phenomenal sagacity of the managers of great political campaigns, has, I think, a very exaggerated idea of the part which conspiracy and corruption play in a national election. The work of electing a President certainly does involve a great amount of shrewdness; but it necessitates vastly more hard work. What is called the work of organization is, after all, the essential thing in most campaigns; and this implies, not phenomenal capacity for devising expedients of more or less doubtful political morality, but rather a knowledge of men in all parts of the country and a capacity to do big things in a big way. I should think Mr. John D. Rockefeller, whom we of the Democratic side do not wholly admire, might, if he applied to campaign management some of the methods that he has used in building up his Standard Oil Company, be an almost invincible chairman of a National Committee. So, too, might the head of some great railroad who knows how to distribute work among a vast number of subordinates, and who, passing the word from man to man, can touch and stir into activity the humblest section-hand 2,000 miles away. That sort of talent is needed to conduct a campaign. But the difficulty is, that such talent usually finds its richest rewards in serving the corporations—railroad, oil, or steel. The man who is serving the corporations first can hardly be regarded as the ideal campaign manager; for there will always be apprehension, on the part of a large section of the voters, that with victory he will continue to serve the corporations in his political capacity. This is a digression, however. The point I desire to make clear is that running a campaign now is not, in any considerable degree, a matter of chicanery. It is a matter of hard, straightforward, earnest work. Nearly everything that is done might be bulletined on bill-boards in as big type as a circus uses without shocking the most nicely sensitive political reformer.

The first work of campaign organization is raising money to run the campaign. Few people not intimately connected with the operations of a National Committee can understand how enormous are the expenditures necessary for work

that is purely legitimate. When the printing of one important speech in quantities sufficient to supply the expected demand amounts to more than \$5,000, as I have from my personal experience known to be the case, and there are in the course of a campaign twenty-five or thirty such speeches, besides an immense number of other documents, one can see that the printing bill alone is a matter of some importance. In a newspaper interview the other day, Senator Hanna was quoted as saying that in this campaign the Republican bill for printing alone would be \$200,000. I have not the slightest way of knowing whether the senator was correctly quoted or not; yet I can readily understand how easily that amount of money might be spent in the publication and dissemination of documents. Beside this, the chairman of the ways and means committee must figure on the expenses of national headquarters, which, now that the middle West has become a battle-ground, are duplicated in New York and Chicago. At each place there are from 40 to 100 employees. He must bear in mind the number of speakers, many of whom indeed are volunteers, but to most of whom are paid their expenses and a considerable sum per diem. Halls must be paid for, special trains for candidates, banners to fling to the wind, follow-



THE SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

(At Headquarters of Democratic National Committee, Chicago.)

ing the mistaken idea that the American voter is affected by an advertisement of a Presidential ticket as he would be by an advertisement of a circus. These things, all rolled into one, make up a heavy bill; and this the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee has to meet. That is his problem.

At different times the two great parties have adopted different methods for the solution of this problem. Time was when the Democratic party went to the men of great wealth in the country and appealed to them for funds. That time is no longer with us. 'I do not know whether the change is permanent or only temporary; but it is, at any rate, very apparent to-day. Now the Republican party draws its revenues from the rich men in large contributions, while the Democracy is left to raising funds by appeal to popular subscription. The "endless-chain" system has been employed, and with some success. For three years the system of canvassing the country districts for contributions of one dollar a month from enthusiastic Democrats has been prosecuted, and the returns have amounted to perhaps one-tenth as much as might have been obtained from a big railroad corporation in the days before the Democracy became progressive. Some men of means undoubtedly contribute heavily to the Democratic campaign fund, just as some men of very slender income proudly and gladly give of their small store to the Republican party; but in the main the condition is that the Democracy is the party of the poorer people, and must look to the poorer people for its support.

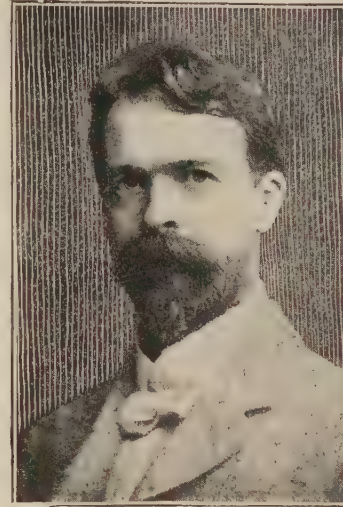
In every branch of business, the man who fills the purse is the most important man; and, therefore, in managing a great campaign, the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, if he be active in his work, is next to the chairman of the National Committee.

The chairman of the Executive Committee has charge of the work of organization. Under his watchful eye

come all the multifarious details of the management of the campaign. He helps to decide in what States there is prospect of success, and therefore where speakers and "literature" should be sent. He is apt to be the busiest man about headquarters. He is, to the chairman of the National Committee, what the managing edi-

tor of a newspaper is to the editor-in-chief. He has less glory, but gets more than his share of the detail work. Under his watchful eye passes the work of the two chief bureaus of the National Committee—the bureau of speakers and the press bureau.

A novel method of political organizing was originated last year by

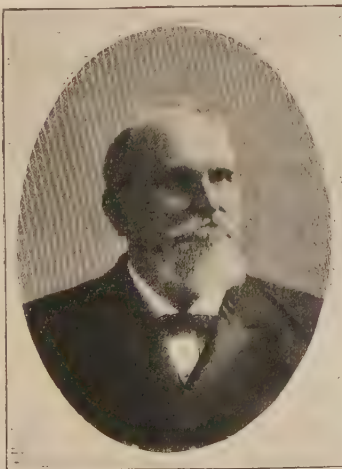


MR. WILLIS J. ABBOT.

(Manager of the National Democratic Press Bureau.)

Executive Chairman J. G. Johnson, of the Democratic National Committee, and has been pressed with great vigor and a large measure of success. In its broad characteristics this plan involves the selection of a special representative of the National Committee in every election precinct of the United States. Of course so comprehensive an organization cannot be completed during a single campaign, but the doubtful States can be covered fairly well with official representatives, who have manifested their interest in the party's fortunes by paying a moderate fee, who operate in a field small enough to enable each to know most of the hesitating voters whom he may reach, and who, therefore, can deliver documents and take polls more effectively than can be done through the ordinary machinery of a county committee. In the Democratic National Committee, therefore, the executive chairman has this bureau of precinct organizations added to the others under his watchful eye.

Either party will have on its list of speakers from 2,000 to 2,500 men. One man must map out the routes for all these—determine whether an applicant for a place on the list is a local or a national character; whether he had better speak on trusts or imperialism, tariff, or the minor



SENATOR JONES, OF ARKANSAS.

(Chairman of the Democratic National Committee.)



THE PRESS BUREAU.



THE DOCUMENT-ROOM.

WORKING-ROOMS IN THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC HEADQUARTERS AT CHICAGO.

issues of the campaign; he must know whether the aspiring "spellbinder" is the sort of a man to send to the thoroughly intelligent audience which wants argument, or to go where violent invective and mere abuse of the opposing nominee is the more effective line of attack. He keeps on his wall a huge schedule of States, and cities, and dates, and he handles it like a college professor figuring out by means of curves the theory of value as laid down by the Austrian economists. When one remembers that a man intrusted with a work of such importance and such intricacy is only called upon to discharge it once in four years, one is amazed at the accuracy and the system by which the whole is accomplished. The manager of the speakers' bureau has, perhaps, as many amusing and perplexing situations to deal with as anybody connected with the conduct of the campaign. I have seen a letter to one such man saying that a local club had raised \$12, and asking what speaker of national reputation could be sent there for that sum. I have seen other letters from men who had composed dissertations in blank verse, and felt that if they could be put on the platform to deliver them they would do more for the cause than this particular chairman represented than could any ordinary orator.

Indeed, the speaker who cannot speak, and the pamphleteer who cannot write, or who, writing, confuses the dimensions of a pamphlet with those of an unabridged dictionary, form the twin horrors of the national headquarters. Their numbers are amazing, as also is the thorough self-confidence which each one manifests, always declaring that his speech or his article is the one thing necessary to win victory for the side that he has honored by his support. It is due to these two classes of intruders that much of the time of the manager of a subordinate bureau in

national headquarters is taken up in giving effect to the old nursery maxim, "Learn to say no." They are not the most good-natured sort of mortals either, these saviors of the party, with speeches in their minds and manuscripts under their arms. They usually repay the most courteous treatment with the declaration that the man who has been forced to look with disfavor on their proposition is sure to ruin the chances of his candidate at the polls.

As the whole purpose of conducting a campaign is to affect public sentiment, the chief methods adopted are platform-speaking and the use of type. The press bureau early in the campaign has its main importance. Then it seeks, by every device, to secure the publication in the newspapers of material favorable to the party which it serves; and later, when the contest becomes warm, operates through leaflets, tracts, and printed speeches. Few people who read only the great city newspapers appreciate how much work is done, in political times, on the part of both parties, to counteract or to supplement the effect of the metropolitan press. The small country weeklies, which are taken into the home of the farmer a night or two after publication, are necessarily made up on the coöperative principle. Their revenues are small, and they either fill their columns by buying what is called "plate matter," which is ready-set and furnished in the form of stereotype plates, column-wide, or else they have one-half the paper printed at some central point, using the blank sides for publishing their local news. And both national committees utilize the firms which supply the plate or "patent inside" matter for the dissemination of their news. Each house which furnishes the ready print sends to its Democratic or Republican customers the statement that it will be glad

to furnish three or four or five columns of ready print each week. The copy for this is supplied by the press bureau of the National Committee. The paper gets it without other charge than that involved in printing the sheets. An immense amount of work is done in the way of furnishing this copy by both national committees, not only at the time of election, but for months preceding the convention.

I can speak only for the press bureau of the Democratic National Committee; but the statistics



HON. WILLIAM J. BRYAN.

(The favorite portrait sent out by the National Democratic Committee.)

of its work may be regarded as fairly indicative of the work of its rival a hundred yards away in an adjoining hotel. Seven "patent-inside" houses, supplying some 4,000 weekly papers, have for more than a year been supplied with Democratic "copy." Plate matter has been but sparingly used, partly because of its expense, partly because of the impossibility of ascertaining with any accuracy the extent to which it is published by newspapers receiving it. A weekly bulletin addressed to the newspapers of the country is issued, containing news and interviews not readily accessible to the country editor, and editorials all ready to his hand—or shears. I have seen a whole page clipped from this bulletin and reprinted verbatim as the editorial page of a local weekly. Occasionally supplements, ready-printed, and covering fully the party position on some

mooted question, such as trusts or imperialism, are supplied to party papers without cost. Of several such offered to Democratic newspapers, more than 3,000,000 each were issued, and doubtful States only were covered.

A new burden was added this year to the load borne by the managers of the press bureaus by the Independent newspapers. Not wishing to espouse editorially the cause of either candidate, the editors of these newspapers hit, by common consent, upon the device of having the issues of the campaign discussed under the title of "Campaign Forum," or "Daily Debate." So they appealed to the managers of the respective press bureaus to supply the material, each for his own side—a demand that is new to politics and has necessitated a considerable increase in the literary force. Both parties, however, welcome it as giving an opportunity to put the party creed before voters whose minds are not fully made up. For example, in 1896, the *Kansas City Star* was bitterly opposed to Mr. Bryan, and its columns were closed to arguments in his favor. This year a joint discussion with Mr. Murat Halstead, of the Republican National Committee, has enabled me to place scores of columns of arguments before its readers. The numbers of the Independent papers are growing rapidly, and I foresee that in 1904 this branch of the press bureau's work will be of the greatest importance.

The press bureau furthermore usually has supervision over the preparation of documents; or, as they are commonly called, "literature." Of course, all speeches that get into the *Congressional Record* are sent without charge under frank through the mail, and these need no editing. But each committee gets out a mass of material pointing out the enormities perpetrated by the opposition party. These documents range from a one-page "dodger" to a book of 240 pages. Their preparation involves a great amount of work and the employment of many men; for in the aggregate they amount, in the course of a campaign, to more than one hundred separate documents. How great the volume of this material sent out is may be judged from the fact that a gentleman representing the shipping-room of the party with which I am not allied, here in Chicago, told me that one day they sent out three and a quarter tons of documents, and on the same day had received four and a half million copies of a single speech. Speaking of this to a Republican United States Senator whom I know intimately, he told me that it was not in any way a record-making performance; that, in the campaign of 1896, the Republican document-room was so well organized that, when a telegram was received from New York on a certain day at 10

so called. This is supposed to furnish instruction to speakers and writers upon all the issues of the campaign, and forms usually a large quarto of some 340 pages. The Republicans this year have issued their book in a style which is both attractive and convenient. It represents, probably, the most expensive campaign-book ever prepared by a national committee. The circulation of these books is limited. They are intended only for distribution among the few who are called upon to act as instructors for the public. Both parties customarily put a price upon them to the general mass of voters.

As a rule, the material sent out by a national committee is distributed by State committees to the county committees, thence to local or precinct committeemen. Perhaps this is one reason why, even in the most hotly fought campaign, there are hundreds, and indeed hundreds of thousands, of voters who never receive a single document or pamphlet of any kind, and who form their ideas wholly from the newspapers. The chance is great that a county committeeman or a precinct committeeman receiving a bundle of several thousand documents may put them by the side of his desk with the very best intention of distributing them, and leave them there until the end of the campaign. This is a weakness in the system recognized by everybody engaged in political work, but one that seems impossible to correct, unless the whole documentary system be abandoned, and reliance placed on newspapers alone. I have no doubt that, among the readers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS this month, there will be many who are voters even in doubtful States, and yet who cannot recall ever having had an official document from headquarters put in their hands.

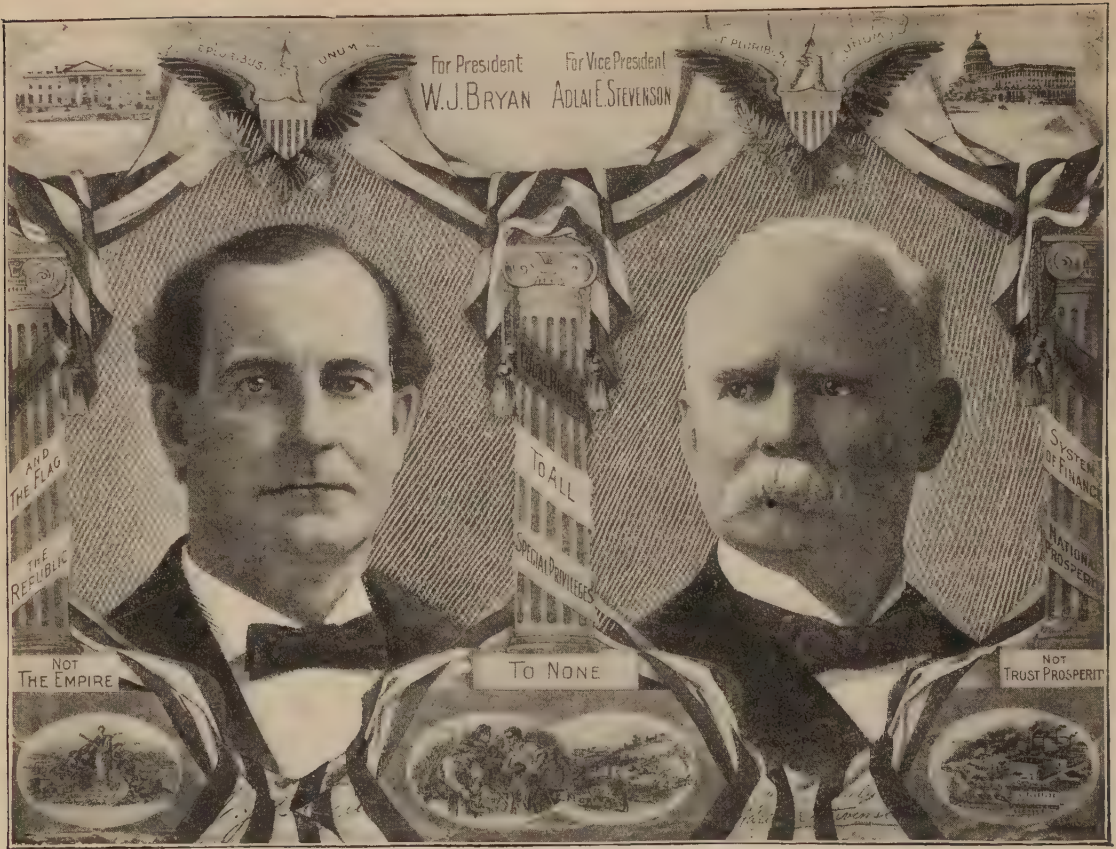
Not all the States are equally favored with oratory and that ponderous form of reading matter which politicians call "literature," but which Charles Lamb would surely have put in his list of books that are no books. A national committee will ordinarily classify the States in three divisions — doubtful, with the chances favoring its candidate; doubtful, with the chances favoring the opposition candidate; and abso-

lutely certain either for the Republican or Democratic ticket. The latter class gets scant attention, while the States of the first class are flooded with arguments. Perhaps there has never before been a year when so many States were regarded as doubtful. The Democrats, undismayed by the figures of 1896, have pressed their campaign vigorously in New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and California; and, although all these States gave majorities hostile to Bryan in 1896, all are held to be doubtful this year except Kentucky and Maryland, which the Democracy claims positively for her own. The Republicans, in turn, have shown their audacity by attacking Nebraska, which gave Mr. Bryan 13,576 plurality in 1896; Colorado, which gave him 134,882 plurality out of total vote of 189,687, and Missouri, which gave him 58,727. Hope springs eternal in the politician's breast; and I doubt if any one at either headquarters will take issue with me when I say that the glowing "forecasts" which proceed from national chairmen and secretaries in the weeks preceding election are based mainly on hope.

The main struggle in this campaign has centered about New York, Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois. Mr. Bryan's managers have no apprehension of losing any of the States carried by him in 1896, though the Republicans have made determined forays into several — notably Kansas and South Dakota; nor have they doubted that they would carry Kentucky and Maryland.



THE DEMOCRATIC BANNER HANGING IN FRONT OF TAMMANY HALL, NEW YORK.



PORTRAIT POSTER CIRCULATED BY THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

(Original size, 31 x 24 inches.)

Added to the electoral votes of the States which they held to be safe, the votes of New York alone, or of any two of the Middle States mentioned, would give the election to Mr. Bryan. I do not mean that other possible States, such as Michigan or Minnesota, are being neglected; but the center of the line of battle is in these commonwealths. How thoroughly this is appreciated is to be judged from the fact that into New York have been sent 4,000,000 documents; into Indiana 2,500,000, and into Ohio 3,500,000, while every speaker of national reputation in the land has gone up and down these States pleading for converts.

After all, however, I doubt much whether even the hard work, the systematic work, the astute political devices upon which the politicians so greatly rely, really have as much weight in deciding the fate of an election as people who live entirely in a political atmosphere sometimes think. The success or failure of a candidate for office, and particularly for an exalted national

office, depends very much upon conditions similar to those which determine the success or failure of a book. Many a good book well pushed by its publisher has fallen flat. Many a book of less merit, published without any of the log-rolling devices in vogue to-day, has happily caught the attention of the public, and has rushed ahead to its 400,000 copies. It is somewhat so with a Presidential election. Admitting all the use of money properly and corruptly; admitting that this campaign manager is cleverer than his opponent, still you will find that rising above either of these factors comes, as the determining element in the situation, the temper of the public. Doubtless the newspapers, the documents, and the speakers help, in some slight degree, to form this public sentiment; but if it be against one candidate, the most herculean efforts on the part of his managers cannot stem it. If it be for him, all his associates have to do is to guide it rightly and see that its expression at the polls is correctly recorded.

THE HALL OF FAME.

BY CHANCELLOR HENRY MITCHELL MacCRACKEN.

(Of New York University.)

THE Hall of Fame, like many another fruit of civilization, owes its inception in large part to hard facts of physical geography. After the three buildings which are to form the west side of the quadrangle of the New York University College of Arts and Science at University Heights had been planned, it was decided, in order to enlarge the quadrangle, to push them as near as possible to the avenue above the Harlem River. But since the campus level is 170 feet above high tide, and from 40 to 60 feet above the avenue, it was seen at once that the basement stories would stand out towards the avenue bare and unsightly. In order to conceal their walls, a terrace was suggested by the architect, to be bounded at its outer edge by a parapet or colonnade; and, since the terrace would be entirely above ground, it would provide large space underneath. But to what educational use could such a structure be adapted? What reason could be given therefor besides the esthetic effect? The added beauty might be sufficient to justify, to an architect, the great cost; but it could not do this to the officers of a university that was comparatively poor in resources. While the topographical necessity, therefore, compelled the architect to invent the terrace with its parapet or colonnade, the university's necessity compelled

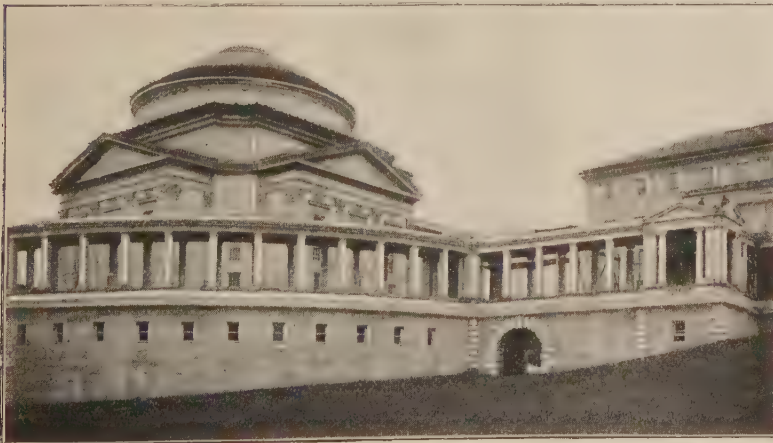
the discovery of an educational use for the architect's structure. This use was found when the writer, as chairman of the Building Committee, conceived that the space beneath the terrace, together with the colonnade above, might easily be adapted to constitute together "The Hall of Fame for Great Americans."

Like most persons who have visited Germany, the chairman was acquainted with the "Ruhmes Halle," built near Munich by the King of Bavaria. Like all Americans, he admired the use made of Westminster Abbey, and of the Pantheon in Paris. But the American claims liberty to adopt new and broad rules to govern him, even when following on the track of his Old-World ancestors. Hence it was agreed that admission to this Hall of Fame should be controlled by a national body of electors, who might, as nearly as possible, represent the wisdom of the American people. This idea was made the first article of the "Constitution of the Hall of Fame."

The second feature was the recognition of the multiformity of human greatness. The thoughtful visitor is offended when he sees, in the Hall of Statuary in Washington, to which each State is invited to contribute two statues of eminent citizens, that every man thus far honored, with a single eccentric exception, has been a holder of

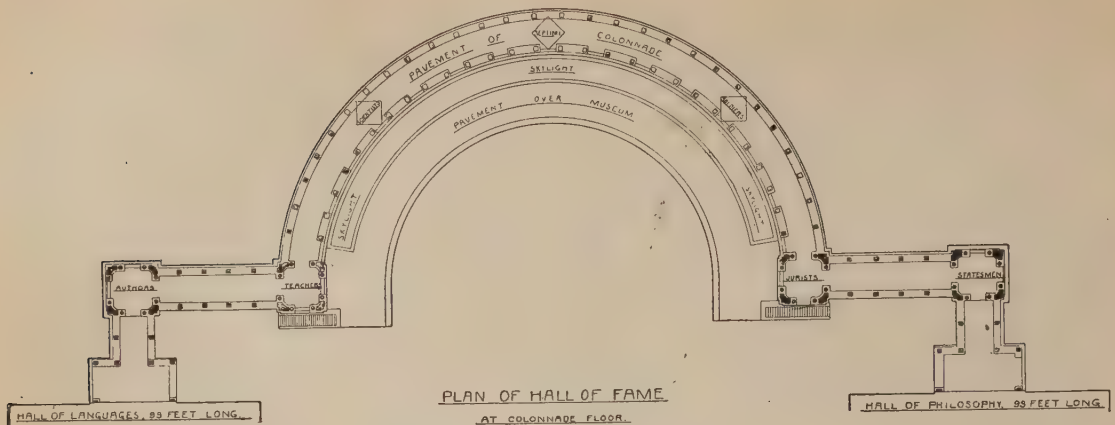
public office, either military or civil. For the Hall of Fame it was provided, therefore, that many classes of citizens, not less than fifteen, should be considered, and that a majority of these classes should have representatives among the first fifty names to be chosen. This precedent once established will, it is hoped, prevent the electors in all time to come from forgetting that greatness may be attained in many walks of life.

The third chief feature was the restriction of the hall to native-born Americans. Since this has been more severely criticised than any other of the rules adopted, it



THE HALL OF FAME OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.

(The hall itself is the colonnade shown in the foreground, the museum being underneath. The library building of the university is shown in the background, and on the extreme right the Hall of Languages.)



GROUND PLAN OF THE HALL OF FAME,

(Total exterior length of colonnade, 504 feet; height, 20 feet; breadth, 16 feet. Length of museum, exclusive of entrance corridors, 200 feet; breadth, 40 feet; height of ceiling, 18 feet. All names outside the six principal classes are included as of the seventh class—"Septimi.")

is expedient to present the arguments that justify this restriction. This may be done most easily by recounting the difficulties in which the 100 electors would have been involved had they been obliged to take into consideration all the eminent foreign-born Americans. It is true that prominent Harvard professors suggested that only those foreign-born should be considered who were citizens at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. Their great care was to secure the admission of Alexander Hamilton. But how could Hamilton be considered, and not his contemporaries, John Witherspoon and Albert Gallatin; nor the foreign-born generals of the Revolution, and John Paul Jones. Why discriminate in favor of political characters against such builders of the nation as Francis Makemie or Francis Asbury? The former was the "St. Francis" of Presbyterianism, who for conscience' sake, in the year 1707, suffered in a prison-cell in New York City, and who is counted the American founder of a great denomination; the latter was the "St. Francis" of Methodism, who in forty-five years ordained 4,000 preachers, while he traveled over 250,000 miles; and that before the time of railways. Or why ignore the Pilgrim Fathers? The 100 electors found last summer that it involved serious labor to choose among the native-born. What if they had been obliged to weigh the claims of John Winthrop and Roger Williams against those of Daniel Boone and Marcus Whitman? Suppose that they had, in doing so, preferred foreign-born to native Americans, would it not have been in large part out of that hospitality to strangers of which we are proud? Or, if they had rejected the foreign-born, would not the electors have been suspected of "Know-Nothing"

prejudice, with which not a few Americans have been deeply affected? The present rule shuns all these comparisons which might, to use the language of Shakespeare, have proven "odorous."

The giver of the Hall of Fame prizes no feature of its plan more than this rule, which is designed to make the structure an especial reminder to Americans of how many, and also of how few, our country has raised up, in its 250 years of existence, as eminent leaders or benefactors of mankind. This hall, together with the processes which it sets in motion, will necessitate a frequent "taking of stock," or national inventory. This inventory can be secured with greater fairness and completeness if the 100 electors are permitted to choose among persons of common birth, who owe nothing (unless by their own



VIEW IN THE MUSEUM OF THE HALL OF FAME.

(The height is 18 feet. The upper half of the wall-surface, where not broken by windows, is available for mural paintings, to a length of perhaps 300 feet altogether. There is a continuous skylight eight feet in breadth.)



Courtesy of the New York Tribune.

COMMITTEE OF THE NEW YORK UNIVERSITY SENATE COUNTING THE VOTES.

(Chancellor MacCracken in the center.)

choice) to foreign training; who, in a word, are from first to last Americans. The rumor that the rule which includes the foreign-born would exclude also those who might die abroad was a humorous invention of the dull season last summer. It was never even thought of in connection with the agreement made between the giver of the hall and the university corporation.

The fourth chief feature of the plan of inscription is periodicity. Every five years throughout the twentieth century five additional names will be inscribed, provided the electors under the rules can agree by a majority upon so many. There is no excessive veneration, on the part of us Americans, for our forefathers. So far as may be, this hall asks the people to consider repeatedly whom among the fathers they would be delighted to honor. It employs the principle of repetition to promote reverence for true worth.

To the above four chief features may be added, as the fifth important one, the reposing of the responsibility of supervision in the New York University Senate. This body appoints the 100 electors throughout the country, canvasses their

reports, and has the right of veto upon their choice. This veto simply returns the name for farther consideration. It does not prevent the electors presenting it again at the next time of election. Observation shows that universities, beyond any other foundations, maintain a uniform and enduring existence. The deans of schools and senior professors who constitute a university senate are generally chosen with care, and have been tested by years of experience. They are as likely as any human organization to be careful and consistent in such work as they are called upon to perform. The New York University Senate is peculiarly liberal in that it includes in its membership the presidents of six great theological schools situated in or near the metropolis. But let it be observed that after the University Senate has appointed the electors, who must under the rule be distributed throughout the nation, its office becomes merely negative or clerical. It cannot add a name to those inscribed. It cannot change any of the articles of the contract which governs the hall for all time. These can be changed only by the com-

mon action of the university and the giver, during the lifetime of the latter.

This constitution being provided for the governing of the Hall of Fame, the senate proceeded, on April 3 last, to secure 100 electors, and it adopted the following action regarding them :

First. They are apportioned to the following four classes of citizens, in as nearly equal numbers as possible : (A) University or college presidents and educators. (B) Professors of history and scientists. (C) Publicists, editors, and authors. (D) Judges of the Supreme Court, State or National.

Second. Each of the forty-five States is included in the appointments. When in any State no one from the first three classes is named, the Chief Justice of the State is invited to act.

Third. Only citizens born in America are invited to act as judges. No one connected with New York University is invited.

The senate was gratified to find that its invitation to every university and college president was accepted, and that to secure the full quota in the other classes it was obliged to exercise a second choice in only a very few cases. One of these was the case of ex-President Benjamin Harrison, who gave as his sole reason that he would feel bound, if he served, to give much study to the nominations before making a decision, and that his engagements did not allow him time for the work before the date set for the report.*

*The Board of Electors, as at present constituted, is as follows:

(A) University and College Presidents: E. A. Alderman, Tulane; James B. Angell, Michigan; John H. Barrows, Oberlin; W. S. Chaplin, Washington University (St. Louis); William H. Crawford, Allegheny; James R. Day, Syracuse; Charles W. Eliot, Harvard; W. H. P. Faunce, Brown; George A. Gates, Iowa College; Arthur T. Hadley, Yale; C. C. Harrison, University of Pennsylvania; Miss Caroline Hazard, Wellesley; William De Witt Hyde, Bowdoin; David Starr Jordan, Leland Stanford; J. H. Kirkland, Vanderbilt; Seth Low, Columbia; Henry Morton, Stevens Institute; Mrs. Alice F. Palmer, ex-president Wellesley; Henry Wade Rogers, Northwestern; David S. Schaff, Lane Theological Seminary; James M. Taylor, Vassar; Miss M. Carey Thomas, Bryn Mawr; Charles F. Thwing, Western Reserve; William J. Tucker, Dartmouth; George Washburn, Robert College, Constantinople—(25).

(B) Professors of History, and Scientists: Henry C. Adams, Michigan; Charles M. Andrews, Bryn Mawr; Frank W. Blackmar, Kansas; Edward G. Bourne, Yale; Henry E. Bourne, Western Reserve; George J. Brush, Sheffield Scien-

Next the senate proceeded to place nominations before the electors, adopting on June 4, 1900, the three following rules :

First. The University Senate seconds the nomination of each of the 100 names received that rank first in the number of persons who have put them in nomination.

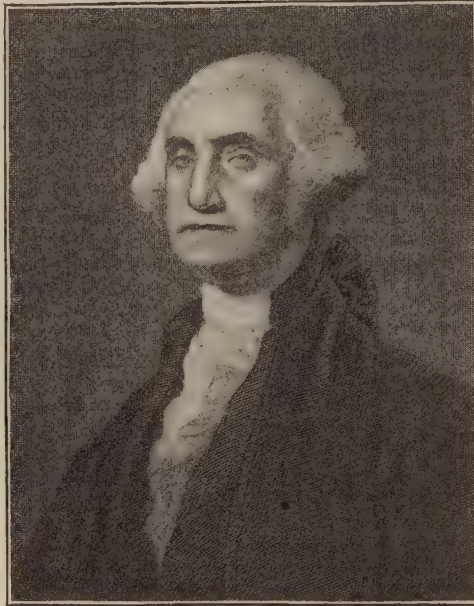
Second. The individual members of the senate will each second additional names selected by him from the names (more than 1,000) placed in nomination.

Third. The senate invites each of the 100 judges, upon receiving the roll of nominations contemplated in the two foregoing resolutions, to transmit to us any other name which he considers should be submitted to the judges, which name will at once be seconded by the senate and forwarded to the judges as an additional nomination.

The result was that 234 names were sent out to the electors. Eight hundred additional names that were presented to the senate were withheld by them under the rules. Several of the electors failed, because of their change of residence during the summer, to receive the invitation to add nominations. Only 20 electors availed themselves of this right, adding some 30 or 40 names. Without doubt, other names might very

appropriately have been added.

Of the 100 electors, 97 made reports within the time allowed, which were canvassed by the officers of the senate, on October 10, 11, and



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

(1732-1799.)

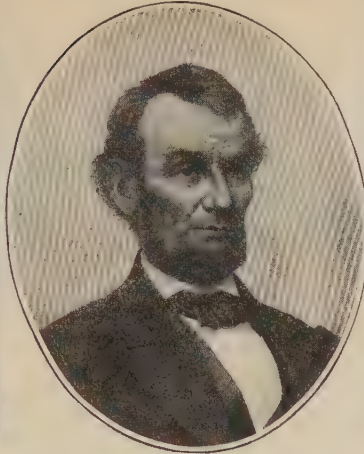
tific School; John W. Burgess, Columbia; Edward Channing, Harvard; Richard H. Dabney, Virginia; Clyde A. Duniway, Leland Stanford; Fred M. Fling, Nebraska; B. A. Hinsdale, Michigan; Charles W. Hunt, New York City; J. F. Jameson, Brown; Harry P. Judson, Chicago; Joseph Le Conte, California; A. C. McLaughlin, Michigan; J. H. T. McPherson, Georgia; Anson D. Morse, Amherst; Edward C. Pickering, Harvard; Rossiter W. Raymond, New York City; Thomas J. Shahan, Catholic University; Robert D. Shepard, Northwestern; George F. Swain, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; William H. Welsh, Johns Hopkins; W. M. West, Minnesota—(26).

(C) Publicists, Editors, and Authors: John S. Billings, New York; Borden P. Bowne, Boston; James M. Buckley, Madison, N. J.; Grover Cleveland, Princeton, N. J.; George F. Edmunds, Philadelphia; Edward Eggleston, Madison, Ind.; George P. Fisher, New Haven, Conn.; Richard Watson Gilder, New York; Edward Everett Hale, Roxbury, Mass.; Albert B. Hart, Cambridge, Mass.; Thomas W. Higginson, Cambridge, Mass.; John F. Hurst, Washington; St. Clair McKelway, Brooklyn; Philip V. Myers, Cincinnati; George E. Post, Beirut, Syria (no report); Whitelaw



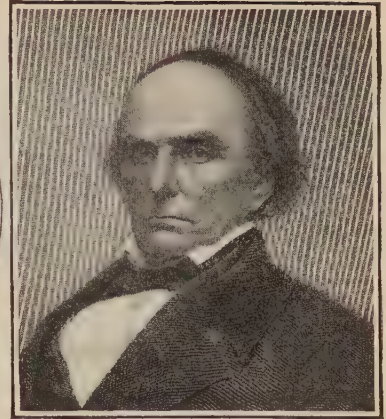
ULYSSES S. GRANT.

(1822-1885.)



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

(1809-1865.)



DANIEL WEBSTER.

(1782-1852.)

12. The senate acted upon the report of its officers by adopting the following resolution :

First. The 29 names that have each received the approval of 51 or more electors shall be inscribed in the Hall of Fame.

Second. The cordial thanks of the Senate of New York University are returned to each of the electors for this service rendered to the public. While it has demanded no little thought and acceptance of responsibility on their part, it must receive abundant reward in the knowledge of important aid given thereby to the cause of education, particularly among the youth of America.

Third. The official book of the Hall of Fame, the publication of which is authorized by the senate, shall be sent to each of the 100 electors as a memento of this service.

Fourth. The senate will take action in the year 1902, under the rules of the Hall of Fame, toward filling at that time the vacant panels belonging to the present year, being 21 in number.

Fifth. The Senate invites each member of the present Board of Electors to serve as an elector in 1902. Should any one of the present board have laid down his educational or public office, his successor may, by preference, be invited to serve in 1902.

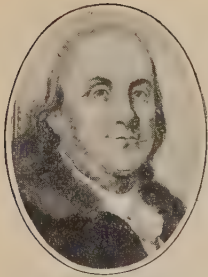
Reid, New York; James F. Rhodes, Boston; Theodore Roosevelt, Albany, N. Y. (no report); Albert Shaw, New York; William M. Sloane, New York; Edmund C. Stedman, New York; Moses Coit Tyler, Ithaca, N. Y.; Anson J. Upson, Glens Falls, N. Y.; Charles Dudley Warner, Hartford, Conn.; Andrew D. White, Berlin, Germany (no report); Woodrow Wilson, Princeton, N. J.—(26).

(D) Supreme Court Judges, State or National: G. W. Barch, Utah; J. M. Bartholomew, North Dakota; M. S. Bonfield, Nevada; Theodore Brantley, Montana; David J. Brewer, Washington, D. C.; John Campbell, Colorado; J. B. Cassoday, Wisconsin; Dighton Corson, South Dakota; M. H. Dent, West Virginia; W. T. Faircloth, North Carolina; Melville W. Fuller, Washington, D. C.; R. R. Gaines, Texas; J. H. Hazelrig, Kentucky; James Keith, Virginia; T. N. McClellan, Alabama; F. T. Nicholls, Louisiana; J. R. Nicholson, Delaware; T. L. Norval, Nebraska; C. N. Potter, Wyoming; C. M. Start, Minnesota; R. F. Taylor, Florida; C. E. Wolverton, Oregon; T. H. Woods, Mississippi—(23).

Sixth. Each nomination of the present year to the Hall of Fame that has received the approval of ten or more electors, yet has failed to receive a majority, will be considered a nomination for the year 1902. To these shall be added any name nominated in writing by five of the Board of Electors. Also other names may be nominated by the New York University Senate in such way as it may find expedient. Any nomination by any citizen of the United States that shall be addressed to the New York University Senate shall be received and considered by that body.

The 29 names are as follows, in the order of preference shown them by the 97 electors :

GEORGE WASHINGTON.....	97
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.....	96
DANIEL WEBSTER.....	96
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.....	94
ULYSSES S. GRANT.....	92
JOHN MARSHALL.....	91
THOMAS JEFFERSON.....	90
RALPH WALDO EMERSON.....	87
HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW.....	85
ROBERT FULTON.....	85
WASHINGTON IRVING.....	83
JONATHAN EDWARDS.....	81
SAMUEL F. B. MORSE.....	80
DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT.....	79
HENRY CLAY.....	74
NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE.....	73
GEORGE PEABODY.....	72
ROBERT E. LEE.....	69
PETER COOPER.....	69
ELI WHITNEY.....	67
JOHN JAMES AUDUBON.....	67
HORACE MANN.....	67
HENRY WARD BEECHER.....	66
JAMES KENT.....	65
JOSEPH STORY.....	64
JOHN ADAMS.....	61
WILLIAM ELLERY CHANNING.....	58
GILBERT STUART.....	52
ASA GRAY.....	51



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.
(1706-1790.)



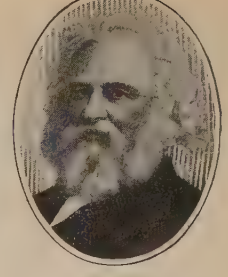
JOHN MARSHALL.
(1755-1835.)



THOMAS JEFFERSON.
(1743-1826.)



RALPH W. EMERSON.
(1803-1882.)



H. W. LONGFELLOW.
(1807-1882.)

The senate farther took note of the many requests that foreign-born Americans should be considered, by adopting a memorial to the University Corporation, as follows :

The New York University Senate, for a number of reasons, cordially approves the strict limitation of the Hall of Fame to native-born Americans. At the same time it would welcome a similar memorial to foreign-born Americans, as follows :

A new edifice to be joined to the north porch of the present hall, with harmonious architecture, to contain one-fifth of the space of the present hall ; that is, not over thirty panels, ten to be devoted, the first year, to the commemoration of ten foreign-born Americans who have been dead for at least ten years—an additional panel to be devoted to one name every five years throughout the twentieth century. We believe that less than one-fifth of the cost of the edifice now being builded would provide this new hall ; and that, neither in conspicuity nor in the landscape which it would command, would it in any way fall behind the present one.

It is proper now that we turn from the ideal to the material. What visible and tangible memorial in the Hall of Fame will be given to each name that has been chosen ? A very simple memento, we answer, has been promised by the university. As soon as the colonnade is completed, we shall select, for each of the 29 names, a panel of stone in the parapets at the side. In this the name will be carved at full length, together with the date of birth and of death—as, for example :

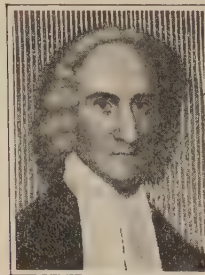
HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW

1807-1882

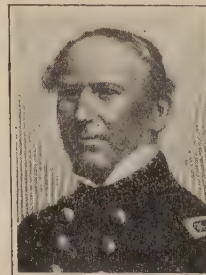
The panels will be distributed among the classes into which the names are divided. For example, next the Hall of Languages is the "Authors' Corner," with its pavilion. This will receive the names of Emerson, Longfellow, Irving, and Hawthorne. Next that is the "Teachers' Corner" and pavilion. To this will be assigned the Preachers' also—Edwards, Beecher, Channing, and Horace Mann. One-quarter of the way round the curve are the Scientists', together with the Inventors'. Here will be Audubon and Gray; Fulton, Morse, and Whitney. At the north end, in like manner, is the "Statesmen's Corner." Here are Washington, Lincoln, Webster, Franklin, Jefferson, Clay, and John Adams. Next is the "Jurists' Corner," with Marshall, Kent, and Story. The soldiers' quarters are south of these, with Grant, Farragut, and Lee. In the center of the curved colonnade is a seventh division, to include all others. This will be marked by the Latin word "*Septimi*." Here will be the philanthropists, George Peabody and Peter Cooper, and the painter, Gilbert Stuart. The name of each of the seven divisions is recorded in brass letters, in a diamond of Tennessee marble, set in the center of the pavement.



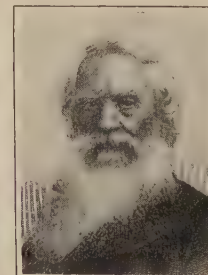
WASHINGTON IRVING.
(1783-1859.)



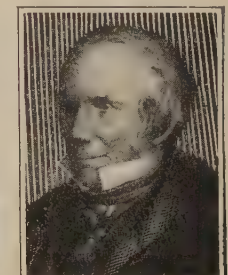
JONATHAN EDWARDS.
(1703-1758.)



DAVID G. FARRAGUT.
(1801-1870.)



SAMUEL F. B. MORSE.
(1791-1872.)



HENRY CLAY.
(1777-1852.)



GEORGE PEABODY.
(1795-1869.)



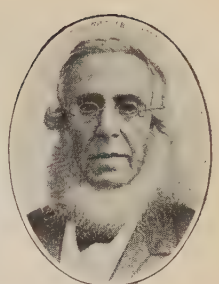
NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE.
(1804-1864.)



ROBERT E. LEE.
(1807-1870.)



HORACE MANN.
(1796-1859.)



PETER COOPER.
(1791-1883.)

Further, the university provides admirable positions in the colonnade for bronze statues or busts of those whose names are chosen.

On the ground-floor of the hall is a noble provision of a corridor of 200 feet in length, with five large rooms, whose ultimate and exclusive use is to be the preservation of mementos of those whose names are inscribed above. These mementos will doubtless consist of portraits of the persons, with marble busts or tablets, autographs, and the thousand-and-one memorials which vividly call to mind the departed great. A quaint vase has already been contributed to the museum, which commemorates, by engraved figures, the work in science performed by Franklin, Fulton, and Morse. Probably the most important feature of the museum in future years will be the mural paintings. The Society of Mural Painters has carefully examined these rooms, and has presented a memorial to the university in which they record their conclusions. This is signed by the members of the Committee on civic buildings, — Joseph Lauber, chairman; John La Farge, president of the society, *ex-officio* member; Kenyon Cox, secretary; George W. Maynard, Edwin H. Blashfield, and C. Y. Turner. The paper, in part, is as follows:

The committee on civic buildings of the National Society of Mural Painters, having carefully considered the possibilities of the embellishment of the museum

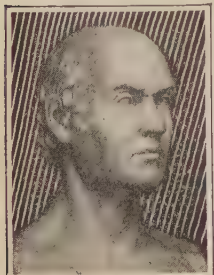
of the Hall of Fame by appropriate mural painting, hereby makes the following suggestions:

That it is eminently fitting that, in a commemoration of national greatness such as the Hall of Fame, the three great arts,—Architecture, Sculpture, and Mural Painting,—should collaborate, not only to perpetuate the memory of the great men of the nation for all time, but also to serve as an example of monumental art in America of to-day. . . .

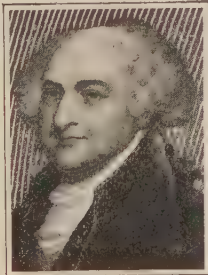
In looking over the wall-spaces of the museum of the Hall of Fame, we find that there is an excellent opportunity for the exercise of the mural art, the architect of the structure having provided a frieze-line of over six feet in height, extending throughout the entire edifice and interrupted by partitions and windows. We find the divisions of space as they are, excellent, as they will serve to separate the depiction of one subject from another. We would suggest that, if the authorities of the New York University decide on the mural embellishment of this structure, the central gallery, which has the largest uninterrupted frieze-line, be taken up first, and a *painting be placed here, chiefly allegorical, typifying American progress, the Ideals of the nation, and its place in the history of civilization.* Right and left of this, on the side-walls and in the adjoining galleries, the work on the walls may have a more direct bearing on the men and their achievements, according to the space allotted to the various representatives of the nation's greatness in the museum. . . .

Then, as we understand, it is desired to set apart spaces in this museum for relics and memorials of these men; the rooms should have a direct bearing on the achievements of the men memorialized, whether the treatment is allegorical, historical, or individual.

Even in allegory, this can be beautifully done; there



JOSEPH STORY.
(1779-1845.)



JOHN ADAMS.
(1735-1826.)



WILLIAM E. CHANNING.
(1780-1842.)



GILBERT STUART.
(1755-1828.)



ASA GRAY.
(1810-1888.)



ROBERT FULTON.
(1765-1815.)



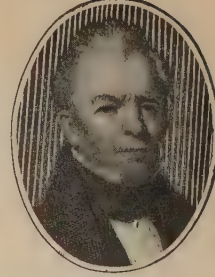
JOHN J. AUDUBON.
(1780-1851.)



ELI WHITNEY.
(1765-1825.)



HENRY WARD BEECHER.
(1813-1887.)



JAMES KENT.
(1763-1847.)

need be no vagueness in the significance of the artist's work.

Unfortunately, the university being compelled to use all its efforts on behalf of its ordinary educational work, can lend no energy to the securing of means for the decoration of the Hall of Fame, beyond statements like the present. We offer the abundant space provided by the generosity of the giver of the edifice. When the hall, including only the colonnade and the museum, shall have been completed by the close of winter, it will have cost a little more than \$250,000. It is, by itself, a most delightful memorial to great Americans—not only in its architecture and the names inscribed, but also in the surpassing landscape which it commands throughout its 500 feet of length. The historic heights of Fort Washington, where one of the fiercest Revolutionary battles was fought; the Hudson and the Palisades, the Harlem and the Speedway—are in view. Close by are noble trees belonging to the park recently established by the city. Through this sloping University Park will be a popular approach to the hall from the west. From the east and the future rapid-transit road, the visitor will come to the hall through the college campus and the "Mall." The Hall of Fame must be visited to be known, for it can be represented by no photograph. In order merely to read the eight connected inscriptions upon the eight pediments, the sightseer must go

around the exterior of the entire structure, front and rear, a full quarter-mile. He will find the object and the reason of the edifice described in the carved words, which chance to be precisely the same in number as the great names that the Hall of Fame will commend to the people of the Twentieth Century. The 29 words are as follows:

THE HALL OF FAME

FOR GREAT AMERICANS

BY WEALTH OF THOUGHT

OR ELSE BY MIGHTY DEED

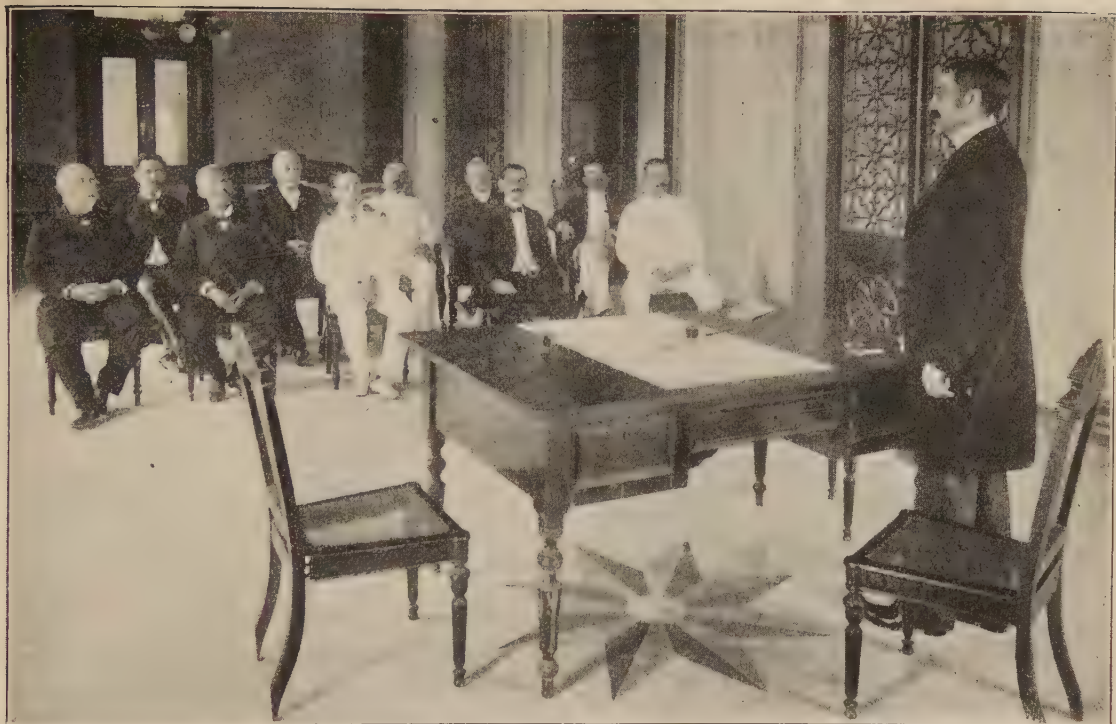
THEY SERVED MANKIND

IN NOBLE CHARACTER

IN WORLD-WIDE GOOD

THEY LIVE FOREVERMORE





(Names from left to right.)

Mr. Matienzo.	Mr. Camunas.	Dr. Barbosa.	Mr. Crosias.	Dr. Hollander.	Mr. Garrison.	Mr. De Diego.	Mr. Elliott.	Mr. Hunt.
(Rep.)	(Fed.)	(Rep.)	(Ind.)	(Treas.)	(Auditor.)	(Fed.)	(Sec'y of Interior.)	(Pres.)

THE PORTO RICAN EXECUTIVE COUNCIL IN THE THRONE-ROOM OF THE PALACE.

(This photograph was taken before the arrival of Dr. Brumbaugh, and Mr. Russell, the attorney-general.)

THE POLITICAL BEGINNINGS IN PORTO RICO.

BY JOHN FINLEY.

(Of Princeton University.)

THE people of Porto Rico call their highest mountain "El Yunke," the anvil; and they might very properly now give that name to the entire island, for it is an anvil on which two civilizations, two peoples, with diverse traditions, are being welded. The fires have been blazing in the forges for months, and the legislative hammering has begun. It was my fortune to be on the island when the first blows were struck to this welding.

I reached San Juan, "the capital," just on the eve of the assembling of the executive council to begin its legislative work; for its functions partake both of the executive and the legislative. Six of its members, citizens all of the United States, are insular executive officers. Sitting, by virtue of their office, with five native members, also appointed by the President, they con-

stitute the upper legislative chamber. At present this is the only chamber; for the popular, elective body will not be organized until after the elections, which are to be held in November. This upper house has two exclusive functions under the act of its establishment: first, the districting of the island for election purposes and the enactment of election laws; and, second, the granting of franchises. But only in these initial matters is it independent of the lower house. Its consent is necessary to the enactment of all other laws; but the popular body, to consist exclusively of native members, may itself prevent any legislation which it considers not for the best interests of the island. It will thus be seen that the legislative machinery is not structurally unlike that which is made for the "Territories;" nor does the relationship of the Porto

Rican to it appear to be in fact different from that of the citizen of Arizona or Alaska to his Territorial government, whatever it may be in theory, and whatever the constitutional status of the former may be.

The assembling of this body was without demonstration. There was no more pomp or ceremony than if it were a meeting of a college faculty or of a board of railroad directors. Eleven men sat, with less than a dozen onlookers, in the throne-room of the palace where absolutism had, for generations, attracted and awed by its splendor. They were to begin the welding. The shield of Porto Rico, bearing the emblems of Spain, still looked out from beneath the ceiling; and there was only a lone flag of Stars and Stripes hanging at the end of the hall as visible symbol of the new order of things. Some of the members of Spanish descent wore an air of dignity in keeping with the courtly association of the chamber, and quite in contrast with the unconcerned manner, the easy posture, and *négligée* garb of most of the Americans, who might, from all appearances, be assembled to the duties of a farmers' institute. To be frank, I felt that there was perhaps hardly enough deference to the proud past of the brave little island which the French, the English, and the Dutch had all in vain bombarded. But then I was fresh from the outside.

If any one has visions of "carpet-baggers" in sinecures, an introduction to the members of this council who have been sent to the island would dispel them; for a more capable, high-minded group of men it would be difficult to gather to such a task as theirs. They are in a diving-bell amid wreckage; but they are working indefatigably, and it may be said in parenthesis that they need all the pure air we can pump into the tube at this end.

The chairman is Judge William Hunt, the secretary of the island, chosen president for his evident and eminent fitness for the position. His patience seems to be equal to the extraordinary demands upon it, but it has not softened his will when firmness is needed. There is no "lackeying to the varying tide." Some of his wisdom for such varied tasks as come to him he has inherited, I fancy, from ancestors who have performed like service for England, and much he has gotten from his experience in judicial and public life.

The young man of dark visage and immaculate dress is Dr. Hollander, the treasurer of the island. He was taken from his professorship at the Johns Hopkins University, and sent down to the island as a special commissioner to report upon a system of revenue; but he was found to be so valuable a man in this field that, against

his own desire and in the face of his protest, he was kept there as treasurer, and set at the receipt of custom. Tax-gatherers became his students. Perhaps no one there has a more trying or disagreeable task; for it is only through the taxes that the government touches the most of the people. His work, immensely difficult to begin with, was augmented by the absconding of some of the old collectors, by the policy already entered upon of remitting taxes to all who had suffered from the devastating hurricane of a year ago (and nearly all asked for rebates), and by the disturbance of the recent change in currency; but in spite of all the difficulties which the department has had to encounter, the assessments are being equalized, a greater proportion of the taxes assessed is collected, and all that is collected gets into the treasury—a new experience.

Another young official with a vexing task is the attorney-general. He has sacrificed considerable business interests out in Illinois to give his days and nights to reconciling a system of law that holds a man guilty until proved innocent with one that presumes innocence until the guilt is established. There is relief in sight, however; for while I was there the commissioners from the United States arrived to begin, with one Porto Rican member, the local study and codification of the laws.

The member whose opportunities are the greatest is the commissioner of education, for it is only through the instruction of the children and youth that we can hope to exert much influence upon the life of the island. Dr. Brumbaugh's experience and shoulders are fortunately broad for his new work. It is his giant form that is first to rise, when petitions are in order, to present the first petition laid before the council, asking for an increase of the appropriation for the new normal school, toward which the people of Fajardo had privately contributed, as a bonus, \$20,000. I saw him last, in the midst of his executive duties, one burning August afternoon, perspiring, hatless and coatless, directing the transformation of an orphanage in San Juan into a high-school building, to be opened to its new uses in October. All I learned concerning the two older members was that the auditor was overworked, and that the minister of the interior was efficient in attending to the multifarious duties of his department.

So much I have stopped to say of these men that those who cannot see for themselves may know how well and faithfully we are represented in this miniature State 500 leagues away.

Of the five native members appointed by the President, one also gets a favorable impression. Two are members of the Federal party—one a

young, able lawyer from the western part of the island, the other a gentleman of means from the eastern district, both men of culture, educated, I am told, in the Spanish universities, of dignified bearing, but courteous in manner and agile in oral fencing. Two are of the Republican party—one who has the appearance of a substantial man of business and comes from Ponce, the other a physician of prominence in San Juan, who had his training in the University of Michigan Medical School; and the fifth an “independent” (that is, independent of the two dominant parties)—a prominent and influential citizen of the island, who spent many years in the United States as a young man, and was a soldier during the Civil War. Among the interesting incidents of the sessions were the remarks of this member, spoken first in English to the American members, and then in Spanish to the Porto Ricans. The others used the interpreter, though the Republican physician spoke sometimes in the one tongue and sometimes in the other.

There seem to be no clearly marked issues between the two parties, though recent reports indicate that efforts are being made to associate the Federal with the Democratic party in the United States. Both the local parties desire a greater measure of freedom in municipal government; both advocate the early organization of the island as a Territory of the United States. There is, so far as I could learn, no considerable sentiment in favor of the independence of the island. This would be disastrous to its business interests, at least, it is felt, and would discourage the investment of American capital in the development of its resources. But the Federals have not assumed an altogether sympathetic attitude toward the Government. In the council the two members of this party played from the first the rôle of obstructionists. It is difficult to credit them with entire sincerity in their opposition, which seemed rather childish and trivial; but it should be remembered that the Latin traditions are back of these men, and that they may have had real difficulty in coming to the Saxon point of view. The first objection was made, in the adoption of the by-laws, to the section giving the sergeant-at-arms power, with which he is invested by all legislative bodies in the United States, to arrest an absent member upon the call of the house, and bring him into its presence—one argument being that it did not comport with the office of counselor that he should be subject to such an indignity. But the opposition had a dramatic climax when the plan for districting the island, suggested by the independent member and recommended by a majority of the spe-

cial committee, which consisted of the five native members, came up for discussion. The American members all supported the plan recommended. The two Federal members of the council, unable to secure the adoption of their plan of apportionment, withdrew from the council after an impassioned speech by the leader, whose sentiments were indorsed by his associate, and sent their resignations to the President of the United States. The speech of Mr. de Diego was delivered in Spanish, and with great fervor and effect. I have only the English translation, for whose correctness I cannot vouch:

I cannot restrain myself at this hour from giving utterance to my feelings before this council and before my people. I am to-day under the influence of an immense sorrow; but probably the occurrence of this meeting, which I consider to be unfortunate for the country, may be fortunate for me, because I shall probably go away forever from the scene of these base political struggles, which so belittle the heart and intelligence of humanity. Before parting, probably forever, therefrom, I want to give assurances of hope to my friends in the island. I believe that, with the plan of territorial division which has been approved here, that the Federal party will be victorious in the coming election; the justice of God is paramount to the justice of man. I bow before the resolutions of my countrymen, but I bow more before the justice of God.

This will give some notion of the political difficulties and of the temper of the minds that the pragmatic American is having to deal with. Unable to carry their own plan, the Federal members impute base motives to all who supported the other, and go forth themselves as martyrs to a principle when no principle is involved beyond that of common honesty. The event partakes of the melodramatic; but, in view of the treatment of the past centuries, it is excusable, and invites our sympathy rather than our ridicule or criticism.

But it is this temperament, reflected by the representatives; this disposition to refer every political act to a partisan motive, and the further disposition to use office not only for the reward of friends (as is not uncommon here), but for the punishment of political enemies, which causes many to doubt the wisdom of granting at present a larger measure of self-government.

The parties in Porto Rico, as I have said, are largely personal followings, and have some basis in social and racial distinctions. The people being of excitable temperament and rabidly partisan, when not apathetic, are likely to be unreasonable and violent in their animosities. Personal violence is not infrequent in this time of political heat preceding the election of members to the lower house, and several murders from political motives are reported. The leader of

the Federal party has himself suffered, according to reports, the loss of his printing-shop, which was demolished by the partisans of the Republican mayor of San Juan, whom he attacked in the columns of his paper. This violence is not due to anti-American feeling, but to inter-party enmity; though it must be admitted that there is, from one cause or another, some dissatisfaction with the Government that is; and this was, perhaps, to be expected. Some of it arises, as I have already intimated, from a disappointment that the Porto Ricans have not speedily been made citizens of the United States. Out in the country, it is due partly to the stoppage of relief, whose enjoyment some had doubtless come to look upon as a natural right.

It is idle to discuss what might have been; and one is pardonably in doubt concerning the present and future even, in the midst of conflicting and confounding reports that have reached the United States as to the people, the climate, the soil, and all that in any way concerns our relations with the island. And the testimony was not less diverse even in San Juan. So I determined to see and hear for myself—to see not only the margins of this island, which have caught something of civilization from the passing ships, but the interior as well, where this same civilization, unaccustomed to trails and slow travel, has not penetrated.

"The capital" is beautiful as one approaches it from the ocean or looks upon its face from the bay; but when one goes into it, if one has never been in a tropical city before, one is oppressed by the squalor, the seeming want of decency, the air of listlessness, and some other things. But I suppose a Porto Rican might make the same observation concerning some parts of any of our great cities. The streets, to be sure, are clean (kept so by convicts from the penitentiary just around the hill from the palace); but the overcrowding of house and court, the want of privacy which accompanies this overcrowding, the poor sanitary arrangements, and all that these physical conditions suggested, had a very depressing effect. I was glad to get away from the noises and the odors, the glare of the plazas, and the somberness of the throne-room, out into the mountains.

The aggregate of my travels on the island was about 300 miles, nearly 200 of which distance I covered on foot. The route was from San Juan over the deservedly famous military road, through Caguas, Cayey, Aibonito, and Coamo to Ponce; thence through Adjuntas and Utuado to Arecibo on the north shore, back to San Juan, and then through the cane-fields to the eastern shore. I walked alone, for the most part, or with wander-

ing peons (for only they and the very poorest of them walk there); slept in village inns and huts (except for two nights, when I was entertained by American officers and engineers), and lived chiefly on eggs, native coffee, and bread. I was courteously, hospitably, received wherever I went, though the enthusiasm at sight of an American was not as great as it once was.

The physical attractions of Porto Rico have been sung, and not too extravagantly or ardently; for it is a beautiful spot of earth, and "every prospect pleases." There is a tradition there that Columbus found its waters sweet; and that a northerner in midsummer could by day walk 200 miles through the country, tells better than the thermometer that the climate is tolerable, even for a white man. It is only the monotony of it that becomes oppressive and enervating.

And I suppose it to be a very fertile island. An agent of the Department of Agriculture, while I was there, returned to the United States to make a report as to its productivity—to tell of the vegetables, fruits, cereals, that might be raised there; and what I read recalled Caleb's report to the Israelites about Canaan. On all hands I heard testimony as to the fecundity of the valleys and hillsides, which had not yet recovered, however, from the devastation of the hurricane of a year ago. The island, fully or even partially developed, will undoubtedly feed, clothe, and shelter 1,000,000 people; but she was giving scant livelihood to many of her children at this time. That this was so seemed not to be entirely the fault of nature, though she had been severe. An equal number of Yankees, with characteristic energy and ingenuity and industry, would have effaced all marks of the ruin of the previous year. I saw few men or women in the fields. They sat idly in their huts, lounged at the little stores along the roads, or perhaps rode out to the village with a few bananas, cocoanuts, or vegetables, and back with a little native rum and codfish.

If the city was somewhat depressing, the sight of the people I met along the way was distressing. I saw few bright faces or well-nourished bodies in my travels from coast to coast. The hurricane had disturbed the old employments of these people, and they had not the energy or initiative to find new ones. The coffee-trees were gone, and more foresight was required than they possessed to plan for a crop that was five years away. The Government had fed the hungry for months. Millions of pounds of food had been imported and distributed while fields lay idle. This was now stopped, but the idleness which it had only begotten or encouraged still continued. It should be remembered that these rather discouraging

conditions are not peculiar to this little island, and also that they are not of our making, except as our best-intentioned charity may have aggravated the effect of the climate.

The question as to our part in working out the problem,—which is, after all, not of our making,—I put at every mile of the way; the question which the whole temperate zone is putting to the tropics. I asked it of every stolid face; of every idle man; of the boy who walked at my side begging for a centavo; of the father carrying his dead child upon his shoulder, in the glaring sun, to consecrated ground miles away; of the boy who, in primitive fashion, balanced the produce on one side of his panniers with rocks on the other, and of the Indian who guided me through the pathless woods and brought me sugar-cane to suck when I could get no food,—of all these I asked it. I did not need to ask the fallow fields and the bare hillsides; I knew their answer, and it was put into the mouth of the people. It is the answer of all the tropics, that the temperate zone has an obligation there. We certainly have an obligation in Porto Rico.

But there is a hopeful side to the situation in Porto Rico even now, if our theories will let us enjoy it. The schools are being opened all over the island, under competent supervision. Roads and bridges are being built. Franchises are being sought for redeeming swamp-lands, for water privileges, for building street railways and steam railroads across the island. Neglected plantations are being brought into culti-

vation again, and prosperity seems on the eve of entering the island. The taxes are being honestly collected, and progress is being made toward securing justice to all. These are rather abstract statements, but there are concrete facts back of them. There is no occasion to be jubilant or boastful or sanguine; but if our civilization means anything, it means that the agencies that we have established there will some day bring good to the island and its people.

The orange grows wild in Porto Rico, but it lacks that particular flavor which the cultivated palate demands. Since the American occupation, new-comers have set out orchards with the purpose of grafting slips from California or Florida trees upon native stock, that they may produce, not Porto Rican, but California and Florida oranges. The simile is easily carried into the field of politics.

It will be at least five years before the orange-trees will bear, and then perhaps not abundantly. And the simile will allow the further suggestion that one ought to be as patient with the processes of political growth as the orange-growers are with their slow-fruiting trees. Barring hurricanes, they are as likely to get their California and Florida oranges in time, and the island of Porto Rico will get its civilized fruitage, if only the political storms are not too violent. One may not reason from orange-trees to human beings; but the processes of Nature in the transformation of a wild tree do certainly give most hopeful analogy.

THE AMERICAN NEGRO AT PARIS.

BY W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

ON the banks of the Seine, opposite the Rue des Nations, stands a large, plain white building, where the promoters of the Paris Exposition have housed the world's ideas of sociology. As a matter of fact, any one who takes his sociology from theoretical treatises would be rather disappointed at the exhibit; for there is little here of the "science of society." On the other hand, those who have followed historically the development, out of the old Political Economy, of a miscellaneous body of knowing chiefly connected with the larger aspects of human benevolence, will here find much of interest: the building and mutual-aid societies of France; the working-man's circles of Belgium; the city governments of Sweden; the Red Cross Society; the state insurance of Germany,—are all here strik-

ingly exhibited by charts, statistics, models, and photographs.

The United States section of this building is small, and not, at first glance, particularly striking. There are, in the center, well-made tenement-house models; in one corner a small exhibit of the American Library Association, and elsewhere sets of interesting maps and photographs showing the work



DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS.

of factory inspectors and typical industrial plants. All these exhibits, are, unfortunately, rather fragmentary, and do scant justice to the wonderful social and economic development of America.

In the right-hand corner, however, as one enters, is an exhibit which, more than most others in the building, is sociological in the larger sense of the term—that is, is an attempt to give, in as systematic and compact a form as possible, the history and present condition of a large group of human beings. This is the exhibit of American Negroes, planned and executed by Negroes, and collected and installed under the direction of a Negro special agent, Mr. Thomas J. Calloway.

In this exhibit there are, of course, the usual paraphernalia for catching the eye—photographs, models, industrial work, and pictures. But it does not stop here; beneath all this is a carefully thought-out plan, according to which the exhibitors have tried to show :

- (a) The history of the American Negro.
- (b) His present condition.
- (c) His education.
- (d) His literature.

The history of the Negro is illustrated by charts and photographs; there is, for instance, a series of striking models of the progress of the colored people, beginning with the homeless freedman and ending with the modern brick schoolhouse and its teachers. There are charts of the increase of Negro population, the routes of the African slave-trade, the progress of emancipation, and the decreasing illiteracy. There are pictures of the old cabins, and, in three great manuscript volumes, the complete black code of Georgia, from colonial times to the end of the nineteenth century. Not the least interesting contribution to history is the case given to Negro medal-of-honor men in the army and navy—from the man who “seized the colors after two color-bearers had been shot down and



EXHIBIT OF AMERICAN NEGROES AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION.

bore them nobly through the fight” to the black men in the Spanish War who “voluntarily went ashore in the face of the enemy and aided in the rescue of their wounded comrades.” It was a Massachusetts lawyer who replied to the Patent-Office inquiry, “I never knew a negro to invent anything but lies;” and yet here is a record of 350 patents granted to black men since 1834.

The bulk of the exhibit, is naturally, an attempt to picture present conditions. Thirty-two charts, 500 photographs, and numerous maps and plans form the basis of this exhibit. The charts are in two sets, one illustrating conditions in the entire United States and the other conditions in the typical State of Georgia. At a glance one can see the successive steps by which the 220,000 negroes of 1750 had increased to

7,500,000 in 1890; their distribution throughout the different States; a comparison of the size of the Negro population with European countries bringing out the striking fact that there are nearly half as many Negroes in the United States as Spaniards in Spain. The striking movement by which the 4½ per cent. of Negroes living in the cities in 1860 has increased to 12 per cent. in 1890 is shown, as is also the fact that recognized mulattoes have increased 50 per cent. in 30 years, even in the defective census returns. Twenty per cent. of the Negroes are shown to be home-owners, 60 per cent. of their children are in school, and their illiteracy is less than that of Russia, and only equal to that of Hungary.

It was a good idea to supplement these very general figures with a minute social study in a typical Southern State. It would hardly be suggested, in the light of recent history, that conditions in the State of Georgia are such as to give a rose-colored picture of the Negro; and yet Georgia, having the largest Negro population, is an excellent field of study. Here again we have statistics: the increase of the black population in a century from 30,000 to 860,000, the huddling in the Black Belt for self-protection since the war, and a comparison of the age distribution with France showing the wonderful reproductive powers of the blacks. The school enrollment has increased from 10,000 in 1870 to 180,000 in 1897, and the Negroes are distributed among the occupations as follows:

In agriculture, 62 per cent.; in domestic and personal service, 28 per cent.; in manufacturing and mechanical industries, 5 per cent.; in trade and transportation, 4½ per cent.; in the professions, ½ per cent.

They own 1,000,000 acres of land and pay taxes on \$12,000,000 worth of property—not large, but telling figures; and the charts indicate, from year to year, the struggle they have had to accumulate and hold this property. There are several volumes of photographs of typical Negro faces, which hardly square with conventional American ideas. Several maps show the peculiar distribution of the white and black inhabitants in various towns and counties.

The education of the Negro is illustrated in the work of five great institutions—Fisk, Atlanta, and Howard Universities, and Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes. The exhibit from Fisk illustrates, by photographs and examination papers, the work of secondary and higher education. Atlanta University shows her work in social study and the work of her college and normal graduates; Howard University shows the work of her professional schools, especially in medicine, theology, and law. From Hampton there

is an especially excellent series of photographs illustrating the Hampton idea of "teaching by doing," and from Tuskegee there are numerous specimens of work from the manual-training and technical departments.

Perhaps the most unique and striking exhibit is that of American Negro literature. The development of Negro thought—the view of themselves which these millions of freedmen have taken—is of intense psychological and practical interest. There are many who have scarcely heard of a Negro book, much less read one; still here is a bibliography made by the Library of Congress containing 1,400 titles of works written by Negroes; 200 of these books are exhibited on the shelves. The Negroes have 150 periodicals, mostly weekly papers, many of which are exhibited here.

We have thus, it may be seen, an honest, straightforward exhibit of a small nation of people, picturing their life and development without apology or gloss, and above all made by themselves. In a way this marks an era in the history of the Negroes of America. It is no new thing for a group of people to accomplish much under the help and guidance of a stronger group; indeed, the whole Palace of Social Economy at the Paris Exposition shows how vast a system of help and guidance of this order is being carried on to-day throughout the world. When, however, the inevitable question arises, What are these guided groups doing for themselves? there is in the whole building no more encouraging answer than that given by the American negroes, who are here shown to be studying, examining, and thinking of their own progress and prospects.*

* Mr. Thomas J. Calloway, the special agent of the Negro exhibit, gives the following list of awards to the exhibit, together with a note of explanation, which we print below:

Grand Prix—American Negro Exhibit (on the collection as a whole): Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, Hampton, Va. *Gold Medals*—Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.; Howard University, Washington, D. C.; T. J. Calloway, Special Agent Negro Exhibit (as compiler); W. E. B. Du Bois, Collaborator as Compiler of Georgia Negro Exhibit. *Silver Medals*—Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.; Agricultural and Mechanical College, Greensboro', N. C.; Berea College, Berea, Ky.; Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.; Booker T. Washington, Monograph on Education of Negro. *Bronze Medals*—Roger Williams University, Nashville, Tenn.; Central Tennessee College, Nashville, Tenn.; Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.; Pine Bluff Normal and Industrial School, Pine Bluff, Ark. *Honorable Mention*—Haines Normal and Industrial Institute, Augusta, Ga.; Claflin University, Orangeburg, S. C.

While these awards represent the appreciation of the several juries, taken together there is not the even balancing that might be wished. Some of the principal features were not installed till after the juries were disbanded. For example, the books, the models, patents, etc., fall under this list. The awards, therefore, except in certain cases like Hampton, Tuskegee, Atlanta, etc., do not necessarily represent the strongest features of the exhibit.

TRUSTS IN ENGLAND.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS OF INDUSTRIAL COMBINATIONS.

BY ROBERT DONALD.

(Editor of the *Municipal Journal*, London, Eng.)

TEN years ago, the heading "Trusts in England" would have been as great an anomaly as the often-quoted title of an article on "Snakes in Iceland," which read, "There are no snakes in Iceland." For many years the Manchester school of *laissez-faire* had dominated English political economy. Under free trade, commercial freedom, every one thought, was guaranteed; competition had full play. English economists pointed to the fruits of protection in the trusts organized in the United States, and predicted that these gigantic monopolies would endanger free institutions, and strangle the political as well as the commercial liberties of the republic. With free trade (so they held) there could be no trusts. Trusts could not be organized without high protection and the assistance of powerful railroad corporations; and, even if they were established, they could not exist any length of time, and would never succeed. These views were also held by free-traders and economists in America. Economists must now revise their views, and politicians change their tactics. England no longer enjoys that immunity from monopoly which was the boast of its own economists and the object-lesson of American free-traders. While the position of trusts has not greatly changed in the United States during the past ten years, except to develop on the same lines, a commercial revolution is taking place in England. The country is becoming honey-combed with combinations and trusts; and, what is more and perhaps worse, there is no agitation against the system. No effort is made to check trusts or control them. Not a word has been said in Parliament on the subject. Newspapers record the news of combinations without much comment, except on the financial or investors' aspect of them. I can trace only two serious review articles on this important development—one superficial and ill-informed; the other by the promoter of some of the combines. The fact is that the new phase of industrial combination is an easy, natural, and perhaps inevitable development of the joint-stock-limited-company system, together with the publicity and checks that accompany it. We have now in England as many varieties of combinations as exist in

the United States. There are—(1) loose understandings for apportioning trade; (2) working agreements between groups of manufacturers for regulating prices; (3) great amalgamations which practically control the markets; (4) local trusts, supreme in their own areas and in their own trades; (5) national monopolies, and (6) international monopolies.

Accepting Professor Ely's definition of a monopoly as meaning "that substantial unity of action on the part of one or more persons engaged in some kind of business which gives exclusive control, more particularly, although not solely, with regard to price," there are now many such in England. The rapid extension of "combines" recently is all the more remarkable, because the early efforts at trust-making were failures.

Before describing the various types of industrial combinations that now exist, it will be as well to refer briefly to the joint-stock system under which they are organized.

THE LIMITED-COMPANY OR JOINT-STOCK SYSTEM.

When fairly carried out, the limited-company system is good, alike for the trader and the investor. A successful manufacturer, for instance, wants to turn his business into a limited-liability company. Two or three things may induce him to do this. He may be getting old; he may want fresh capital; or, he may want to sell his business without losing an interest in it, or even the control of it, simply for the sake of making money. He adds to his capital, or value of his works and property, the value of his good-will. The value of his property must be vouched for by professional valuers, his accounts audited by chartered accountants, to show the net profits for a number of years. He puts his price on the business, and says how he will take the value—in securities or cash, or partly in both. The public judge it as an investment, and subscribe or not, as they choose. Much depends on the amount of information given in the prospectus. The public may be offered the majority of the ordinary shares or stock, and in that case would control the business; or, the vender may issue only 4 or 5 per cent. preference shares or mortgage debentures.

tures, and retain all the ordinary stock. In that case he controls the business so long as he is able to pay the interest on the preference shares and debentures; if he fails to do so, they will take possession of the business. The Stock Exchange limits his holding in preference and debenture stock if he retains most of the ordinary shares. The accounts must be properly audited every year by professional accountants, and the whole system is more or less open. There are, of course, abuses, which arise from overcapitalization, the hiring of guinea-pig directors to attract investors, and so on; but the company swindles are generally in connection with financial and mining companies, not with industrial concerns. The law has just been amended to meet some of the abuses that had grown up. Hitherto it has been difficult to punish individuals who defrauded the public, and the chief business of some promoters was to float wild-cat schemes one year and wind them up the next.

The joint-stock system is very elastic, and gives every facility for combination. It is much simpler for companies to combine than for private firms to join hands. Amalgamations under companies are easily organized on an equitable basis, and there is no limit to the extent to which they can be carried. As will be seen later on, the British combine differs in many ways from the American trust; but the aim is the same, even though the methods taken to reach it may differ.

INFORMAL COMBINES.

There are a large number of informal combines in England which give some advantages of monopoly without unity of control or financial association. Thus, the railroad corporations have long ceased to compete as regards rates. It is perfectly well understood, and has been admitted over and over again by railroad men before Parliamentary committees, that the railroad companies combine. They agree in their rates, but compete in facilities, speed, etc. If it were not that the railroad companies are strictly regulated by the Board of Trade, this system of concerted action would be a very serious factor. As it is, the railroads represent the most powerful interest in Parliament.

Railroad companies do not connive at trust-making, as in the United States, but they discriminate to some extent. They sometimes reduce their rates according to the quantity of goods sent on their lines, which obviously favors the big concerns.

Similarly, the leading shipping companies have fixed rates for freight, to stop under-cutting,

competing only in speed and facilities. Some of them have monopolies of their routes. The recent amalgamation of the Castle and Union lines is a case in point, as it establishes a practical monopoly in the service to South Africa.

There are various understandings and agreements in the coal-trade. As the price of coal has risen just now over 30 per cent., it is suggested that there is a national combine, but there is no evidence of it; nor is it necessary, as local combinations serve the same purpose, being protected in their own areas from competition by the cost of freight. In London, all the leading coal merchants combine to fix prices. They decide at the Coal Exchange when prices shall rise or fall. They cannot take any extreme course; otherwise the crowd of small dealers outside the ring would interfere with their business.

The London flour-millers have a small association for fixing the prices of top flour which is used by the West-End bakers. Four or five firms have a monopoly of this business, with the object of maintaining prices and equalizing quality.

The leading engineering firms throughout the country entered into a compact, after the last strike, to act together against trade-union labor—making unity of action on one point. The Proprietary Articles Trade Association, representing wholesale and retail chemists, is established to prevent cutting in the drug-stores. The fire-insurance companies have a ring for regulating rates, one result of which is that public authorities are likely to become their own insurers.

These examples of understandings and agreements do not bear directly on the question of trusts, but are another indication that the competitive system is weakening.

EARLY EFFORTS AT TRUST-MAKING.

It is evident that, until a few years ago, England was not ripe for trusts. The early efforts failed either through the overcapitalization of the concerns, opposition from outsiders, or defective management. The Salt Union was a complete failure. So was the Hansard Union—an attempt to combine certain printing firms in London and paper-mills in the country.

The United Alkali Company, formed a few years ago with a capital of \$45,500,000, controlled three-fourths of the alkali business; yet for three years it has paid no dividend on the ordinary shares. The £10 shares stand at between 2 and 3. The company has had a working agreement with Brunner, Mond & Co. and Bowman Thompson & Co., so that the whole alkali trade was a monopoly. Brunner-Mond (a remarkably successful firm) and Bowman

Thompson & Co. have now amalgamated. Their capital is \$16,652,200; and it is a question, at present, whether they will renew their agreement with the United Alkali or compete with it.

An attempt was made in December, 1897, to absorb all the bill-posting advertisement businesses into one national combine; but it was a hopeless failure. The capital was fixed at \$12,250,000, but only a small sum was subscribed.

The Bedstead Manufacturers' Association, which has just broken up, was a novel experiment in trust-making. It attempted to carry the workmen with it by giving them the highest wages, and 40 per cent. bonus. The alliance with the workmen lasted for eight years, and the combine was held together by coercing firms with the united forces of capital and labor. The trade has recently become depressed. At a meeting held in the second week of August it was announced that a number of firms had seceded, and the association was practically dissolved. The Bedstead Workmen's Association is now proposing to hold the firms in the alliance to their agreement.

THE TELEPHONE MONOPOLY.

The monopoly that has been most prejudicial to public interests—the National Telephone Company—is now being undermined. By buying up other companies, the National established a monopoly which fitted its name. The post-office made no effort to curb it, but on the contrary encouraged, or, at any rate, facilitated it. The company worked under a license that was to expire in 1911; it had a capital of \$35,000,000, which it made no effort to redeem. It was confident either of getting its license renewed or of compelling the post-office to buy its watered capital at par. The evolution of this monopoly is a sordid story—one of the worst features of which is that the postmaster-general, who helped to consolidate it, was soon afterward made a director of the company. The agitation against this monopoly on the part of municipalities became so strong that in 1898 the House of Commons appointed a committee to investigate the question. The result was that last year an act was passed giving municipalities the right to establish telephones, and authorizing the post-office to spend \$10,000,000 in creating a competitive system in London. While the post-office strikes at the monopoly at the center, the municipalities will knock holes in it in provincial cities. That is now being done, and the public competitive system will begin to work early next year. Parliament has given the telephone company a lingering instead of a sudden death by extending its license for another fourteen years.

MANIA FOR AMALGAMATIONS.

During the last three years, there has been a prolific crop of amalgamations—half-way houses to trusts. Private and proprietary banks are being absorbed out of existence. Barclay's Bank has taken over 24 similar undertakings. Parr's Bank has absorbed about as many, and Lloyd's Bank has swallowed up 38 other banking-houses, and is still seeking others to devour. Lloyd's has 309 branches and a paid-up capital of \$13,280,000. Its current and deposit accounts amount to \$227,500,000. Only one joint-stock bank does a larger business now than this. One of the proprietors of a bank which had been established two hundred years, and which had sunk its historic name in Lloyd's, informed me that one cause of the amalgamation was that the public preferred banks that published balance-sheets—as, of course, all joint-stock banks are obliged to do. The few ancient banks that now remain have old family connections which keep them going, and some of them are so exclusive that they will not open business accounts.

A few years ago, when the "boom" was on, a number of amalgamations were effected in the cycle trade. They are not now very successful. The firms engaged in carrying coal by sea have recently amalgamated; but, in fact, the ordinary amalgamation of two or more firms in the same line of business is an every-day occurrence, which calls for no comment.

ENGINEERING AND SHIPBUILDING COMBINATIONS.

There is one kind of amalgamation taking place that deserves special note. Great mining, iron, engineering, and shipbuilding firms have come together. Instead of having between the raw material and the completed ship or engineering work the intermediary profits of the iron-ore miner, the coal-miner, the ironmaster, the steel-maker, the iron-founder, the forger, the marine-engine builder, and so forth,—all these middlemen are got rid of, and the whole business placed, as it were, under one roof. The Vickers, Son & Maxim Company is a case in point. This company, an amalgamation of several, can now turn out a battleship, from beginning to finish, without any outside assistance. Another notable union was that carried out by the great engineering house of Sir W. G. Armstrong Mitchell & Co. and Sir Joseph Whitworth & Co. in 1897. Their capital is \$23,550,000, and last year they paid 15 per cent. with a bonus of 5 per cent. This company supplies all kinds of armor; but they have not their own shipbuilding yards yet, although this development is to come. The firms of Robert Napier &

Sons, shipbuilders, and Broadmore & Co., steel and armor plate makers, have united, and are now a self-contained concern. A similar alliance has been made between Messrs. Brown, engineers, of Sheffield, and the Clyde Shipbuilding and Engineering Company. It is hardly necessary to point out some of the advantages of this unity of action; as, while a ship is in the stocks, boilermaker, marine engineer, gun-mounters, etc., are under the same control as the shipfitter. There is no delay, no friction through contractors, and everything conduces to harmonious action and unanimity of purpose.

There is a union similar to some of the above which goes farther, as the amalgamated firms have a monopoly of the steamship routes after they have built the ships. In this case the companies still go under different names. The Frederick Leyland Shipping Company and the Wilson, Furness & Leyland lines are united. The Furness company controls Edward Withy & Co., shipbuilders. Furness, Westgarth & Co., engineers, and William Allan, M.P., engineer, are in the same ring; so are the Manchester liners, the Tee's Side Bridge & Engineering Company, while it stretches across the Atlantic and forms a union with the Chesapeake & Ohio Steamship Company.

I will now give a few examples of recently formed combines, and will lead up from the smaller, which are in some cases equivalent to local trusts, to the larger, which are absolute monopolies.

SOME RECENT COMBINES.

THE BRADFORD DYERS' ASSOCIATION.

Formed in December, 1897. Capital \$22,500,000. This combination absorbed 22 businesses, practically controlling all the trade in the neighborhood of Bradford. The original capital has been increased by \$3,750,000. Since it was established it has absorbed six other companies, making a total of 28. Its first report showed a profit of \$2,025,000, which paid a dividend of 10 per cent. for the first 15 months on the ordinary shares.

YORKSHIRE DYEWARE AND CHEMICAL COMPANY, LTD.

Formed in May, 1900. The object of this combination, including about a dozen firms, is to have a common plan of action, but to leave each business as a distinct branch with its individuality. Capital \$1,100,000, half of which is 6-per-cent. cumulative preference shares. Only sufficient was offered to the public to comply with the Stock Exchange regulations, in order to get a quotation in the lists. The directors take 10 per cent. before the ordinary shareholders receive any, so that they could have raised much money if they had wanted it.

GLASGOW COAL AND IRON COMBINE.

Formed in May, 1900. This is a combination under the name of John Dunlop & Co. (1900), Ltd., with a capital of \$2,750,000. It combines coal-mines, iron-

works, and chemical works for utilizing waste gases from the furnaces of the iron-works, steel-works, etc., in the neighborhood of Glasgow. The vendors took \$2,500,000 for the business—all of it except \$665,000 in cash, leaving only \$250,000 as the working capital of the businesses, which had been worked at a growing profit.

THE UNITED INDIGO AND CHEMICAL COMPANY, LTD.

Formed in November, 1899. An amalgamation of eight indigo manufacturers' firms. Capital \$1,250,000—half in 6-per-cent. cumulative preference shares.

UNITED COLLIERIES.

Formed in 1899. A combination of the collieries in the neighborhood of Glasgow. Most of them already limited-liability companies.

BRADFORD COAL MERCHANTS' AND CONSUMERS' ASSOCIATION, LTD.

Formed in July, 1899. This combine controls 90 per cent. of the steam-coal trade, and a great proportion of the household-coal trade in the city of Bradford, which, with its suburbs, has a population of about 250,000. Capital \$1,250,000, \$500,000 of which is 5-per-cent. cumulative preference shares. Purchase price, \$998,250. The amount of working capital left, after the purchase-money had been paid, was \$700,000. This company is allied with other combinations.

THE BORAX MONOPOLY.

Formed in July, 1899. The Borax Consolidated, as it is called, aims at the control of this industry. Capital of \$16,000,000. It owns works in Chile, Peru, California, and England. Its profits for the twelve months ending September last amounted to \$1,306,880, and it was announced that the company was buying up further properties to consolidate its monopoly.

FLAX MACHINERY COMBINE.

Formed in July, 1900. A union of the largest manufacturers of machinery for preparing flax, hemp, and jute, having businesses in Leeds and Belfast. Capital \$6,000,000, purchase-price \$5,500,000, payable partly in cash and in shares. Average yearly profits, \$411,240.

THE YORKSHIRE INDIGO, SCARLET, AND COLOR DYERS, LTD.

Formed in July, 1900. This combination represents almost all the dyeing businesses in Yorkshire, and is homogeneous, inasmuch as it will supply its own dye materials through the businesses which it amalgamates. Some of the firms have been established over 150 years. The capital is \$3,000,000, of which one-half is 4½ per-cent. first-mortgage debenture stock. The purchase-price was \$2,167,390. The promoters took one-third of the issued capital.

YORKSHIRE SOAP-MAKERS' ASSOCIATION.

Formed in May, 1900. A combination of twelve Yorkshire businesses engaged in the manufacture of soap and packing cotton waste. Capital \$2,000,000, purchase-price \$1,252,340.

YORKSHIRE WOOL-COMBERS.

Formed in October, 1899. Practically all the wool-combers in Yorkshire. They are called an "association"—a favorite term for the combines. ("Unions" have earned a bad name and nothing else.) Thirty-eight firms are absorbed. Capital \$11,000,000. There

was a rush to subscribe, and the capital required was applied for several times over; but the result is disappointing. The promised profits have not been earned. The deferred shares get nothing for the first year. The directors say that the falling off is due to the lack of wool for combing, consequent on the depression in the worsted trade. And now depression in the worsted trade is to be met by a combine for that industry, which will no doubt work in with the wool-combers.

BRITISH OIL AND CAKE MILLS.

Formed in 1899. Capital \$11,250,000, divided into three equal parts as ordinary, 5-per-cent. preference shares, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ -per-cent. debenture stock. The promoters took \$3,500,000 in cash, \$2,635,000 in securities, and \$615,000 in securities or cash.

VELVET AND CORD DYERS' COMBINE.

Formed in April, 1899. Known as the English Velvet and Cord Dyers' Association, Ltd. This is the only large combine that asked no money from the public. It is a union of 22 firms, which raised their own capital. Previous to combination, most of them yielded little profit. They now reap 5 per cent.

VELVET-CUTTING COMBINE.

Formed in March, 1900. Velvet-cutting is presumably not a large industry. The united velvet-cutters represent four firms, capital \$1,500,000.

CALICO PRINTERS' COMBINE.

Formed in December, 1899. This is one of the boldest and biggest of undertakings. No fewer than 60 firms have combined, with the huge capital of \$46,000,000. More than two-thirds of this capital was issued, but all except \$10,666,660 was retained as purchase-money. The flotation was too favorable, and there is now a "slump." More works have been bought, but a monopoly has not been secured. In the meantime, we read paragraphs like this, which will have a familiar look to Americans: "In consequence of depression in the calico-printing trade, the combine has closed its works at Stalybridge and Hayfield, and thrown 500 operatives out of work."

FINE-COTTON SPINNERS AND DOUBLERS.

Formed in May, 1898. Capital \$30,000,000. Thirty-one firms amalgamated. It pays 10 per cent., and is doing well. It belongs to the group in which the Coats Thread Trust hold interests, and probably is controlled by that gigantic international combine.

COAL AND IRON COMBINE.

Formed in July, 1900. The Doulais Iron Company, Guest Keen & Co., colliery owners, quarry owners, ironmasters, etc., and the Patent Nut and Bolt Company, iron and steel manufacturers, etc. Amalgamated capital \$20,000,000. This combine owns an iron-ore company in Spain.

LIME AND CEMENT COMBINE.

Formed in July, 1900. This combine embraces all the lime and cement and brick works in Bedfordshire. Capital \$2,000,000. The vendors retained all the ordinary shares, offering the public only part of the preference shares and debenture stock.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL TRUSTS.

None of the above companies are national; they have only local or limited monopolies. We now come to gigantic corporations which have an absolute monopoly in their own fields.

PORTLAND CEMENT TRUST.

Floated as recently as the middle of July, the Associated Portland Cement Manufacturers, Ltd., embrace 30 firms, and have working arrangements for three years with four others. Some of the constituent companies were already amalgamations of others. They have 90 per cent. of the business in the country, and the remaining 10 per cent. must necessarily combine or disappear. Capital \$40,000,000, partly ordinary cumulative $5\frac{1}{2}$ -per-cent. preference shares, and first-mortgage debenture stock ($4\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.). Several millions were left unissued in the meantime. The vendors took one-third. A large amount was obtained before the issue, and the public was asked for the balance,—about \$16,000,000,—which was promptly supplied. The combine has 19 directors and 14 managing directors. These gentlemen were, of course, the heads of the absorbed concerns. New machinery has been put down, and the combine promises well as a commercial concern.

NATIONAL WALL-PAPER TRUST.

Formed in March, 1900. All the manufacturers of wall-paper form one trust. The principal dealers have signed an agreement not to deal outside the trust—called the Wall-Paper Manufacturers, Ltd.—for seven years. The capital is \$16,000,000, and less than half the amount was issued, so that the control remains in the hands of the promoters. From an industrial point of view, this trust is in the strongest position of any combination in the country. Unlike others, it has no fear of foreign competition. French, German, and American goods have no sale in England—as width, length, style, and everything differs. For that matter, so far as America is concerned, the British trust is making an agreement with the American trust in the same line. There is a large export trade in English-made wall-paper. Competition in the home trade was so keen that many houses became insolvent. The smaller mills were at once closed on the formation of the trust. Prices were raised, but better goods are produced. The services of "drummers" were dispensed with, and the market is better controlled. Formerly firms produced inferior "job lines" of goods, partly for competitive purposes, partly to keep their mills going. That has been stopped. Production is not only equalized, but specialized. Instead of one mill producing goods of various kinds and qualities, every mill has now its special line. The trust is protected against the danger of strikes, as most of the labor employed is unskilled and unorganized. To begin with, many workmen were discharged; but those who remained obtained regular employment and better wages. This trust promises to be one of the most successful yet established.

THE BLEACHERS' TRUST.

Formed in July, 1900. The Bleachers' Association, Ltd., is the latest and one of the biggest things in trusts that England has produced. It has a capital of \$41,050,000, 49 directors, and is an amalgamation of 53 firms.

The bleaching trade is one of the oldest industries in England. Many of the firms that have sunk their individuality in the trust have been established over a century. One dates from 1760, another from 1761, and fifteen were founded before the present century. The businesses merged in the trust have been successful, but the flotation was a failure. The end of July was an inappropriate time to raise money, and the underwriters had to take most of the stock. The trust, in its prospectus, said: "A few of the amalgamated firms are dyers as well as bleachers, and the two businesses may be usefully and profitably continued side by side. There is, however, no intention of competing with the Dyers' Association, Ltd., and in the case of the firm which carries on at one of its works piece-dyeing of the Bradford class the company (that is, the trust) has arranged to transfer the dye-works to that association."

This is a confession that there is an agreement between the two. Bleaching is a safe business, as the bleachers' work is to bleach and finish goods for others. This means that there may soon be another ring of those who supply the bleachers with their work. It will be difficult to compete against the trust, as the scarcity of an adequate water-supply, and the stringent rules now enforced against river pollution, will make it almost impossible to establish new works.

THE INTERNATIONAL THREAD TRUST.

The Coats combine is the first international industrial trust. Practically, the world's output of sewing-cotton, except some of the finer kinds,—the business in which is infinitesimal,—is in its grasp. This trust is well known in the United States. It is associated, in fact, with 12 foreign manufacturing concerns, and is interested in, and has agreements with, the English Sewing-Cotton Company, floated in November, 1897, with a capital of \$17,750,000, joining 15 firms, and is similarly allied with the Fine-Cotton Spinners and Doublers—a union of 31 firms, capital \$30,000,000,—and the American Thread Company, floated in London, in December, 1898, capital \$18,600,000. This trust is proving a remarkable commercial success, and there is apparently no stoppage of its prosperity in sight.

INTERCOMBINATIONS.

Some of the combines have working arrangements with others, but they are not always on a footing that can be traced. Here is an illustration of the system of intercombination. The Bradford Dyers' Association is in league with the Bradford coal ring. The Coats Thread trust has affiliations with many companies. The dyers are also in agreement with the bleachers' combine, as we have seen.

Another phase of the combine system which applies chiefly to electricity undertakings is for the same ring to promote several companies under different titles. During the last session of Parliament, four electric-power bills were promoted as coming from different companies, when as a matter of fact the directors were the same in each case. In the case of the County of Durham Electric-Power bill, there was more pluralism. The bill sought power—which it got—to supply current to "authorized distributors." It attended only to the bulk, or wholesale, side of the business. But the promoters and directors also operated under other companies—two electric-lighting works, two street-railroad systems, and two light railroads in the same county; while they were in alliance with the Brush Electrical

Engineering Company, of which some of them were directors. They can thus deal with themselves in several capacities, and multiply profits unnecessarily.

WAR AND TRUSTS.

It should be noted that most of the trusts and combines above described have been floated during the period of the war in South Africa and in China—between November, 1899, and the present time—when the money market has been more or less disorganized and public confidence shaken. As a matter of fact, the joint-stock enterprises promoted during this period are just about half what they were in the previous year, which means that the combines form a large part of them. It may be taken for granted that, but for the war, the number would have been far greater. A large number of combinations are just now in an embryo state, waiting for the opportune moment to come on the market. They include a hat-manufacturing combination of 66 firms, with a capital of \$10,000,000. A combination of worsted spinners is in process of organization. It will represent 128 firms, and have a capital of \$90,000,000.

THE JOINT-STOCK SYSTEM A CHECK.

Two things make the organization and working of trusts in Great Britain different from the operation of similar combinations in America. These are the joint-stock-company system and free trade. The first introduces an element of democratic control in finance in place of an autocracy; the other acts as a safety-valve in the interest of consumers. In organizing trusts or localized monopolies in England, no doubt various kinds of persuasion and coercion are utilized; but once a company is formed, the methods adopted in America for consolidating and extending the combination would not work well. Cutthroat, death-dealing competition to destroy recalcitrant firms would not be possible; nor would the concomitant of this method, high prices in places where monopoly had been established, be safe or expedient. Shareholders would not risk their dividends for a single year by this method of industrial warfare. Even if the independent shareholders did not control the combine, they are capable of exercising great influence. The position of a company organized on the joint-stock-limited-liability system is open to discussion in public meeting of the shareholders at least once a year. Adverse criticism on the part of a minority has an influence on the market. If the directors who may be the chief holders do not furnish the information asked for, or justify their policy to the satisfaction of the independent shareholders, the stock will be at once adversely affected. It is possible for a few to control the combination by securing a majority of the stock or shares; but that control will be in their own interest only so long as they behave themselves, and pursue a straightforward, busi-

nesslike policy. The accountants who act as auditors of limited companies occupy an independent position, which enables them to check crooked methods of finance. They are men of high professional standing, who could not be "squared" by unscrupulous directors. Their strength lies in their integrity; and it would not pay them, even if they were willing, to connive with directors to do what was not straightforward, or to mislead the public. If auditors find that the dividends are being paid without being earned from profits, or if depreciation allowances are inadequate, or patents are not being written off, they will pass the accounts, but qualify their certificate. Any comment from auditors necessarily influences the stock in the market, which cannot be of benefit to the company or the directors. If in industrial concerns everything is not managed in a straightforward way, and investors are misled and deceived, they will lose confidence in such enterprises and will not subscribe, which the trust organizers want them to do. The danger from one-man or ring control in these combinations is not great, as the abuses would lead to reaction. It should be remembered always that the organizers of the combines—the owners of the properties floated on the market—have more need of the independent investor than the investor has of them. The fact that the ordinary shares in the combines are generally only one pound in value shows that support is sought from small investors.

The chief danger of the trust movement on the financial side, apart from that which would arise from mismanagement, lies in overcapitalization to start with, and overestimated prospective profits. In other respects, the joint-stock-limited-company system, while its elasticity gives facilities for the formation of trusts, also acts in various ways as a check on abuses and the dangers of these great aggregations of wealth and power.

FREE TRADE THE SAFETY-VALVE.

On the formation of the combines, the owners of the businesses acquired can get a big haul from the public; but their profits after that, if

they remain in the business, will depend on economies in methods of production and distribution from the creation of a huge industrial unit rather than on increased prices. The absence of competition may not always enable them to buy raw material cheaper, but unity of management and absence of competition necessarily carry with them many potential economies which can be taken advantage of. The margin for increase of price, however, is not large. Foreign competition would at once seize the opportunity that free trade gives to undersell the combine. Prices must, therefore, be regulated, even were a national monopoly created, according to the prices at which foreign goods could be delivered in England. Free trade, therefore, acts as a safety-valve to the home consumers. Under the international monopoly of the sewing-cotton combine, the British consumer does not suffer; as Mr. Archibald Coats, the president of the combine, stated at the last meeting of the company that the profits of the shareholders came from their investments and interests in fifteen foreign companies, not from their home factories. This might be owing partly to overcapitalization, and partly to keeping down prices from the fear of competition.

EFFECT ON BRITISH MANUFACTURES.

Consumers in England have not so much to fear from combines regulated by the Companies' Act, and held in check by free trade, as consumers in the United States. The tyranny of capital will be restrained; and, so long as the chances of competition do not disappear, the combines will find that their safety lies in raising prices as little as possible. From an industrial point of view, they may exercise a stimulating influence. They will break down the conservatism which frequently characterizes British manufacturing methods. The best machinery will be introduced, new methods of production adopted, specialization carried out. It is probable, if the combines are under good management and speculation is discouraged, that this new phase in British industry may increase competition with other countries in foreign trade, while it consolidates the market at home.



THE BRITISH CZAR: THE GENERAL ELECTOR.

BY W. T. STEAD.

EXCEPT Mr. Chamberlain, no personality has emerged from the turmoil of the present election. Of Mr. Chamberlain I have written so much and so often that I have no wish to make him the subject of another character sketch. Mr. Morley is *hors de combat*; Mr. Goschen, whose retirement at other times might have suggested him as the subject for treatment, is only conspicuous for the moment because he is stepping out of the fray, not because he is taking a leading part in the contest; Lord Rosebery has only emitted a single letter, which was a poor substitute for the leading which even a leader retired from business might have been expected to suggest; and, as for Lord Salisbury, his manifesto was almost abject in its feebleness. Surely never did a prime minister appeal to the country in so lachrymose a tone. Never before has a piteous wail over possible abstentions taken the place of direct challenge to the heart and conscience of the electorate on a great political issue. Seeing, therefore, that among the candidates there is no person who would seem to call particularly for analysis and delineation in these pages, I thought me that it might not be a bad thing to regard the voter or the general elector as an entity, and to describe him as if he were individually, what he is politically, the British Czar.

The Czar of All the Russias is vested by the constitution of his country with the supreme power. He is autocrat. From his will there is no appeal; but in practice, as no one knows better than czars themselves, they are hampered at every turn in the exercise of their autocratic power. In theory omnipotent, in practice their sovereign will can be exercised within a very small area, and by no means always even there. Our British elector is in precisely similar case. In theory he is supreme. He can make and unmake ministries, reverse policies, avert or precipitate war; or, in short, do everything that the Czar can do. But the occasion for exercising this supreme power occurs only once in half a dozen years, and then it takes place in circumstances which often reduce to a farce the much-vaunted power of the elector.

To begin with, the elector has no opportunity of expressing his opinion, one way or the other, unless there is a contest. He may hate the candidate who sits for his constituency as much as the West Birmingham Liberals hate Mr. Cham-

berlain; but unless a candidate can be put into the field, he is powerless to express his disapprobation. This, it may be, is a matter that requires remedying; but at this election the right to vote has practically been denied to constituents who are responsible for the return of no fewer than 170 members. The number of seats unopposed is larger this year than at some previous elections—for obvious reasons, into which we do not need to enter now. Suffice it to say that one-fourth of the House of Commons can be elected without giving the electors any opportunity of exercising a choice.

It was said long ago by a cynic that British electors lived under a despotic government, tempered by the permission once in seven years to choose a new set of rulers. For electors in non-contested constituencies this right does not exist, and in many others it is more phantasmal than real. In theory, however, 6,000,000 adult males, being householders and on the register, have the destiny of the country in their hands. Each one of them on polling-day is an uncrowned king. To his absolute, free, and unfettered choice the destinies of the empire are committed, and upon the way in which he exercises that choice will depend the future history of our country. The responsibility of the voter is great, even when the results of his decision are operative over a very small area. How much greater must they be when his responsibility extends over land and sea, and when the weal and woe of unnumbered millions of mankind depend upon whether he chooses wisely or the reverse.

Such is the theory. In practice, one-fourth of the electors have no chance of voting; and, of the other three-fourths, how many go to the polling-booth with any consciousness of their responsibilities or obligations? No doubt there are some who are conscious of their imperial prerogatives, but with the immense majority the decision as to how they vote is governed by a multitude of private or local considerations with which the problems of empire have very little to do.

In the present general election, a distinct step has been taken towards reducing the consciousness of responsibility to vanishing point. When the matter in dispute concerns the ownership of a cottage or a mere question of trespass, mankind has recognized the necessity for calm delib-

eration, for the hearing of evidence on both sides, and the sternest penalties are imposed upon any who would disturb the judicial calm of the law court or the still more sacred seclusion of the room where the jurors retire to give their verdict. But when the matter concerns not the ownership of a cottage, but the annexation of a republic; when the matter in dispute is not one of mere trespass, but the carrying of fire and sword through the territories of a neighboring people,—all the arrangements indispensable in a court of justice are flung on one side. In place of judicial calm there are heated appeals to party passion. Such controversy as there is consists in the haranguing of rival crowds, each of which meets apart, and neither manifests the least disposition to listen to what the other side has to say. Indeed, it is well if the impatient partisans can be induced to confine their demonstrations of enthusiasm to cheering their own side, instead of drowning by clamor the arguments of their opponents.

In some ways the American general elector has more chance than his English fellow. In America every election is contested as a matter of course, so that each elector has at least an opportunity of voting for or against the administration of the day. But the contrast between American and British methods is still more marked when we examine the tactics which have governed Ministerialists at the present dissolution. In the United States the two parties hold their respective conventions in June or July, and from that time till November the whole country is invited and expected to devote its uninterrupted attention to the issues which are presented by the opposing candidates. This, at least, renders it possible that the final vote, when it is taken, should have some relation to the questions which that vote will decide. How different is the method adopted in this country! Lord Salisbury and Mr. Chamberlain have reduced to a mockery the principle of an appeal to the people. There is no necessity for the present Parliament to be dissolved until next year. Ministers themselves did not appear to have made up their minds as to whether or not to make an appeal to the people until four days after President Krüger had crossed the frontier and sought refuge in Portuguese territory from the pursuing soldiers of Great Britain. In order to take advantage of the temporary excitement produced by this triumph of our arms, Parliament is dissolved at a week's notice, and before another week is over the elections begin. Between the announcement of the dissolution and the opening of the first polls less than a fortnight elapsed. The sudden proclamation of a dissolution found candidates and their spokesmen scat-

tered all over the continent of Europe. Two or three days elapsed before they could return. Election addresses had to be written in hot haste, and in many instances the time was too short to permit even a reasoned statement of the questions at issue, to say nothing of having them thoroughly debated. Any such thing as a campaign of education was entirely out of the question. The election was snatched in a hurry, for the express purpose of avoiding that close examination and reasonable discussion which have hitherto been regarded as the indispensable prelude to the vote.

Business men, of course, will reply that an election interferes with trade, and that the sooner it is over the better. But on this principle it would be much better to do without elections altogether, because it stands to reason that if a fortnight's electioneering is better than a month, no electioneering at all would be better still. As a mere matter of practical detail, it is simply impossible to print and to arrange for the distribution of the statement of the issue which is supposed to be decided at the poll. The only consecutive, reasoned presentation of the case against the government, both on its political and military aspects, was that which was made by the *Westminster Gazette*; but their masterly and convincing indictment of Mr. Chamberlain's diplomacy and Lord Lansdowne's military administration could not get itself into type until a day after the dissolution, within less than four days of the opening of the polls. Great Britain is but a small country, it is true; but even in England distances of five or six hundred miles separate the outlying constituencies from the capital. By no human possibility could the electors of the constituencies which polled on Monday be supplied in time for their perusal with the statement of the case for the opposition, the first copies of which were only issued from the press on the previous Thursday.

It is true that there is one precedent of somewhat unhappy augury which will enable the Conservatives to plead that the attempt to snatch an election, suddenly sprung at the eleventh hour upon the constituencies, has originated with Mr. Gladstone. In 1874 Mr. Gladstone, without even taking the counsel of many of his colleagues in the government, suddenly decided to dissolve Parliament, and to appeal to the constituencies upon a proposal to abolish the income tax. But even then some time elapsed between the dissolution and the appeal to the constituencies. But although party men may be satisfied with the recourse to the convenient *tu quoque*, the fact that both parties are guilty heightens rather than diminishes the gravity of the offense.

The practice of snatching a sudden dissolution and of forcing an appeal to the country before either of the rival parties have their literature ready is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the farce of democratic government. How the evil is to be met it is difficult to see. In the British Constitution written safeguards against admitted evils are few and unimportant; but if the spirit of democratic government is not to be violated by a gross abuse of its forms, some method will have to be adopted by which a sufficient *interim* is allowed between the announcement of the declaration of the dissolution of Parliament and the choice of its successor.

Regarded from the point of view of reason, nothing could be more absurd than the way in which the unfortunate general elector has been hustled into giving his decision on the present occasion. As long as the war was in progress, it was declared to be unpatriotic in the highest degree to criticise either its policy or its conduct. The moment the war could with any plausibility be said to be over, an appeal is rushed through to the constituencies, and the vote is taken before one-half of the electorates have even had time to hear what can be alleged by the opponents of the administration. If this thing is allowed to pass without protest, there would seem to be no reason why, in the near future, any minister should shrink from announcing the dissolution of Parliament on Saturday and completing the whole of the elections by the following Saturday. Any brilliant victory on land or sea would afford both an excuse and justification for snatching an appeal to the constituencies before the glamour and the glory of the success of our arms had ceased to disturb the judgment and dazzle the imagination of the general elector.

I have called the general elector the British Czar. But if we were to find a parallel to the method of taking the decision of King Demos in the annals of despotic courts, we should discover that it resembled nothing so much as the attempt of courtiers to secure the signature of the autocrat to a ukase before he had time to read it, or at a time when they had succeeded in befuddling his brain by a prolonged debauch.

Lord Rosebery has repeatedly lifted up his voice in favor of reorganizing the government upon business principles. It would be interesting to know what an ordinary practical man of business would think of this method of taking the supreme decisions of the head of the firm. To arouse the senior partner at the dead of night, and to insist upon his there and then deciding whether or not he would reverse the principles upon which the business had been so far carried on, without giving him even time to

examine his balance-sheet or check the accuracy of the figures presented to him,—this is a method that might commend itself to dishonest cashiers, but could hardly be regarded as businesslike. Yet wherein does it differ from the way in which the general elector has been hustled into giving his decision at the present election?

It will be said that the main issues before the country have long been familiar to the general elector, and that in short the case, both for the prosecution and the defense, had been closed, and all that was necessary was for him to retire from the jury-box and agree as to his verdict of guilty or not guilty. But a moment's reflection will be sufficient to prove that the very reverse of this is the case. At every general election there are many important questions which occupy the attention of the electorate, but it is seldom that so many and so grave issues have been presented before the nation as those upon which the election is supposed to have turned. Three questions stand out conspicuously. The first is that as to the future government of South Africa. Upon this point ministers themselves have afforded us but little light as to their intentions. So far as may be gathered from their election addresses, the Alpha and Omega of their policy is to continue themselves in office. They seek a renewed mandate in order that they may be free to do what they please. So far as they have given us any hint as to what they will do, it amounts to the indefinite establishment of a despotic government in two states, one of which was one of the freest republics in the world, while the other, with all its faults, at least enjoyed a parliament of its own, and was governed according to the will of the majority of the electors on the register. All that is to be swept off the board. That, at least, is clear; but as to when any system of free government is to be reestablished in these republics, ministers say nothing. It depends, they tell us, upon the attitude of the population, which has just been burned out of house and home, and which will for many a long year to come remember with the bitterest feelings of regret and resentment the loss of thousands of its bravest sons, butchered to make a British holiday. So far, therefore, as ministers may be said to have defined the issue upon which the vote is taken, it is to demand that they should have *carte blanche* to establish for an indefinite period military despotism in South Africa.

This policy is one which involves so gross a departure from what have hitherto been regarded as the settled principles upon which the general elector has believed the British empire was to be governed, that the least that could be expected is that it should be fully expounded and carefully

discussed. But what do we find in practice? That the unfortunate general elector hears nothing, or next to nothing, concerning the future of South Africa. His ears are dinned with more or less ecstatic eulogiums upon Mr. Chamberlain pronounced by Mr. Chamberlain himself and his satellites, who, with all manner of electoral tomtoms, proclaim night and day that there never was such a Heaven-sent minister as Joseph of Birmingham. On the other hand, in the absence of any organized opposition with courage sufficient to call its soul its own, or to challenge the most revolutionary departures from constitutional practice, the electorate is left practically without any statement of the case against annexation. The leading spokesmen of the opposition, in order to evade the difficulty of propounding an alternative proposition, have eagerly clutched at the convenient theory that annexation was inevitable and irrevocable, and that ministers having terminated an unjust and unnecessary war by the extinction of an independent nationality, nothing can be done but to acquiesce in the crime which has been perpetrated before our eyes. Mr. Balfour, almost alone among ministers, has had the courage to point out that annexation, so far from being irrevocable, not only could be undone, but ought to be undone if the war in its inception were unjust. But even if it were admitted that annexation was inevitable, there is all the difference in the world between annexation under which the population was admitted at the earliest possible moment to the full rights of responsible government and annexation which resembles the annexation of Poland by Russia.

I have called the general elector the British Czar; and, so far as the main issue before him is concerned, he is really asked whether or not he will substitute the methods and policy of the czarism for the old-established methods and principles of constitutional self-government. It may be quite right that the general elector should arrogate to himself the prerogatives of the Russian autocrat, and should to that extent revolutionize the conception which has hitherto prevailed of the mission of England in the world; but the right and the wrong of the decision is not what we are now discussing. What we are asking is that, before the general elector remodels our African policy upon Russian and worse than Russian principles, he should have an opportunity first of clearly understanding what he is asked to do; and, secondly, of hearing the arguments which may be adduced against it. But this is the very last thing which ministers desire that he should have. What they wish to do is to hustle the unlucky elector to the polling-

booth, and bully him into voting for the government on penalty of being denounced as a Little-Englander, a pro-Boer, and a traitor.

The general elector is a noun of multitude, signifying many. There are estimated to be between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 of him on the register in England and Wales, of whom probably not 3,000,000 will vote. Scotland and Ireland have about 750,000 each; 200,000 will probably not vote in Scotland, and 400,000 in Ireland. Altogether, the general elector is about 6,700,000 strong, of whom about 4,250,000 may go to the poll.

To enable such a multitudinous personage to record his vote is a costly operation. At the last general election it cost 3s. 8½d. per head all around. In Scotland he cost 4s. 7½d. to poll, in Ireland 3s. 1½d., while in England his vote could be recorded for only 3s. 10d. This was cheaper than it cost to poll him in 1885, when he averaged 4s. 5d. per head. In 1886 his voting cost dropped to 4s. In 1892 he cost a little over 3s. 10d. The cost of polling him differs materially according to whether he lives in county or borough. The average in 1892 was 5s. in counties and 3s. in boroughs. The total costs of the expenses incurred at the 1885 election was £1,026,645; but in 1886, owing to the great number of uncontested seats, the bill for election expenses fell to £624,000. In 1892 it rose to £958,000; in 1895 it fell again to £773,000.

The million-headed general elector is somewhat limited in the range of his choice. He has to elect 670 persons out of about double that number of candidates. In 1892 there were 1,307 candidates; in 1895, 1,181. About 500 or 600 defeated candidates have to lament their rejected addresses.

At the present election, owing to the fact that the new register does not come into force till January 1, 1901, in England, and November 1 in Scotland, it is estimated that 1,000,000 electors duly qualified will not be able to record their vote. This is an outside estimate. Sir W. Harcourt says that 1,500 are disqualified in his own constituency. So we take it that the snatch at a "khaki" majority deprives 500,000 persons of their vote. To disfranchise 500,000 in order to obtain a majority for a war waged to obtain the vote for 20,000 persons two years earlier than it was offered is thoroughly in keeping with the topsy-turvy kind of reasoning by which the general elector is exhorted to support the government.

The system by which the general elector is registered sorely stands in need of reform. A person must be an occupier of a house or other premises for twelve months previous to July 31,

or a proprietor for six months before the same date. When this qualification is admitted, the voter's name is entered on the register on August 1; but he does not become entitled to vote in England till the January following, and in Scotland till the November following. As this election takes place in October, it is fought on a roll of voters made up fourteen months previously.

Another thing that urgently requires reform is that the returning officer's expenses necessary to enable the general elector to make known his will must at present be borne by the candidates who solicit his suffrages. The last four general elections entailed a cost of £3,381,000, so that every candidate had to pay from £500 to £600 for the purpose of ascertaining the will of the electors. Less than half of this sum represents the returning officer's expenses. The other part is that which the candidate spends in promoting his own candidature. It is unnecessary to point out how this operates in discouraging the candidature of poor men, and acts as a premium upon the plutocrat.

The general elector is a strange and even whimsical entity. A very slight change in the balance of his opinion produces an altogether disproportionate result in the balance of parties. This appeared very plainly at the last election. In 1892 the Liberals had a plurality in the votes of 205,825, with a resultant majority in the House of Commons of only 40. In 1895 the Unionists had a plurality of only 36,981, but it yielded them a Parliamentary majority of 152. The total vote cast in 1895 was 2,406,898 Conservative against 2,369,917. If the majority in the House had corresponded to that outside, the Ministerialists would not have had more than 20 to carry on legislation with.

This, however, is but a small thing compared to the extraordinary difference there is between the voting value of the general elector in different parts of his domain. The Liberals, who raise the cry of one man-one vote, point out that there are 500,000 persons who have more than one vote, owing to their residential or property qualifications in more than one constituency. "One vote—one value!" cries the Unionist, who points out that in England it takes 10,521 electors to return one member, whereas in Scotland 9,321 suffice, and in Ireland only 7,000. Seventy thousand electors in Ireland have 10 members; 70,000 in England only 7. And in England the same disproportion exists between one constituency and another—from all of which it appears that the general elector is fearfully and wonderfully made.

Besides, the unfortunate general elector is really living in a vain show. He is but a puppet czar

at best. When the 5,000,000 of him have with infinite pains been enabled to record their sovereign will and pleasure, and have succeeded in returning a majority on one side or another, he is apt to consider, when he has returned a Liberal majority, that, to quote Hosea Biglow, he has only just been changing the holders of offices. The new Parliament meets, and the general elector waits to see the result of his exertions. There is a new ministry, no doubt, and so far that is to the good; but when that new ministry gets to work, it finds itself in a very different position from that of a minister charged with a ukase from a real czar. If the election has taken place upon one specific point, and the response of the general elector has been decisive and overwhelming, then it is possible that a bill embodying the views of the elector may pass into law; but that is only when the elector's will has been unmistakably made known, not for the first time, but for the second, and even for the third.

On all other questions on which the general elector has expressed a decided opinion, but which could not be said to be the dominant issue submitted to him at the general election, he is absolutely powerless to prevent the rejection of any and every bill in which his wishes are embodied. In other words, while the general elector is mocked with a semblance of power, the real scepter is held in permanence by the House of Lords, whose 578 members appeal to no constituency, but sit by virtue of hereditary privilege and right of birth, with a perpetual mandate to veto any and every scheme submitted by the House of Commons which they do not like, and which is not literally forced upon them by overwhelming popular pressure. The grand elector, therefore, while he can make a Liberal statesman a prime minister, and can pass one bill, if he is very angry and has expressed his opinion with emphasis when appeal was made to him, upon that specific question, has no more power beyond this. Our so-called democracy is really a vast oligarchy; and until there is radical alteration in the position and power of the House of Lords, every general election is more or less of a solemn farce. Of course, when the majority is Conservative, it does not matter, for then the two Houses are in accord; but how much longer the general elector will consent to be ruled in permanence by the Conservatives, whose majority in the House of Lords is as overwhelming as it is unchangeable, remains to be seen. But that such an arrangement should continue to exist seventy years after the reform bill is a striking proof of the ease with which a democracy can be cheated out of the substance of power if it is allowed to play with the bauble of the semblance of things.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

THE TRUTH ABOUT MARK HANNA.

A REMARKABLE article in the November *McClure's*, by William Allen White, under the laconic title "Hanna," sketches with great ability the career and the public and private personality of the manager of the Republican campaign. There is a ring to Mr. White's very readable sentences which is calculated to make the reader feel he has fathomed the extraordinary man of action.

MR. HANNA'S BUSINESS CAREER.

Mr. Hanna is sixty-three years old, and was born in Ohio. His family have been Quakers for a hundred years. His father kept a grocery store in Cleveland, and Mark Hanna went to Western Reserve University, leaving in a year to learn the grocery business, which had grown into a wholesale concern. When he was in his early twenties his father became ill, and Mark Hanna undertook the management of the business, the responsibility devolving upon him entirely in 1862, on his father's death. He was thirty years old when he married, and went into business with his father-in-law, Daniel P. Rhodes, whose firm dealt in coal, iron ore, and pig-iron.

"That was a generation ago. Young Hanna threw himself into that business with passionate enthusiasm. He learned the iron trade from the bottom, omitting no circumstance. He was insatiably curious. He had an artist's thirst to know the how of things. He learned about coal-mines and bought coal-lands, learned about ore and bought mines, learned about boats and bought boats. Then he took his iron and his coal, and he built the first steel boats that ever plowed the lakes. He established foundries and forges and smelters. Men worked for him from western Pennsylvania to the base of the Rockies. He knew his men, and he knew the work they did. He knew the value of a day's work, and he got it; he also paid for it. Where there was labor trouble, the contest was short and decisive. Hanna met the men himself. Either things were right or they were wrong. If he thought they were wrong, he fixed them on the spot. If he believed they were right, the work went on."

HIS MEETING WITH WILLIAM M'KINLEY.

Mark Hanna first met William McKinley when he went down into western Ohio to prosecute some strikers under arrest for shaft-burning. They were defended by a young lawyer, who was

William McKinley. He did his work so well that most of the miners went scot-free. Hanna took a liking to his young opponent, and a friendship began and continued to the present day.

MR. HANNA'S MANY BUSINESS SIDES.

But Mr. Hanna has been a good many things besides dealer in pig-iron. He is a tremendous worker, and asks none of his employees to work as hard as he does. After he had reduced mining to a system, he added shipping, and when he had reduced that to a system he took on ship-building. When this was reduced to its lowest terms he built a street railway, making the cars of his coal and iron and the rails of his steel. Incidentally, he made such an exact science of the labor problem that there has never been a strike on his system. Curiously enough, after these commercial achievements, he took a fancy to the theatrical business. He bought the town opera-house, and began studying the gentle art of making friends with the theatrical stars of the world. He learned the business of friendship as thoroughly as he learned the iron and coal and steel and ship and railway business. To-day he has the friendship of men like Jefferson, Irving, Francis Wilson, Robson, and Crane, and the best of the playwrights. In the early eighties Hanna started a bank, and worked as its president. "When he was watching the wheels go round, looking at the levers and cogs, and making the bank part of his life, Hanna began to notice remarkable movements in the works. For some years the fly-wheel would not revolve; at other times it turned too rapidly. He went through the machinery with hammer and screws, but he found that the trouble lay outside the bank. He traced it to iron ore; through that to coal, and still it deluded him. The trouble was outside the things he knew. It was in the loadstone of politics."

THE BUSINESS MAN IN POLITICS.

So Mr. Hanna went into politics, organized the Cleveland Business Men's Marching Club in 1880, and invented, so to speak, the business man in politics. He studied the machinery of politics thoroughly, as a practical man untrammelled by the rules of the thing as the books laid them down; and he came to the conclusion that it would be a good thing to have a proper adjustment of the tariff, a government subsidy for American shipbuilders, and some straightening

up of the national-currency shaft of the American working-machine. These things, he thought, would provide more work, more sweat, more business, and more dividends.

"In the meantime, for twenty years, his friendship for the young lawyer who defended the miners had been growing. He grappled it to him as he grappled his business ambition—with all his heart and mind. It became as much a part of him as the mines and the ships and the steel things that he loved. McKinley satisfied something in Hanna. The Canton lawyer was industrious. He was clean. He was reliable. He was ambitious. Hanna's friendship displayed these virtues in the market of public esteem, and held them at their par value. In 1896 Hanna's energy incorporated McKinley, and every business house in the United States, from Wall Street to the carpenter's shop on the alley, took stock. Hanna promoted the candidacy of McKinley before the St. Louis convention. He put in that campaign, which ended in the St. Louis convention, every trained faculty which had made him a successful captain of trade."

MR. HANNA TO-DAY.

What Mr. Hanna did in 1896 for Mr. McKinley and the Republican party is fresh in every one's mind. Mr. White says that Hanna seems to be ten years older than he was four years ago. "The ruddy, terra-cotta skin that glowed with health in 1896 has faded to ashen pink. The mobile smile, that was a conversation without words, has hardened a little—but only a little. The lower parts of his legs are slightly uncertain, and his feet almost shuffle. The large, firm hand grips his cane with something like nervousness. The thin hair hangs more listlessly to the head than it used to hang; but the jaws are wired with steel, and the brown eyes—and these are Hanna's harbor-lights—twinkle with the fervor of a schoolboy's. They show forth an unconquered soul and a merry heart that maketh a glad countenance. Hanna's life at Washington has not taken the edge from his humanity. Indeed, so far as he bears any relation to the present national administration, Hanna is the human touch." Mr. White denies that Hanna is a boss. He says he cannot be—first, because a national boss is as impossible to the American people as a national monarch; secondly, Hanna has too well developed a sense of humor to be a boss, if he would be. Yet in national politics he is a very strong man,—exceptionally so,—simply because he is efficient. "Hanna is a force, not an intrigue. Politics is not his trade; he is a business man first, and a politician afterwards; yet he is not a dilettante politician.

RELATIONS WITH THE ADMINISTRATION.

"The relations existing between Hanna and his friend William McKinley, President of the United States, are particularly interesting. The popular notion of these relations is derived from newspaper cartoons. Probably at least 5,000,000 of the 15,000,000 citizens who will vote at the coming election imagine that Hanna tramps noisily into the White House every morning, gruffly gives his orders for the day's administration to the shivering President, and then walks out and continues to grind the faces off the poor; but the real relations existing between Hanna and McKinley are stranger than fiction. It is McKinley, not Hanna, that controls. The masterful, self-willed, nimble-witted, impetuous, virile Hanna in the presence of the placid, colorless, imperturbable, emotionless, diplomatic, stolid McKinley becomes superficially deferential and considerate of the Presidential dignity, almost to an unnecessary degree. It is known to all men at all familiar with McKinley's administration that, in the differences which have come up in the discussion of administrative affairs, when Hanna has been consulted at all, he has almost invariably yielded his opinion to McKinley's. The friendship—one might call it almost the infatuation of Hanna for McKinley—is inexplicable on any other theory save that of the affinity of opposites. History has often paralleled this affair, but has never fully explained her parallels.

COMPULSORY VOTING.

IN *Harper's Weekly* for October 13, Mr. Louis Windmüller describes the compulsory voting regulations of Belgium.

"Elections are held under the supervision of a magistrate and police commissioner, who must have corrected lists of all the voters in their precincts before them. The officers see to it, not alone that the votes are properly cast, but also that they are all cast. The man who neglects to vote is cited at once to appear before a justice, who either reprimands or fines him, unless he can show that he was excused from coming by proper authority granted before election day. A second offense is more severely punished, and the name of the refractory citizen, with a statement of his delinquencies, is published by the magistrate and posted on the gates of the town-hall. The man who, without excuse, has abstained from voting four times in ten years is considered unworthy of citizenship; his name is stricken from the poll-lists, and for ten subsequent years he is debarred from holding any public office. Whoever is convicted of having

intentionally absented himself from the polls for the purpose of affecting the result of any election is fined to the extent of 500 francs and imprisoned for a month, together with the person who may have induced him so to act."

For such voters as have ceased to live where they are registered, free transportation is provided. In Switzerland and some other European countries, punishments are inflicted on non-voters.

THE CANADIAN ELECTIONS.

"A FORECAST of the General Elections," which will take place throughout the Dominion on November 7, by M. E. Nichols, appears in the *Canadian Magazine* for October. From this article one is able to approximate a conservative estimate of the prospects of a Liberal continuance in power. The Liberals have lost some of their adherents of former days through a failure to effect promised reforms.

"The Laurier government is likely to suffer from the feeling that the ideals energetically fought for in the dark days of the Liberal party no longer guide its leaders. The Ontario elector who was told that the national debt would shrink under Liberal rule has seen it enter into the spirit of growing time. The annual expenditure which, according to Sir Richard Cartwright, Hon. David Mills, and Hon. William Mulock, was ruinously extravagant at \$38,000,000, is now millions in excess of the outlay which this eminent trio bewailed. The farmer has not seen the duty disappear from agricultural implements; the gates of the American markets have not opened to him at Sir Wilfrid Laurier's touch. Members of parliament have accepted offices of emolument under the Crown, even as in the days when Liberals characterized this as a disgraceful assault upon the independence of parliament. Railways which were to cease fattening from the country's resources, fare as well, if not better, under Liberal rule. Perhaps Ontario Liberalism expected too much; but there can be no doubt that the party's failure in power to make good its many promises has subdued much of the enthusiasm which characterized the party in its opposition days. The approaching battle will not see the Liberal party fighting in such unison and enthusiasm. While they are not likely to change their political faith, many of them will be more or less indifferent as to the result, and indifference is one of the greatest dangers that can beset a party."

THE EFFECT OF PROSPERITY.

On the other hand, some of the same elements that seem to presage Republican victory in the

United States must be counted on the side of the party in power in Canada; for, notwithstanding all the Liberal shortcomings of the past four years (nearly coincident, by the way, with the McKinley administration), we are assured that "Conservative expectation from these and other sources must be discounted by the fact that the fates have smiled on the country during the period of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's administration. Prosperity is the friend and adversity the relentless enemy of governments. Wrath at misdemeanors, which the opposition leaders are improving every hour to point out, is tempered by the feeling that the country is going ahead.

"One other saving influence the Liberal party can depend upon. It will not have the manufacturers' great power arrayed against it, as when the Liberal government threatened the removal of protective duties. The Laurier government, by maintaining the high tariff, has shown the manufacturers the folly of their fears, and that important influence will now be directed along more natural lines."

ESTIMATES BY PROVINCES.

Conceding a slight conservative gain in Ontario, Mr. Nichols regards the probabilities as decidedly favorable to the Liberals in Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. In the country west of Lake Superior, however, the Liberal outlook is dark indeed. Manitoba, the Territories, and British Columbia together embrace seventeen constituencies, of which the Liberals can hardly hope to carry more than five. Three representative Liberals of the West—Messrs. Richardson, Oliver, and McInnes—are in revolt.

Mr. Nichols says, in conclusion:

"The majority of twenty-two seats which Ontario and the West may give the opposition is more than offset by the prospective Liberal majority in Quebec. With three seats in reserve coming out of Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba, British Columbia, and the Territories, the Laurier government can rely on a majority of eight or ten in the Maritime Provinces. This estimate, therefore, based on a careful analysis of the conditions in all the provinces assures the administration of a second term at Ottawa with a comfortable majority at its back."

The Tariff and the Elections.

A writer in the *Queen's Quarterly*, of Kingston, Ont., discusses the bearings of the preferential tariff on the fortunes of the two parties in the present contest. The preferential tariff, he says, is an accepted fact, not likely to be disturbed.

"The preferential tariff in favor of Great Britain, as against foreign nations, has been

such a success that it is rather disappointing that the Conservatives have not embraced it as their own, and that the Liberals do not seem to see how far-reaching it may be in national and imperial results. It is not against Canadians. They have still a preference in their favor, to the extent of two-thirds of our tariff, while the British farmer and manufacturer, who bear the atlantean burden of the empire, have no preference in their favor in their own markets. That, in these circumstances, we should clamor for 'a mutual preference' is colossal cheek. It is irrational to think of any such preference until we stand on a common platform with our fellow-subjects. We can get to that position only by slow degrees, and along the line of the Fielding tariff. A man who believes that Britain will put taxes on all her food and all raw material for her manufactures, for the sake of a slight increase in 3 per cent. of her trade, for that is our share of her business, could make himself believe anything.

HOW THE PREFERENTIAL TARIFF HAS HELPED CANADA.

"The one question to be asked is, Has our preferential tariff injured or helped us? There can be only one answer to that. It helps the consumer, for it has lowered the taxes he has to pay, not only on British goods, but on all goods that compete with them in our markets. Increase the preference, and at the same time help the Canadian as against the American manufacturer by raising our duties to the American scale against Canada, imitation being a sincere form of flattery to which no one can object. It helps the producer by gradually increasing the incoming of British goods, and so providing return freights for the steamers that carry his stuff to the great, permanent, ever-hungry British market. Till that is done on a larger scale, our producers have to pay freights both ways. It also helps the revenue, for the way to increase revenue is by lowering the taxes. It also helps us as borrowers, for it has led Britain to include ours among the preferential securities in which trustees must invest. Here is 'a mutual preference' freely given to us, and along a line involving no disturbance to British trade. A solid preference it is, worth millions to us; and it helps us, in other ways, by making the British public inclined to buy our stuff in preference to any other. If it helps Britain also, so much the better. We are in the same imperial boat with her."

On the other hand, the Hon. John Charlton, writing in the *October Forum*, contends that Canadian imports from the United States have materially increased under the operation of the tariff.

THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION.

MR. HENRY W. LUCY, the well-known "Toby, M.P.," of *Punch*, describes, for the readers of the *October Forum*, the *modus operandi* of a British general election. At the beginning of his article he points out certain general differences between our Presidential election and the general election in Great Britain. One primary distinction lies in the fact that the former is largely a matter of personal preference, while the latter is a conflict of principles. "It is true that while Disraeli and Gladstone were yet alive and confronted each other in the political arena, the fight raged as closely and distinctly around a name and a personality as is the custom at Presidential elections. In 1874 and in 1880 the electors throughout the kingdom did not profess to vote either as Liberals or Tories. They voted for Gladstone or Disraeli.

CONTRASTED WITH A PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

"With the passing away of those colossal figures, the British general election has reverted to its former manner. Lord Salisbury is a statesman who, even beyond the limits of the party pale, is held in the highest esteem. But his is not a name to conjure with at the polls. On the other side, Mr. Gladstone has left no successor. Accordingly, the forthcoming general election will be fought, as far as Ministerialists can control it, on the question of the war in South Africa, while opposition candidates will endeavor to concentrate the attention and judgment of the electors on the shortcomings of the administration in respect to the conduct of the war, and on the sins of omission and commission committed by the government during their more than five years' term of office. Another fundamental difference between the two electoral campaigns appears in their inception and direction. A Presidential election is a more or less well-ordered battle, every movement being directed by the commander-in-chief on either side. A British general election is a series of independent skirmishes, taking place all over the country, each under local command, owning no supreme general, observing no common plan of battle. The British voter knows nothing of delegates, conventions, or party managers. He walks into the polling-booth and votes directly for the man of his choice. It is true that both the Conservative (now the Unionist) and the Liberal parties have a paid official who is supposed to undertake general supervision of party interests in the electorate throughout the kingdom. He is generally consulted by constituencies in the selection of a candidate. What he tenders in response is advice, not instruction."

MONEY FOR CAMPAIGN PURPOSES.

"A great gulf, wide as the Atlantic, separates the party manager of the Presidential election campaign from the chief agent of the Liberal or the Unionist party in England. While one has almost an unlimited supply of money at his command, and is not too grievously hampered in disposing of it for campaign purposes, the other has but a meager subscription-list, and is bound hand and foot by the corrupt practices act. It is that legislation which has crippled the political party agent in Great Britain. The election agent is bound by law, under heavy penalties, to keep strict account and make full disclosure of every penny spent."

DURATION OF PARLIAMENTS.

Although the British House of Commons is elected for a period of seven years, it has never availed itself of its full opportunity of life. As a rule, it accepts dissolution at its sixth session.

"The present Parliament, which assembled for a short session on August 12, 1895, was a few days short of attaining its fifth year when it was prorogued. There is, therefore, no statutory reason why it should not sit through another session, the dissolution being postponed till January—perhaps, on the whole, the most widely convenient month of the year for a general election.

"Experience testifies to the sufficiency of a five-year term. Since Queen Victoria came to the throne she has summoned fourteen Parliaments. Of these, only six have exceeded the term of five years. One, memorable for its accomplished work, exceeded the date by the narrow margin of one month and sixteen days. This was the great Parliament of 1868, in which Mr. Gladstone commenced his colossal labor of legislative reform. Meeting on December 10, 1868, it was dissolved on January 26, 1874. The second Parliament of the Queen's reign, summoned in 1841, lasted five years, eleven months, and six days. In the century only three Parliaments have timidly entered upon their septennial year. The first Parliament of George IV. trenched by one month and nine days upon its sev-

enth year. The Parliament of 1859 lived for six years and two months. The Parliament of 1874, which first saw Disraeli in power, as well as in office, enjoyed for twenty days its septennial privilege.

"The duty of advising the sovereign as to the proper date for dismissing the sitting Parliament is not, as is commonly assumed, a cabinet matter. It is a fact that when, early in 1874, Mr. Gladstone decided to dissolve Parliament, some of his colleagues in the cabinet were first made acquainted with his decision on opening their morning papers. The sole arbiter in the case is the prime minister. In the time of the Georges the sovereign had a good deal to say in the business. In some royal moods the fact that the premier desired to bring about an immediate dissolution led the king to conclude that he would keep Parliament sitting a little longer. In these times the will of the first minister of the Crown is not disputed. But it is the sovereign who summons 'my faithful commons' to repair to Westminster. Parliament dissolved, there is promulgated an order from the Queen in council, addressed to the Lords High Chancellors of Great Britain and Ireland, commanding them to cause writs to be issued for the election of knights, citizens, and burgesses to serve in Parliament. At least thirty-five days must elapse between the date of this mandate and the meeting of the Parliament."

In 1900, the decision to dissolve Parliament was taken at a cabinet council held on Septem-



[News of the World.]

THE BATHING SEASON.

JOSEPH: "Come on, Markiss, let us take the plunge now. The water is beautifully warm, and the dip is sure to strengthen us."

ber 17, when the Queen signed the necessary proclamation. On September 25 the writs were issued summoning the new Parliament for November 1. The entire campaign, therefore, occupied a period of only six weeks.

CONTINUITY OF PARTY PRINCIPLES IN ENGLAND.

GRAND and sacred is the principle of continuity in our ever-changing human affairs; and the editor of the new *Monthly Review* performs a pious task in trying to trace an unbroken sequence of party lines in the present political tangle in Great Britain. His paper on parties and principles sets out to prove that neither Conservative nor Liberal has changed his ultimate principles. In home affairs "the division is as genuine and fundamental to-day as it has ever been."

THE "FUNDAMENT DIVISION."

The Conservative still wishes to conserve the existing order, and only introduces changes to conserve it more thoroughly. He is, in the main, content with what is. The Liberal is not content, but aspires after a loftier national ideal. In the writer's own words:

"This distinction in temperament involves a difference in the spirit in which political problems are faced by the two parties. To a statesman imbued with Conservative instincts, government is chiefly an intellectual problem of deep interest—an adjustment of forces here and there; a studying of the influences which are working beneath the surface, and a planning how to modify and curtail their operation in order that, notwithstanding the change of conditions, the social fabric may remain uninjured—that is, substantially unchanged. On the other hand, the political action of the genuine Liberal arises far more from a moral, almost a religious, impulse. Much ridicule has been thrown upon the extravagances of what is called 'the Nonconformist conscience,' but it should be remembered that this conscience has a positive as well as a negative side.

"Since the propelling force in the case of the Liberal is not mere sympathy, but a desire for progressive improvement towards what he deems a higher ideal of national life, the genuine Liberal is never really content with those 'measures of circumspection tentative in their character' to which Lord Salisbury pledged his party, but treats them as mere installments of a temporary kind, while he presses on towards the more thorough fulfillment of a sacred duty and the realization of a more ideal scheme of life."

LIBERALISM THE SAME IN THE NEW ERA.

The writer is bold enough to declare that, between "the impulse and ideals" of the Liberals of to-day and those of fifty years ago, there is not only kinship but "a real identity." He accepts as a summary of "the ideal and doctrine of Liberalism" the phrase "liberty and equality through progress." In the working out of this formula, he grants the party has entered on a new era:

"A new era seems to be coming inevitably upon Liberalism—an era in which less emphasis will be laid upon constitutional problems, which are ceasing to touch the hearts and consciences of the electorate, but an era in which the energies of the Liberal party will be directed more and more to the production of social and economic equality and liberty by new methods of administration and by constructive legislation. In other words, there is a twofold development in progress. It seems that the Liberal party, in order to apply its principles to the actual needs of contemporary life, must now pass from the destructive to the constructive stage, and from constitutional to social reform. At present the party suffers from the process of transition, and as yet it scarcely believes in what is logically its future. Thus it loses all the impetus and enthusiasm which arise from certainty of conviction, and is inclined to cast its eyes back on controversies which are really extinct."

FROM GRUB TO BUTTERFLY.

The plain man will doubtless be willing to believe as firmly in the identity of the old and the new as he believes in the identity of grub and butterfly. But he may turn out to be as unwilling to call the new by the old name as he is to call a butterfly a grub. At present he seems inclined to restrict "Liberal" to the grub, and to find another name (is it "Progressive"?) for the butterfly. The writer shows no qualms of this kind;—caterpillar, chrysalis, butterfly,—it shall be for him always Liberal. He has no programme to offer.

"If the Liberals are to fulfill their proper function in the political life of the country, they will do well to put the attainment of office for the moment into the background of their minds, and to devote themselves to the fostering and popularizing of Liberal thought among their countrymen."

NO BREAK-UP OF PARTY SYSTEM.

His conclusion will be comforting to party managers, and is eminently conservative:

"The principles upon which the Conservative

and Liberal organizations are based are to-day, in our opinion, so vital, real, and distinct that, given capable leaders and reasonable discipline, there is not only no necessity for any break-up of our twofold party system, but it is really essential to our political life that these broad principles should remain clear and unconfused, and that the inevitable controversy between government and opposition, between those in office and those out of office, should neither have nor be thought to have any less broad or less honorable foundation."

THE BRITISH EMPIRE'S GROWTH IN THE CENTURY.

MR. J. HOLT SCHOOLING gives graphic shape, in the *Pall Mall Magazine*, to the statistics of area and population which mark the growth of "The British Empire: 1800-1900." The facts which he illustrates may be quoted.

"During 1800-1900 the British empire has increased at the rate of two acres per second. In 1800 the United Kingdom had a colonial area equal to 16 times its own area; in 1900 the United Kingdom has a colonial area equal to 96 times its own area. Roughly, the increase has been from 2,000,000 to 12,000,000 square miles."

If the Orange River Colony and the Transvaal be taken into account, the colonial area is now more than 97 times that of the home country.

The French colonial area is only 18 times the size of France, the German colonial area only five times the size of Germany.

In population, the British empire has risen from 115,000,000 in 1800 to 390,000,000 in 1900. In the same interval the United Kingdom has risen from 15,000,000 to 41,000,000, France from 27,000,000 to 39,000,000, the states now Germany from 21,000,000 to 55,000,000.

The population of the British empire outside of the United Kingdom was, in 1800, about 100,000,000, of whom only 2,000,000 were white. Now it numbers 349,000,000, of whom 12,000,000 are white; then one person in fifty was a white, now one person in twenty-eight is a white.

The British empire is peopled at the rate of 33 persons to the square mile. Mr. Schooling reckons that its entire crew of 349,000,000 could stand together on a square measuring four miles either way. And he concludes his paper with the comfortable assurance that this great mass would, with an overwhelming majority of voices, declare that their lands had been the better for British rule.

ENGLAND'S MILITARY PRESTIGE ABROAD.

IN the *Fortnightly Review* for October, Captain Gambier, who has made a careful study of the reports of the foreign military attachés, both with the British army and with the Boers, in the recent war, gives us a summary of their opinions which is anything but flattering to English pride.

NO BRITISH NEED APPLY.

According to Captain Gambier, the South African war so destroyed all Britain's claims to be a military nation that the suggestion that a British general should command the Peking relief force very nearly wrecked the joint action of the powers.

"But the plain, unvarnished English of it was that under no consideration would the allies consent to be led by an English general. For it is now an open secret, freely discussed among the best informed—the common knowledge of every clerk in the foreign office—that extremely humiliating negotiations passed between England and the other powers with reference to this affair of the generalissimo."

FOREIGN VIEWS OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

The following is Captain Gambier's summary of the way in which England's military power is regarded abroad:

"Prestige, after a war, does not of a necessity fall to the conqueror; and there is no lesson that the Boer war should more forcibly bring home to us than the plainly demonstrable fact that our military prestige is most seriously impaired in the estimation of those abroad whom it behooves to measure our strength. It cannot be seriously denied that among nine-tenths of the inhabitants of Europe, and possibly among a larger proportion of those Asiatic nations whose belief in our military strength is essential to our existence, not only is our military organization beneath ridicule, but the very *matériel* of which our armies are constituted has proved itself anything but invincible and quite the reverse of formidable, while in point of training and of any intelligent grasp of modern warfare that we are held to be precisely where we were at the end of the Crimean War."

AN ITALIAN CRITICISM.

Captain Gambier takes the report of the friendly Italian general, Count Luchino dal Verme, as a specimen of foreign opinion:

"What astonished all military men," says the count, "who were accustomed to regard the British troops as so brave, was to see 2,200 men in the open in broad daylight, only a few miles from their camp, surrendering to an enemy, or,

at any rate, not having made that enemy pay dearly for their temerity.' I say it is folly to blink these facts. This story of the 'surrender' was copied with avidity into every newspaper on the face of the earth; and not that surrender alone, but numerous others, with piteous tales of bungling and ineptitude, which all the cheering and waving of flags by shopboys can never wipe out of the memory of our so-called allies in China. To follow this military and friendly critic through all the untold instances of want of scouting, to read his description of the ignorance we displayed of the elementary rules of war—our 'small detachments of cavalry scattered all over the country where they ought to be in force,' the 'endless requirements of men and officers in our infantry battalions' and, 'worst of all, the slow marching, for the English soldier carries very little and grumbles at having to carry so much' (God knows how true this is!)."

NO ENTRENCHMENTS.

Count dal Verme declared that the soldiers would not entrench, and as a consequence hundreds of lives were lost. The more reinforcements were sent the worse things became:

"As fast as men and guns were sent out, numbers of horses, mules, and drivers were dispatched . . . but all this was of no avail without previous organization. When all these supplies arrived at Cape Town and Durban, weeks were required to put them in order, and months passed before the transport began to work properly at the arduous task of supplying an army in the field. . . . The English were in a country traversed in every direction by roads, and even by railways."

Captain Gambier sums up these judgments as follows:

"Nations, even less than individuals, are capable of a just appreciation in such matters. Every reverse we had was hailed as a crushing defeat; every prisoner was a coward; every mistake or 'unfortunate incident' was the work of an incompetent general. And, honestly speaking, it is difficult to see how foreigners could think anything else—especially when the literal facts remain that the small Boer army of peasants had led away captive nearly 5,000 of our best regulars, had captured guns and convoys; that our generals were being bundled home, the situation only saved by a supreme effort, and by denuding the islands of Great Britain of almost every soldier of the regular army; when the official numbers, as given by our minister of war, showed that we had over 200,000 men and close on 500 guns in the field, while the Boers at no one moment ever had over 40,000 men; that by

March 3 we had lost 182 officers killed, 565 wounded; 1,593 men killed, 7,108 wounded; officers prisoners, 138; men, 3,191—a total of close on 13,000 men disposed of in actual battle by this handful of farmers and shopboys. I say it is no wonder that there has been no passionate desire by foreign armies to intrust the conduct of an extremely complicated and arduous campaign to our guidance. No sane man could expect they would carry fatuity to such a point."

WAR AGAINST WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

CLARENCE WATERER, in the *Westminster Review*, surveys afresh the dreary course of South African affairs, and finds in the raid and its condonation by the "Committee of No Inquiry" the *fons et origo mali*. He concludes his survey by showing the kind of war England's troops are now waging. First he cites this proclamation:

V.R.—PUBLIC NOTICE.

It is hereby notified for information that unless the Men at present on Commando, belonging to families in the Town and District of Krugersdorp, surrender themselves and hand in their arms to the Imperial Authorities by the 20th July, the whole of their property will be confiscated and *their families turned out destitute and homeless*.

By order.

G. H. M. RITCHIE,

Capt. K. Horse, Dist. Supt. of Police.

Krugersdorp, July 9th, 1900.

"This proclamation was canceled a week later, and high prices are offered for copies of it by the imperial authorities. We can well understand their anxiety. Such a proclamation under the initials of the first lady of our realm might prove an inconvenient handbill even in a khaki election."

Next he quotes a letter of a Trooper Morris, published September 6, 1900:

Since we are with Clements we have had plenty of work, burning farms, destroying crops, and commandeering cattle. It is very hard sometimes, but it must be done. Last Sunday six of us, including myself, went out with an imperial officer to a fine farm-house, giving the occupants five minutes to clear out all their goods as well as themselves. There were an old grandmother, three married daughters, and several children, crying and asking for mercy; but no! And when the time was up we burnt it to the ground.

"What an exhibition for a nation that has had the right to be proud of its record! Because with our 200,000 men we are unable to guard our communications, the raiding of which, it must not be forgotten, is a perfectly legitimate act of war—because of our failure to keep up our line of supplies, we devastate miles of country and turn defenseless women and children out destitute and homeless."

DR. CONAN DOYLE'S LESSONS FROM THE BOER WAR.

THE first place in *Cornhill* for October is given to a paper by Dr. A. Conan Doyle, entitled "Some Military Lessons of the War." The writer begins with the comprehensive declaration "that the defense of the empire is not the business of a single warrior-caste, but of every able-bodied citizen."

INVASION OF ENGLAND—IMPOSSIBLE.

This apparently alarming demand is promptly followed by a piece of most cheering optimism. Dr. Doyle says:

"One of the most certain lessons of the war, as regards ourselves, is once for all to reduce the bugbear of an invasion of Great Britain to an



DR. A. CONAN DOYLE.

absurdity. With a moderate efficiency with the rifle the able-bodied population of this country could, without its fleet and without its professional soldiers, defy the united forces of Europe. A country of hedgerows would with modern weapons be the most terrible entanglement into which an army could wander. The advantage of the defense over the attack, and of the stationary force against the one which has to move, is so enormous and has been so frequently proved by the Boers against ourselves, as well as by ourselves against the Boers, that the invasion of Kent or Sussex, always a desperate operation,

has now become an impossible one. So much national consolation can we draw from the ordeal through which we have passed. While we can depend for the defense of our own shores upon some developed system of militia and volunteers, we can release for the service of the empire almost all the professional soldiers."

"ONLY ONE WEAPON IN THE WORLD."

The writer urges the need in the infantry of more liberal musketry practice, of greater facility in entrenching, and of better knowledge of cover. He would require the officer to carry a rifle, like his men, and to "take his profession more seriously." He says: "During five months' intercourse with officers, I have only once seen one of them reading a professional book." He would transform the cavalry wholly into mounted infantry. Dr. Doyle is very emphatic on one point:

"One absolutely certain lesson of this war is that there is—outside the artillery—only one weapon in the world, and that weapon is the magazine rifle. Lances, swords, and revolvers have only one place—the museum."

FIELD GUNS AND FIELD EXPLOSIVES.

Turning to the artillery, the writer does not think very highly of lyddite as employed against troops in open formation. The Boers he spoke to had no high opinion of it. He knows "of at least one case where a shell burst within seven yards of a man with no worse effect than to give him a bad headache." He anticipates the use of much heavier guns in the battlefield. "The greatest cannon of our battleships and fortresses may be converted into field pieces."

THE HOSPITAL SCANDALS.

Of the Bloemfontein epidemic, he says:

"The true statistics of the outbreak will probably never come out, as the army returns permit the use of such terms as 'simple continued fever'—a diagnosis frequently made, but vague and slovenly in its nature. If these cases were added to those which were returned as enteric (and they were undoubtedly all of the same nature), it would probably double the numbers, and give a true idea of the terrible nature of the epidemic. Speaking roughly, there could not have been fewer than from 6,000 to 7,000 in Bloemfontein alone, of which 1,300 died."

The lack of hospital accommodation he attributes to a very laudable motive:

"It sprang largely from an exaggerated desire, on the part of the authorities, to conciliate the Free Staters, and reconcile them to our rule. It was thought too high-handed to occupy empty

houses without permission, or to tear down corrugated iron fencing in order to make huts to keep the rain from the sick soldiers. This policy, which sacrificed the British soldier to an excessive respect for the feelings of his enemies, became modified after a time; but it appeared to me to increase the difficulties of the doctors."

Dr. Doyle does blame the department for not having more medical men on the spot at a time when "Cape Town was swarming with civil surgeons."

A SCHEME OF ARMY REFORM.

On the general subject of army reform, Dr. Doyle does not agree with a common opinion that the army should be increased. Rather, he argues, "We should decrease the army in numbers, and so save the money which will enable us to increase its efficiency and mobility. When I say decrease the army, I mean decrease the number of professional soldiers; but I should increase the total number of armed men upon whom we can call by a liberal encouragement of volunteering, and such an extension of the militia act as would give us at least a million men for home defense, setting free the whole of the highly trained soldiers for the work of the empire."

To the regulars he would give pay at the rate of half a crown a day.

ONLY 100,000 PICKED MEN.

He thus goes on to outline his scheme:

"Having secured the best material, the soldier should then be most carefully trained, so that the empire may never have the expense of sending out a useless unit. Granting that the professional army should consist of 100,000 men, which is ample for every requirement, I should divide them roughly into 30,000 mounted infantry, who should be the *élite*, trained to the last point, with every man a picked shot and rider. These might be styled the Imperial Guard, and would be strong enough in themselves to carry through any ordinary war in which we are likely to engage. Thirty thousand I should devote to forming a powerful corps of artillery, who should be armed with the best weapons which money could buy. Ten thousand would furnish the engineers, the army service corps, and the medical orderlies. There is no use in feeding and paying men in time of peace when we know that we can get them easily in time of war, and rapidly make them efficient. In all these three departments it would be practicable to fill up the gaps by trained volunteers when they are needed. For example, the St. John's Ambulance men showed themselves per-

fectly capable of doing the hospital duties in South Africa. From the various engineer battalions of volunteers the sappers could extend to any dimensions. There remain 30,000 men out of the original number, which should form the infantry of the line. These should preserve the old regimental names and traditions, but should consist of mere 'cadres'—skeleton regiments to be filled up in time of war. There might, for example, be 100 regiments, each containing 300 men. But these men, paid on the higher scale, would all be picked men and good rifle-shots, trained to the highest point in real warlike exercises."

MILNERISM IN SOUTH AFRICA.

MR. J. A. HOBSON contributes to the *Contemporary Review* for October a very vigorous article entitled "The Proconsulate of Milner." Mr. Hobson deals closely with certain features of the negotiations which led to the war, but the most interesting part of his article is that in which he compares Sir Alfred Milner with Sir Bartle Frere and with Froude, and characterizes his policy and temperament.

PARTIALITY AND ACADEMICISM.

The academic temper combined with dogmatism and partiality have been Sir Alfred Milner's ruin:

"For that academic temper and attitude of mind which made Mr. Froude such a lamentable failure in the task he set himself, are plainly discernible in Sir A. Milner, though in him they are combined with and in part concealed by other attributes. Both men are temperamental imperialists of the sentimental academic school, thoroughly convinced that British rule is 'the greatest secular agency for good known to the world,' and not disposed to entertain nice scruples as to the methods of extending so beneficent an agency. Sir A. Milner was commended by a dignitary of the Church, when he set forth on his South African mission, as 'the finest flower of human culture that the University of Oxford has produced in our time.' But there is reason to suspect that the intellectual atmosphere in which these 'flowers of human culture' are produced exercises some hardening influence on their humanity and morals; substituting for those warm, wholesome sympathies which are the safest guides in understanding our fellows and in regulating our conduct towards them a cold, critical demeanor of superiority which lays down carefully calculated ends, applies casuistic subtlety in adopting means, and is capable of fierce resentment and even persecuting zeal, if any attempt

be made to question their authority or thwart their will. This inhumanity is, of course, quite consistent with a certain superficial courtesy and even affability of manner, which, though not expressly so designed, serves as a glove upon the iron fist."

Sir Alfred Milner's political experience, says Mr. Hobson, was no better adapted to fit him for his work than was Sir Bartle Frere's:

"Sir Alfred Milner's experience fitted him in no degree for such a task; it made him what he is—a strong-headed bureaucrat, extremely capable in the autocratic conduct of affairs; able to impose his will upon inferiors, and to drive reluctant and evasive Easterns along paths of British 'good government,' but incapable of that genuine and full-hearted sympathy with the free and sturdy humanity of colonists who would not be driven, and unable to throw off the habits of his past official career."

A TEMPERAMENTAL JINGO.

The Blue Books alone are enough to show that Sir Alfred Milner, "partly from temperamental jingoism, partly from deficient power in judging character," allowed himself to become the instrument of the wreckers:

"As matters were nearing the catastrophe, he lost his head, and even permitted passion so to overrule his sense of common honesty as to mutilate that portion of Mr. Steyn's dispatch which he professed to transmit intact. Those who follow most closely his conduct since the outbreak of hostilities will best appreciate the chorus of applause with which he is greeted by the league and their financial backers. This 'strong man' destroys the constitutional self-government of the colony, openly espouses the league policy, and vehemently denounces those who seek 'conciliation'; utters historical speeches, in which he propounds the false finality of a never-again policy; and trusts in militarism and disfranchisement as means of securing peace in South Africa. But it is the sheer collapse of intellect which stands out most clearly in the documents, the weird jumble of sharp reasoning and claptrap, the pitiful inability to distinguish good evidence from bad, which mark his dispatches."

Mr. Hobson concludes his article as follows:

"To claim actual success for Sir Alfred Milner's policy requires considerable effrontery. One may assume that Sir A. Milner did not want war; yet he had three distinct opportunities of settlement upon terms and by methods honorable and profitable to Great Britain, and he evaded all of them; he deceived the government into thinking Mr. Krüger would not fight,

being so deceived himself, and into believing that Free-State opinion was such as to preclude active, armed coöperation, believing this himself. This same man, governed by the same temper and receiving his information from the same sources, now asserts that an era of annexation for the republics and of martial law, followed by wholesale disfranchisement in the colonies, will form the basis of a lasting peaceful settlement in South Africa. It is reasonable to believe him, or to obey the demands of that *British South Africa* which has so often and so terribly deceived us with regard to the likelihood of war, and its measure and duration, when it seeks to place in Sir Alfred Milner's hands the full administration of the new order in South Africa."

THE SETTLEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE *Contemporary Review* for October opens with an article by Mr. J. B. Robinson on the subject of the "South African Settlement."

JUSTICE TO THE BOERS.

Justice to the Boers is Mr. Robinson's motto. This is not, of course, justice as understood by the "pro-Boers," but justice as understood by a man who is firm for complete annexation. We quote Mr. Robinson's most definite suggestions:

"There will have to be in the Transvaal, as also in the Orange River Colony, a lieutenant-governor (acting under the high commissioner) and an executive council, and both states will have to remain crown colonies for a certain period; unless, indeed, the two be administered as a single crown colony, which would be better. The executive council should consist of about twelve members, and it would be wisdom to offer four or five out of the twelve seats to the Boers. They might elect their own representatives, and the remaining seven would be nominees of the imperial government (advised, no doubt, in their selection by the loyalists in South Africa), who might be relied on to insist upon an enlightened system of administration. As to the four or five seats to be offered to the Dutch, I should not hesitate to offer them to Botha, De Wet, and other prominent men. Indeed, one of our greatest dangers for the future is lest the government of these new colonies should fail, as the government of the Transvaal failed in 1880, for want of knowledge of the people of South Africa. It is common enough for Englishmen, and Colonists, to suppose that they understand the Dutch population. After a war of conquest, it is frequently imagined that it matters but little whether the people are understood or not. Military government may be necessary for a brief period. It

should, however, be very brief; for in military government it is not necessary to understand the governed. It is a system of order, not of justice—a state of siege. But when this transitory régime is over, it will be of the first importance not only to understand what the Dutch want, but so to act that when they realize that they are not set aside, but that they form a part of the subjects of a country ruled and governed on equitable lines, they will appreciate the position and fall into line with the general population."

FIRST END THE WAR.

If this is done, Mr. Robinson prophesies that there "will be no easier race in the world to govern than the Dutch." But first the policy of continuing the war of extermination must be abandoned, and overtures made to the Boer leaders.

"It may perhaps be said: 'The Boer diplomacy is very clever: is there not danger in opening any discussion?' Perhaps so—any discussion of a general kind; but that is no reason against the plain offer of a safe return home to the farms without transportation or confiscation, on condition of surrender of arms. I have said nothing of any armistice; the offer would be one to be accepted or rejected at once. No doubt arms might be buried or concealed. But the amount of the armament is fairly well known, and it would be well to give notice that any concealment of arms would be punished by confiscation of property. Further, it is not so simple a matter to conceal arms; the country swarms with natives; and it is not easy to find the native from whom the sight of a few half-crowns would not draw any secret he had at command."

SOUTH AFRICA'S FUTURE.

As to the future development of South Africa, Mr. Robinson is, as ever, optimistic. It may become the greatest of British colonies:

"The resources of the Transvaal are endless. It is seamed with rich minerals of every kind. Its population, under a modern administration, will go up by leaps and bounds. It may well be, in population, wealth, and commerce our premier colony. Certainly the Vaal Colony will lead South Africa. Johannesburg is now the capital of South Africa, and such it will remain, while its trade with England will shortly become a mainstay of our home prosperity. What we are doing we must do well, and so build as to endure. Let us throw away all paltry, personal, and even racial considerations, and appoint to initiate its government men who will know how to construct, on the basis of two able races, a great and permanent commercial state."

JOHANNESBURG THE CAPITAL.

Johannesburg, he says, must be made the capital; and he gives the plausible reason that the Boer farmers as well as the industrials would find this the more convenient, as it would make the market for stock and the headquarters for business transactions the same place. Under the late government, Mr. Robinson says, the Boers were forced to come to Johannesburg to sell their stock, and then to make a second journey to Pretoria to carry out any business transactions. As to the expenses of the war, Mr. Robinson says:

"I have been asked how the expenses of the war are to be met. In my opinion there is no difficulty whatever in the question. The opening up of the Transvaal by an honest and fair administration will develop a trade with Great Britain which will tell heavily even on the magnificent figures of her exports and imports, and she ought to be prepared to pay a heavy share herself. Then the revenue from imports, licenses, etc., will rise enormously. Besides, the new Transvaal Government will inherit from the old very large estates in land—much of it gold-bearing—in addition to the state share in the railway—little or none of which, I have reason to believe, has been sold; and this will provide also a large share of the £60,000,000 or £70,000,000 which the war seems likely to cost."

ON THE BEIRA RAILWAY.

IF the Siberian Railway beats the world for length, the Beira Railway easily holds the record for nastiness. A very interesting account of the Portuguese line is contributed to the *Contemporary Review* for October by Mr. L. Orman Cooper, who, if his account is not exaggerated, certainly must have had a tough constitution to survive and tell his experiences. The portion of Portuguese territory through which it lies is the plague-spot of the earth, "inhabited by every kind of beetle, bug, and insect which stings, buzzes, or smells." It is the region of the tsetse fly, and almost uninhabitable by Europeans.

AN ENGINEERING FEAT.

The Beira Railway is unique as an engineering feat:

"The sleepers are laid on piles to start with. The line slithers through miles of thick, dank, unfathomable mud. Then it crawls up steep hills, and intersects a forest in which lions, tigers, harte-beestes, etc., continually do cry. Its engines are fed with green wood. Its officials are mostly educated gentlemen 'down on

their luck.' In fact, it holds a unique place in the annals of railway work."

FEVERLAND.

The railway runs through a fever district, and accidents are so common that the company employs a physician to look after its employees. His life is not a pleasant one:

"He is continually on the move. One man is only able to look after about 200 miles of the railway. Even along that small area seldom a day passes but he has some one to mend up or physic. Sometimes he has to travel over 100 miles on a nigger-propelled trolley in order to look up one sick case; yet, at the same time, many die without attention. The fever on the Beira Railway is about the worst kind of fever to be met with anywhere. It never fails to attack the white man sooner or later. It is extremely stealthy in its onslaught, and nothing can be done to ward it off entirely. Windows shut at sunset, so as to prevent the dank, deadly mist which nightly arises from the swamps, can do something. Attention to hygiene, and avoiding the long grass in springtime and after sunset, can do more. Abstinence from alcoholic beverages can do most of all; at least, attention to the latter detail very often prevents fatal effects."

VENOMOUS LIONS.

The country through which the railroad runs is infested with lions, who, in addition to their other virtues, have a poisonous bite:

"The lions roaring after their prey do seek their meat from God—at least so the Psalmist says. They seek it also *vid* man—fortunately not always with success. On one of these surveying expeditions a man fell off a tree close to the open mouth of a lion. (It was to escape the said lion he had climbed it.) The creature sucked in a toe. Then he let go in order to seize an ankle, and repeated the operation until he had the poor fellow's knee in his mouth. While the beast was chewing at the knee, a comrade was fumbling with the safety-cock of a magazine Colt rifle. Only for a moment. In another he had the trigger free, let fly, and killed the lion. The mumbled man was terribly mauled, and had to be carried to a Dutch farm hard by. The *baas* was kind enough to him, but it was a ghastly sight to see the foul matter left by the lion's molars squeezed from the wounded leg daily. The man recovered after a long time; but many a one has succumbed to lion-poison, even when the wounds were apparently trifling. The smallest bite sometimes gangrenes in that terrible climate; so the onslaught of a lion has a double terror about it."

THE GROWTH OF THE RAILWAY.

The Beira Railway was opened for traffic as far as New Umtali in April, 1898.

"Old Umtali, its original terminus, was done away with then, because it was cheaper to compensate folks for their buildings, and give them new sites, than to bring the railway through the rugged country to the old town. The line was moved ten miles eastward at that date,—from the old to the new town,—and £70,000 was paid as compensation to the Umtalians for this change of route. It was while the extension of the railway from Beira to Salisbury was being made that the gauge was altered from two feet to that of the other Cape lines. At first it was only a contractor's line, practically, with only one train a week each way for passenger traffic. Now the trains are fairly numerous.

"For the first few years, too, the telegraph only went as far as Umtali. Now it is extended to Salisbury, and thus is in communication with Cape Town. In those days the postal arrangements were most disgraceful, as is every job undertaken by the Portuguese. Pioneers were quite shut off from civilization, and were dependent on the ships which came into Beira about five times a month, or on the post-cart from Salisbury."

THE LINE OF THE FUTURE.

In spite of all its drawbacks, Mr. Cooper thinks that the Beira route is the route of the future. The Cape Town-Buluwayo line is of so tremendous a length and so artificially created that its charges for freight are enormous. It will never, however, become noted for its attractions.

THE AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN.

"DETAILS of My Daily Life" is the subject of a paper contributed to the first number of the *Monthly Review* by Abdur Rahman, the Amir of Afghanistan.

"From my childhood up to the present day," says the Amir, "my life is quite a contrast to the habits of living indulged in by nearly all other Asiatic monarchs and chiefs. They live for the most part a life of idleness and luxury; whereas I, Abdur Rahman, believe that there is no greater sin than allowing our minds and bodies to be useless and unoccupied in a useful way. . . . My way of living and dressing has always been plain and simple and soldierlike. I have always liked to keep myself occupied day and night in working hard at something or other, devoting only a few hours to sleep. As habit is second nature, it has become a habit of mine,

that even when I am seriously ill, when I cannot move from my bed, I still keep working as usual at reading and writing documents and various government papers. . . . If my hands and feet cannot move from my bed, I can still go on moving my tongue to give orders to those about me, and tell them what I wish to be done. . . . I never feel tired, because I am so fond of work and labor." This love for work he owes to God Himself, for it is a matter of Divine inspiration. "The true ideal and desire of my life is to look after the flock of human beings whom God has intrusted to me as humble slave."

HIS DREAM.

Long before he became Amir, Abdur Rahman dreamed a dream, which he published and dis-



ABDUR RAHMAN.

(Amir of Afghanistan.)

tributed about the country. That dream was that before his death he should finish making a strong wall all around Afghanistan, for its safety and protection.

"The more I see of the people of other nations and religions running fast in the pursuit of progress, the less I can rest and sleep; the whole day long I keep on thinking how I shall be able to run the race with the swiftest, and at night my dreams are just the same. There is a saying that the cat does not dream about anything but mice. I dream of nothing but the

backward condition of my country, and how to defend it; seeing that this poor goat, Afghanistan, is a victim at which a lion from one side and a terrible bear from the other side are staring, and ready to swallow at the first opportunity afforded them."

The Amir is a great dreamer, and many other dreams of his, all of which he tells to his courtiers, have come true. And so, having his life-work marked out before him in dreamland, he is able to go ahead and work with untiring energy to complete his task. It is curious, he says, that the harder he works, the more anxious he is to continue working.

"UNEASY LIES THE HEAD."

He usually goes to sleep about five or six in the morning, and gets up at two in the afternoon. During the whole of that time when he is in bed, his sleep is so disturbed that nearly every hour he wakes, and keeps on thinking about improvements. Then he goes to sleep again. As soon as he wakes, he sends for his doctor, who prescribes the medicine which he has to take that day. Then comes the tailor, bringing with him several plain suits in European style. After he has selected the one he will wear, he washes and dresses and has tea; but during the whole of that time his officials stand looking at him, saying in their minds, "Oh, be quick! Let us each put our work before you." As soon as breakfast is over, he is worried to death; for no sooner does he appear at work than officials, sons, household servants, come in for instructions. Every page-boy, of whom there are hundreds, and men of the detective department, walk in upon him, with letters in their hands whenever any suffering person requires help or assistance. In this way he is pretty crowded. None of his subjects have one-tenth part of his work to do. He only gets a few minutes for his meals, and none at all for his family; and even at meal-times his courtiers and officials keep on asking him questions!

HIS RECREATIONS.

In addition to all these officials, who are always in attendance upon him from the time he wakes until he goes to sleep, and in addition to the half a hundred persons who are thus surrounding him, he has always near the durbar-room, to be ready when required, a company of professional chess-players and backgammon-players, a few personal companions, a reader of books, and a story-teller. Musicians of several nationalities attend at night; "and although I am never entirely free, yet the courtiers enjoy the music, and I listen in the intervals." When he rides out,

every one of his personal attendants and servants starts with him. Altogether, with the cavalry, infantry, and artillery of the body-guard, he is always ready as a soldier on the march to a battle, and can start without delay at a moment's notice. The pockets of his coat and trousers are always filled with loaded revolvers, and one or two loaves of bread, for one day's food. A considerable number of gold coins are sewed into the saddles of his horses, and on both sides of the saddles are two revolvers. Several guns and swords are always lying by the side of his bed, or the chair on which he is seated, within reach of his hand, and saddled horses are always standing in front of his office. All his attendants go to sleep when he does, with the exception of the following, who keep awake in turn: the guards and their officers, the tea-bearer, the water-bearer, the dispenser, the hubble-bubble bearer, the valet, and the tailor, who has always to be at hand in order to do any repairs or to have instructions when the Amir thinks of them.

The Amir maintains that he has cleared out and abolished the cruel system of slavery, although he keeps the word slave to describe persons who are more honored and trusted than any other officials in the kingdom. If a slave is badly treated and the cruelty is proved, the slave has his liberty—"by my orders, because God has created all human beings children of One Parent, and entitled to equal rights."

HIS HOME LIFE.

He then goes on to describe his sitting-rooms and his bedrooms, and the way in which he furnishes them and pays allowances to his wives. He does not mention the exact number of his wives, although there seems to be an allusion to seven. "My wives," he says, "come and pay regular visits to me ten or twelve times in the year for a few hours at a time." If there are seven of them, and each comes ten times, the husband and wife meet about three times a fortnight. He opens all the letters with his own hand if they are addressed "not to be opened by any one excepting by the Amir," and he also writes the letter with his own hand. He tells us he has always loved beautiful scenery, flowers, green grass, music, pictures, and every kind of natural beauty. All his palaces command beautiful views. He is also very religious; for he has appointed directors throughout the whole country, who first of all advise people to attend the mosque five times a day for their prayers, and to fast in Ramadan; and then, if the people will not listen to their advice, they administer a certain number of lashes, "because a nation which is not religious becomes demoralized, and

falls into ruin and decay, and misbehavior makes people unhappy in this world and the next."

The Amir tells us that he writes books himself, but that he likes better to have them read to him, and that he likes his information in the form of fiction—from which it may be seen that the Amir is an intensely modern man. At the same time, his reasons for preferring to be read to are not very complimentary to the authors. He says:

"I do not go to sleep directly I lie down in bed, but the person who is specially appointed as my reader sits down beside my bed and reads to me from some books—as, for instance, histories of different countries and peoples; books on geography, biographies of great kings and reformers, and political works. I listen to this reading until I go to sleep, when a story-teller takes his place, repeating his narratives until I awake in the morning. This is very soothing, as the constant murmur of the story-teller's voice lulls my tired nerves and brain."

FIELD-MARSHAL COUNT WALDERSEE.

THE *Deutsche Revue* for October brings a short sketch by a German officer of the career and antecedents of Field-Marshal Count Waldersee, the commander-in-chief of the allied forces in China. The scion of an old, aristocratic family, which since the eighteenth century has given many eminent officers to the Prussian army, the count began his military career as artillery officer, celebrating last spring the golden jubilee of his service. As aid-de-camp of Emperor William I. he took a very prominent part in the Franco-Prussian War. "With the exception of Prince George and the King of Saxony, he is the only living German general in active service who has taken part in that war in a high responsible position, and who possesses the military experience that can only be gained in such a position to such an extent. . . . The count is in his sixty-ninth year—one year younger than Blücher was in the campaign against Napoleon, in 1813, or General von Moltke in the Franco-Prussian War. He shows traits of both. With Blücher he has in common the fearless rider's spirit that hesitates at no obstacle; from Moltke he has learned the calm 'weighing' of both sides of a question. Although an enthusiastic advocate of offensive action on a large scale, which alone is really decisive, and which aims to make the victory complete by energetic pursuit of the enemy, Count Waldersee knows that defensive action also has its place; and that he is never guided by preconceived opinions, he abundantly proved thirty years ago. Adding the diplomatic tact of which he has given abun-

dant proof, one must admit that among all the allied armies there is no other leader who brings to the solution of the present difficult and manifold tasks the same qualifications and the same experience as Count Waldersee."

HOW SHALL CHINA BE PUNISHED?

"THE Taming of the Dragon" is the suggestive title of an article in the November *Forum* by the Rev. L. J. Davies, whose residence of several years at the capital of Shantung Province enables him to speak with authority of present conditions in China.

After relating a number of historic incidents of China's duplicity and perfidy in her foreign relations, Mr. Davies sums up the whole matter in the following paragraphs:

"The case of the foreigner in China is not primarily against the people, but against the government. From the beginning the governing classes, the officials and *literati*, have fostered the anti-foreign prejudices of the people; and at frequently recurring periods they have played upon the ignorance and superstition of the masses, instigating the riots in which so many foreigners have lost their lives and so much property has been destroyed. Dr. Martin, after fifty years' intercourse with the Chinese, asserts that if the people were unwilling to have missionaries live among them, we should have to count many more than twenty riots during this quarter of a century. That they are not incensed at the introduction of foreign goods is manifest from the vastly increased sale of foreign merchandise. The Chinese people are easily controlled by their officials when the latter act in good faith and in accordance with law and custom. Had the Chinese Government entered freely and heartily upon the obligations assumed when the treaties were signed, anti-foreign outrages would have been so few as to form a very unimportant element in diplomatic affairs.

"Primarily, the so-called 'missionary question' is occasioned neither by the rashness nor unreasonableness of the missionaries, nor by the unrestrained antipathy of the people, but by the insincerity and duplicity of the Chinese Government. Sporadic instances of rashness on the part of missionaries may, perhaps, occur, and some of the Chinese people are bitterly anti-foreign; but if the imperial edicts regarding Christianity and foreigners had been 'the spontaneous expression of the imperial will,' the irreconcilables of both classes would have been in a hopeless minority. The Chinese Government has fostered and developed the anti-foreign feeling both by its manner of punishing offenses

against foreign citizens and by its method of intercourse with the representatives of sovereign sister states. It is the chief criminal, and the one upon whom punishment can and should be visited."

THE RATIONAL METHOD OF PUNISHMENT.

Admitting that the purpose of punishment should be to make it either morally or physically impossible for the criminal to continue his wrong course, this writer holds that vengeance, in the sense of retaliation, "is equally barbarous, whether sought by a Chinese mob or by the German Emperor"; that the Chinese are keenly alive to moral distinctions, and that any attempt to divide the country into small sections dominated by forces of foreign troops would in the end prove of advantage to neither Chinese nor foreigners.

"To punish the Chinese Government, to make it the administrator of its own punishment, and to render by moral means the repetition of outrages against foreigners increasingly impossible—this should be the policy of the powers in the settlement which must end the present disturbance. The mind of the Chinese nation will never be changed by physical force. William of Germany having planted his banner on the walls of Peking, may raze them and destroy the whole city, and, granting no quarter, may slay his tens of thousands. But in doing so he will but intensify the anti-foreign bitterness. In the elimination of this spirit lies the only hope for satisfactory intercourse. This hatred of foreigners in China, as in other lands, is chiefly due to ignorance. The government at Peking has fostered and perpetuated it by insincerity in its dealings with foreign nations. A settlement of the claims growing out of this war, ending with the payment of indemnities and the granting of additional commercial rights to foreigners, will leave the root of the difficulty untouched, and but comparatively short time will be required to produce a fresh crop of outrages. To the above must be added reforms in the government, besides privileges and opportunities granted not alone to foreigners but to the Chinese people as well."

REFORMS TO BE DEMANDED.

The United States, in the opinion of the writer, is in a position to make demands on the Chinese Government for specific reforms. We have seized no Chinese territory, and our reputation for good faith is high. Among the reforms most urgently needed the following are suggested:

(1) The abolition of the *k'otou*, which would lead to a freer intercourse between the Emperor

and his officials, and would result in placing the Emperor in position to judge and act independently; (2) the sifting from the mandarinat of vast numbers of supernumeraries, who exist only for the purpose of drawing their salaries and of acting as drags to retard progress; (3) the payment to all officials of salaries sufficient for the conduct of the affairs committed to them, thus removing the present virtual necessity of levying unjust and irregular taxes or 'squeezes'; (4) the reform of the internal revenue system, by the honest administration of which the government might greatly increase its income; (5) the extension of the postal system; (6) a free press; (7) the establishment of a modernized system of education, open to poor as well as to rich; (8) the opening of the country to freer trade with foreigners; (9) navigation by steam vessels of all suitable waters, etc.

"Before any such programme can be suggested to the Chinese two important steps must be taken by the powers. The first of these is to dispose permanently of the Empress Dowager and her anti-reform advisers. She is the arch-enemy of all foreigners as well as of progress and reform. If she is left in Peking, and if the men through whom she effected the *coup* of 1898 and instigated this present outrage are allowed their liberty and are retained in office, no hope of honest reform can be entertained. The second step is to reestablish Kuang Hsu, and to guarantee the integrity of his empire, and, moreover, the world-wide discussion of the partition of China must cease. If these things are done, there is every ground to expect a peaceful revolution in China, which will be of the greatest advantage to the whole world. Only as such internal changes are wrought will the anti-foreign spirit of the Chinese be dissipated and permanent peace be secured."

WHAT IS TO BE DONE IN CHINA?

CAPTAIN F. E. YOUNGHUSBAND contributes to the *National Review* for October an article entitled "A Plea for the Control of China." Captain Younghusband is convinced that some form of partition or control of China is inevitable, and he thinks that the proper policy of the powers is not, as they are doing at present, to accentuate the importance of the central government, but to deal separately with the local viceroys as far as possible:

"Those who have lived all their lives in European countries, and are accustomed to centralization of authority, hardly understand how loosely an empire like China is held together, and how lightly the provinces are bound to the

capital. And before committing ourselves to a policy of emphasizing the central authority we should be wise to mark how very little power that central authority has. We obtained, e.g., from the Peking Government the right to navigate the inland waters, but we cannot yet navigate them. We ought to be clear in our minds whether, in this and similar cases, our general trend of policy should be to enforce our rights through the central authority or through the viceroy of the particular province in which our rights have been infringed."

LOCAL CONTROL AND AN OPEN DOOR.

Each power should contribute to the control of the capital, and at the same time assume its special sphere of action. The open door should be preserved in each sphere.

"It is quite ridiculous to suppose that, when there are anti-foreign risings in Manchuria, all of us can go there to suppress them. That task would obviously be much more effectively carried out by Russia alone. Similarly, if the Yangtse region, where 64 per cent. of the foreign trade is in our hands, is rendered insecure, the task of settling it would be most easily carried out by us with our sea-power and our troops from India and Hongkong."

A BREAK-UP INEVITABLE.

To such a policy Captain Younghusband thinks there is no permanent alternative. Though no empire has ever held together so long as that of China, the indications are plain that it is now breaking up:

"The outlying dependencies have been falling away one by one. Annam, Tonquin, Siam, Burma, Sikkim, Hunza, the Pamirs, the Amur region, Formosa, Hongkong, all have been broken away, and pieces even of China itself—Port Arthur, Wei-hai-Wei, Kiaochau Bay, Kowloon—have passed into the hands of others. And many other instances besides those I have already given could be quoted to show how loosely what remains is held together. While the Emperor has little authority over the viceroys, the viceroys on their part, as they freely acknowledge, have but slight control over the people. Patriotism is practically unknown. Mid-China and South China were perfectly callous as to what the Japanese did in North China."

CHINESE AND EUROPEANS.

Captain Younghusband thinks that the antipathy of the Chinese to foreigners is a radical trait of their character. European antipathy to the Chinese is no less natural:

"In traveling through a strange country for

one's own pleasure, one naturally tries to think the best of the people; and most of the people (except the Mashonas and Matabele) among whom I have traveled I have formed some attachment to. But between me and the Chinamen there always seemed a great gulf fixed, which could never be overcome. The Chinese gentlemen I met during my three months' stay in the Peking Legation and the year I spent in Chinese Turkestan were always very polite, and often cheery and genial; but even then I could always detect a vein of condescension and superciliousness. They were polite because they are bred to rigid politeness; but I never felt drawn towards a Chinese gentleman as any one would be towards a Rajput, a Sikh, or an Afghan gentleman."

Russia's Attitude.

The *Fortnightly Review* contains three articles on "The Far Eastern Crisis." The first of these, which is anonymous, is entitled "Why Not a Treaty with Russia?" Briefly, the writer's points are, first, that Russia does not want China, which she could not assimilate; secondly, that Russian policy is against the acquisition of unassimilable populations; and, thirdly, that so far from Russia's advance in Asia being directed against British India, four-fifths of Russia's territory in Asia was acquired before Great Britain's Indian empire was even in its birth.

BRITISH POLICY.

As to British policy, the writer says:

"We proclaim the integrity of China without any intelligent or merely obstinate effort to reassert the primacy of our diplomacy at Peking or even to maintain its parity with that of Russia. We consecrate the Middle Kingdom to an integrity of putrescence without any more lucid conception than in the case of Turkey, that the propping up of a decaying despotism necessitates a liberal indulgence of its crimes. On the other hand, with inexplicable complacency, we reserve our right in the last resort to an almost impossible share of China, without taking the least steps towards the preparation of the masterly plans and the enormous forces which would be required to vindicate that claim."

RUSSIA'S EXPANSION.

England's pretensions to the hegemony of the Yangtse Valley have been already destroyed by the action of the other powers in landing troops; while, as to Northern China, no sane politician could have hoped to prevent the last stage of the Siberian railway from becoming Russian.

"It is excessively rare to find, even among educated Englishmen, a perception of the simple

fact that the landward expansion of Russia has been as natural, gradual, and legitimate as the spread of British sea-power, and that the former process has been infinitely the less aggressive and violent of the two. Russophobia in this country rests upon the assumption that the devouring advance of the Muscovite has been exclusively dictated by a melodramatic and iniquitous design upon our dominion in India. There never was a stranger fallacy of jealous hallucinations. If our Indian empire had never existed; if the continent-peninsula had disappeared at a remote geological epoch beneath the waves, and if the Indian Ocean had washed the base of the Himalayas for ages, Russian expansion would still have followed precisely the same course it has taken at exactly the same rate."

The trail of the frontal attack, says the writer, has been all over British diplomacy, and unless some prolonged equilibrium between England and Russia can be established there will be small hope for British interests in China.

"Is Russia to preponderate in China?" asks Mr. Demetrius Boulger, who bases his article on the proposition that any suggestion "emanating from Russia would arouse suspicion," and that "Russia will never be pulled up in the far East except by the absolute opposition of this empire." Mr. Boulger is an extremist; and though he does not repeat his proposition of a few months back, that England should land 200,000 men at St. Petersburg and capture the city, he goes pretty far in that direction by pleading that England should oppose Russia merely for the sake of opposition. England must not negotiate with Li Hung Chang, because he is the friend of Russia; and she cannot negotiate with any one else, because there is no government in China. Instead, she is to "define and assert our claim to the Yangtse Valley, and at the same time support it by sending 20,000 British troops to Chusan. At the same moment we should notify Japan, Germany, America, and France that we will respect and support similar claims to 'a material guarantee' on their part in Korea, Shantung, Chekiang, and Kwangsi, respectively. It would be necessary also to take the precaution of mobilizing the fleet. If these steps were taken promptly, quietly, and firmly, there would be no war, the prestige of England would be raised to a higher point than ever; and the powers, agreed on their own position and relative claims, could attack the Chinese problem with the genuine intention of solving it. There will, indeed, be no place in such an arrangement for Li Hung Chang; and we might even entertain the hope that the Dowager Empress and her satellites would before long receive their deserts. It

would be a partition of responsibility ; whether it extended over much territory, would rest with the Chinese."

"Diplomaticus" contributes the third Chinese article to the *Fortnightly*. His article is entitled "Count Lamsdorff's First Failure," and was written with the object of proving that Russian diplomacy is not so infallible as the ordinary Russophobe believes. According to "Diplomaticus," Count Lamsdorff's proposal was a perfectly comprehensible one from the Russian point of view—the "failure" being that it was too absurd for acceptance.

Keep an Eye on Germany.

"In China the work of superseding the British empire shall begin." This is the startling proposition of an anonymous writer in the *National Review* for October. The writer, who signs himself "X," gives a very long and careful account of Germany's movements in the international sphere for the last few years, and concludes that Germany is England's real rival all over the world, and that it is against England, and not Russia, that Germany is now preparing.

GERMANY AGAINST ENGLAND.

It is in China that British interests are to be first attacked. Germany has convinced herself that the partition of China cannot now be permanently avoided. Her first conception was that, as a result of the Japanese War, there would be a regeneration of the Middle Kingdom under German auspices ; and it was only after waiting in vain, for several years, that she came to the conclusion that disintegration was inevitable. Her avowed purpose in taking possession of Kiaochau was to be ready for either alternative :

"The landing of German troops at Shanghai, and the dispatch of German gunboats up the Yangtse, are explained away by the *Kölnische Zeitung* in the venerable manner. Germany, we are told, has no aggressive designs in that region, and agrees with England that it is a sphere in which the open door must be maintained. Exactly. It is not recognized as our sphere. It is to be the cosmopolitan sphere. Germany is to entrench herself in her monopoly in Shantung, and to share the advantages of the open door with us upon the Yangtse. This is a characteristic Anglo-German bargain. It is with a particular view to our position in the event of a break-up of China that we seek German support. It is in that event we shall most surely lose it. The Chinese pledge was simply that the Yangtse region would not be alienated to 'any power'—ourselves included. Other nations hold us to our bond, which, of course, would become waste

paper if the Chinese Government by any mishap should cease to exist. No nation recognizes on our part a territorial claim to the Yangtse. It is certain that, in the case of the disruption of China, Germany would claim the whole region from the Yellow River up to the north bank of the Yangtse. Much the most probable of all eventual results of the Kiaochau episode is that we shall lose at least the northern, and incomparably the better, half of the great middle region.

A RENEWED TRIPLE ALLIANCE.

"X" declares that when the partition of China begins the real antagonism between England's interests and those of Germany will come to light, and Germany will at once take steps to reconstitute the Triple Alliance with Russia and France for the purpose of preventing the realization of British claims to the Yangtse Valley.

GERMAN AIMS ON THE YANGTSE.

So long as China remains undivided, Germany's advantage in guarding the open door is second only to England's :

"It may even be conceded, since it is beyond the requirements of the argument to discuss the point, that the stability of the Middle Kingdom is desired in Berlin as sincerely as in London or Washington. But what if, as will be admitted to be possible, it should prove beyond human power to preserve the integrity of China or to prevent the break-up—what then? There is a vague idea abroad in this country that, in the last resort, Germany would content herself with her present sphere in the province of Shantung, with some indefinite and unalarming additions of hinterland, and that her friendly support would enable us to enter into peaceful possession of the Yangtse Valley and the enjoyment of the lion's share in the partition of China. We imagine, so far as we examine the matter at all, that the Kaiser and his subjects, if discontented with their modest slice in their present admitted sphere, would turn to the north and effect a vigorous aggrandizement at the expense of Russia. For such theories as these there is not a vestige or a shadow of evidence or reason. The interests of Germany, who already resents the inordinate extension of our dominion, and attributes the extension of the British empire to an irritating chronological accident, do not lie in conniving at the aggrandizement of a power in her view so exorbitantly overgrown, and if her interests do not lie in that direction her policy will not. The transfer of the whole Yangtse Valley to us would bring under the British flag half the inhabitants of the earth. Of all states in the world,

Germany has the deepest interest in preventing such a consummation, and the most fixed determination to do it."

Why Not a Jappanned China?

The editor of the new *Monthly Review* discusses the situation "After Peking," and concludes as follows:

"The great necessity for British interests in China is a settled government. Far better that even Russia should annex the country than that chaos should continue. But the commercial policy of Russia is worse for us than that of any other nation, and it would be better that Japan or even Germany should be encouraged to take over the government of the southern and central part of the empire. In the meantime an attitude of expectancy is all that the government of this country can at present take up. It may well be that eventually a more active part may be open to it, in the direction of keeping order in the sea-coast towns and waterways of an imperfectly pacified Japanese empire."

Restore the Emperor.

Dr. John Ross is a welcome addition to the number of writers who recognize that China has rights as against Europe as well as Europe against China. In the *Contemporary Review* for October he publishes an excellent article on "Our Future Policy in China," in which he says plainly that the only policy to be observed towards the Chinese in future is to treat them with justice and as equals, for no other policy will ever pay. Dr. Ross has a high opinion of the morals and intellectual capacity of the Chinese. In the first place, they are not cowards; and their detestation of war is based upon a philosophy which Europeans might envy.

CHINESE NOT COWARDS.

But the Chinese, when oppressed and bullied in the past, have not shown themselves incapable soldiers when dealing with enemies of equal armament; and they only want arms and a leader to enable them to repel European aggression with equal success.

"In their past normal life they had no warrior leaders. Insult and wrong produced national wrath, and the warrior leaders appeared. Similar causes will again produce the same effects. The men are now more numerous, their resources more extensive. The raw materials for an army, formidable no less by prowess than by numbers, are lying all over China. The man has yet to appear who will pick them up and utilize them. The Chinese lack military leaders, but leaders will come."

THEIR LOVE FOR JUSTICE—

One of the most prominent characteristics of the Chinese, says Dr. Ross, is their admiration of, and love for, justice:

"A sense of injustice arouses them to wrath as nothing else can. The most serious losses in the way of business, or from the action of natural forces, they endure with patient equanimity. A small loss—even an insignificant one—by what they consider to be injustice rouses them to indignant protest and to serious resistance. If that sense of injustice is sufficiently acute, there are no bounds to their wrath, and to obtain redress they take the strongest measures, without counting the cost."

—AND REASON.

No people revere reason more than the Chinese:

"Their instruction from childhood teaches them to trust to reason, and not to force, for the statement and the acquisition of their rights. Years ago they appealed in this way to Western nations, by whom their appeal was spurned with contempt; hence the present horrors in China. Their etiquette, again, which is strictly observed by all classes, makes a police force unnecessary. Their deference to seniors, their politeness to strangers, all combine to form a powerful restraint on the coarser feelings, and on that resort to physical force not uncommon among many Western nations."

PARTITION IMPOSSIBLE.

Dr. Ross does not believe that China can be parceled out among the powers; nor does he think that Captain Younghusband's policy of treating separately with the Chinese viceroys is a good plan. The unity of the country is essential, and the Emperor is the best instrument for preserving it:

"Incomparably the best policy for China and for Europe, in order to secure peace now and security for the indefinite future, is that the Western powers should unite harmoniously to the end in resisting any temptation to personal aggrandizement in the way of annexing Chinese territory; and throughout China should declare by public proclamation that their one aim is the restoration of order under the Emperor, through wise officials of his choosing, who will work toward the improvement of the country. This policy will render the restoration of peace now a comparatively easy task, and will secure the hearty good wishes and the permanent gratitude of all the better classes throughout China, with whom lie the government and the influence of

the country when the restoration of peace brings back the rule of reason."

Gordon's Campaign In China.

The *Fortnightly* for October publishes the second part of Gordon's account of the operations which resulted in the capture of Soochow, Yehsing, and Liyang from the Taipings—operations which had the effect of cutting the rebellion in two halves mutually isolated. Gordon's final recommendation was as follows:

"Should any future war with China arise, too much attention cannot be paid to the close reconnoitering of the enemy's positions, in which there are always some weak points; and it is to be hoped that our leaders may incline to a more scientific mode of attack than has hitherto been in vogue. The hasty attacks generally made on Asiatic positions cost valuable lives, invite failure, and prevent the science of war, theoretically acquired at considerable cost, being tested in the best school—namely, that of actual practice."

CHINA AND RUSSIA.

IN the *North American Review* for October, the Hon. Josiah Quincy, who, it will be remembered, served as assistant secretary of state in the last Cleveland administration, before his election to the Boston mayorship, gives several reasons for his belief, elsewhere expressed, that the United States should frankly recognize Russia as the dominant factor in the settlement of the Chinese question. The crux of the situation, as viewed by Mr. Quincy, lies in these facts—"that the interests of Russia in China and her relations to the Celestial empire are entirely different from those of any other power; that her position is already stronger than that of any of her rivals in the far East, and may soon become impregnable, and that if she can avoid war she may be almost be said to hold the future of China in the hollow of her hand—though the process of asserting her full control is likely to be a long and gradual one. In short, Russia holds the winning cards in her hand, and knows how to play them."

SECURITY OF THE RUSSIAN FRONTIER.

Mr. Quincy shows that Russia's exposed frontier of 4,000 miles requires on her part a distinct policy toward China. This is a land frontier, and it must be made secure.

"China cannot strike other nations except through their interests on her coasts, or within her borders; she can strike Russia within the empire of the Czar, and it is at least conceivable and possible, even if quite unlikely, that she

might some day organize out of her teeming population armies which would repeat the Tartar invasion. Russia has not yet forgotten that these fierce Asiatics ruled her people for over two centuries, and the overthrow of their domination is of as recent date as the discovery of America."

This fear goes far to explain the Russian attitude toward Japan:

"Russians believe that, if Japan were once allowed to organize and arm the Chinese, their own great Asiatic empire would be in imminent peril, if not their European territory as well; and it must be admitted that their fears seem to be well founded. A cardinal point in Russian policy is, therefore, to keep Japan out of China at all hazards, and out of Korea, if possible; hence her alarm at the cession of the Liaotung Peninsula to Japan after the war, and her coercion of that power, in combination with France and Germany, to give up this important part of the fruits of her victory.

"Russia is forced by her situation to consider more seriously than any other power the immense possibilities of danger involved in crowding too hard a nation of some 400,000,000 of people, constituting the most ancient empire in existence, and united by a spirit of opposition to foreigners. No other great nation would have submitted for a moment to the indignities which have been heaped on China by other powers, or to exactions which they have enforced, and she has only submitted because she was helpless to resist. Russia, at least, if not the other powers, must take into account the possibility that China may cease to be powerless; that she may learn the art of military organization which some have been so anxious to teach her, and that she may develop resources of offense as well as for defense."

A RUSSIAN MONROE DOCTRINE FOR CHINA.

In Mr. Quincy's opinion there is as good ground for a Russian Monroe doctrine to protect the integrity of China as there is for an American Monroe doctrine to protect the integrity of the South American republics.

"The above considerations have a vital relation to the question of withdrawal from Peking. The presence of foreign troops on Chinese soil is objectionable from the Russian standpoint above indicated, though she fully recognized its necessity while the legations were in peril. Anything which tends toward a removal of the capital from Peking is also strongly opposed to her interests; and the continuance of its occupation by foreign troops would certainly have such a tendency, in view of the unwillingness of the imperial government to return there while such occupation lasts. Peking is the most favorable

possible residence for the Chinese court, with a view to the predominance of Russian influence ; and it is not to be wondered at that she proposes to give the Empress every facility to return there. Russia will doubtless be able to prevent the removal of the capital, if central government is to continue in China, to any point more convenient to the interests of her rivals and less advantageous to herself. Tientsin, the port of Peking, is right across the gulf from Russia's great naval stronghold and base at Port Arthur ; and the capital itself is connected by railroads already built with Mukden in Manchuria, whence railroad construction before the present outbreak was being rapidly pushed northward to join with the trans-Siberian line. Within a comparatively short time there will be all-rail connection between St. Petersburg and Peking. A part of this line, to be sure, is at present more or less under British control ; but this difficulty will be obviated in some way, and Russia had already applied for an independent concession. Indeed, one of her plans, by no means unlikely to be carried out later, is a direct line from Irkutsk to Peking, reducing by almost one-half the distance by the route through Manchuria.

"It must be remembered, too, that, so far as spheres of influence have been defined, the Russian sphere is better situated for the domination of Peking than any other. Great Britain has formally recognized that the whole of Mongolia and Manchuria come within the sphere of Russia so far as the building of railroads is concerned, and no other power is likely to dispute her earmarking of that territory. When Russia has completed her railroads and can land a large body of troops in the Chinese capital at short notice, China is not likely to be in much doubt as to which power can best play the rôle of protector of her government, alike against domestic trouble and foreign pressure."

RUSSIA'S ADVANTAGES.

Among the preëminent advantages enjoyed by Russia in connection with the Chinese situation, Mr. Quincy mentions—(1) her alliance with France ; (2) the fact that Russia has no missionaries in China ; and (3) a clear understanding of Chinese methods of government and habits of thought, resulting from the fact that Russia is herself semi-Asiatic in origin and has had centuries of contact with Orientals.

It is believed that the Chinese may give no small weight to the missionary question, when considering on which power they had best lean, while Russian methods of government may be as well adapted as any to the stage of political development thus far attained in China, arbitrary

and autocratic as they seem to a democratic people.

Mr. Quincy says, in conclusion :

"The natural and legitimate character of the expansion of Russia to the Pacific, the fact that she has a real civilizing mission in Asia, however her own civilization may fall below the European standard in some respects ; the service which she is rendering to the future commerce of the world by the great continental railroad which she is building at such an enormous cost ; the pacific character of her policy,—these are points which cannot be treated within the limits of this article. The maintenance of friendly relations with Russia should be as cardinal a point in our diplomatic policy as the cultivation of similar relations with us is in her own programme. Each nation has expanded across a continent, from one ocean to another ; we meet as friends upon the shores of the Pacific—the great arena in which, perhaps, is to be fought out, in war or in peace, the struggle for political or commercial supremacy."

THE RUSSIANS IN MANCHURIA.

UNDER the title "The War in Manchuria," *Nuova Antologia* (Rome, September 1) prints an article of uncommon interest by Gen. Luchino dal Verme, of the Italian Army. The articles on the war in South Africa, by General dal Verme, are known to many of our readers. (The first of the series was reviewed in our March number.) General dal Verme's qualifications for writing on the Manchurian War are exceptional. Besides his military training and experience, he has a personal knowledge of the field of military operations gained by travels in the country, especially on the Amur. Moreover, General dal Verme's style is clear, always attractive, and often picturesque.

PELT HUNTING.

A little more than 250 years ago, a band of Cossack pelt-seekers discovered the region that is now the bone of contention between Russia and China. In 1643, Poyarkof, at the head of 112 Cossacks, set out from the Siberian town Jakutsk, on the Lena, to find strange adventures and pelts. In the two Americas, most of the explorations were actuated by the lust of gold and by the missionary desire of saving souls. It was a lust of pelts, without any missionary coöperation, that opened to Europeans the vast regions of northern Asia. Poyarkof and his followers were seeking a "happy hunting-ground" where game had never been frightened by firearms. These Cossacks were not horsemen, as

we always figure Cossacks, but boatmen. They were not unique in character or employment. Similar parties of Cossack boatmen, before Poyarkof's expedition, had engaged in such enterprises, and explored vast reaches of unknown territory. Poyarkof and his companions went up the rivers pushing or dragging their small boats; where a river became no farther practicable, they carried their boats overland to some other stream. So they went up and down the rivers getting costly furs and fighting the natives when they found any. In that way they reached with severe toil the Zeya, a tributary of the Amur. But the voyage down the Amur was pleasant. At last, near the end of autumn, they got to the sea-coast. There they wintered. In the following summer the voyagers set out by sea in their frail little boats to find the Lena and Jakutsk, where they arrived in July, 1646, after an absence of more than three years. Only 40 of the original 113 had survived the hardships encountered. But they brought home 480 precious pelts.

ATTEMPTED CONQUESTS.

Three years after the return of Poyarkof, a very notable Cossack, Khabarof, reached the Amur with 70 men. Khabarof had projects of conquest, and, thinking that 70 men were not enough, got the number enlarged to 170. At the junction of the Ussuri and the Amur stands to-day the little city of Khabarovsk, a monument to this Cossack's perseverance and audacity. His most celebrated exploit was a victory gained with 156 men over 2,000 Manchurians (the victor's estimate), equipped with cannon and firearms. Six hundred of the Manchurians, it is said, were left dead on the battlefield. It was the first pitched battle (1652) between Manchurians and Russians, and even now the victory is a theme for Cossack war-songs. For nearly forty years afterwards hostilities went on between Russia and China for the possession of the Amur.

RUSSIAN FAILURE.

In 1689, however, the two empires made a treaty in which Russia renounced all pretensions on the Amur. The treaty was signed on August 27, at Nercinsk, on the River Scilka. It was a triumph for China. Russia could not bring her resources into effective use at such a distance against a people so numerous as the Manchurians, and supplied with firearms. So "these Cossacks," says General dal Verme, "whom no privation, no rigor of climate, no hostility of the aborigines, had stopped through all the unmeasured distance of desolate lands from the Ural

Mountains to Kamchatka,—100° of longitude,—had to fall back before the Manchurian legions there in the valley of the Amur, which offered a delightful way of communication, where the climate was mild, and where it was possible to enjoy life."

More than 150 years passed before Russia reached out again for the Amur. The peculiar value of the Amur is that it is the only important river of northern Asia that empties into the Pacific Ocean. Peter the Great is said to have meditated the reconquest of that region; but, if he had the purpose, he made no motion towards carrying it into effect. No attempt was made until the accession of Nicholas I.

MURAVIOF.

In 1848, General Muraviof, a young man, assumed the duties of governor of Eastern Siberia, with full jurisdiction from the River Jenissei to Bering Straits, and from the Arctic Ocean to China. Soon after taking his office, a naval captain, Nevelskoy, under his command, discovered that the supposed peninsula Sakhalin was an island. The discovery added much to the importance of the Amur, because it showed that the mouth of the river could be approached at sea from both the north and south. By the command of the new governor, and without authorization from St. Petersburg, Captain Nevelskoy sailed up the Amur and established, about sixteen miles up the river, a station, which he named after his master, the Czar, Nikolajevsk. "To the Chinese governor he was commanded to say that a Russo-American company had established a station at the mouths of the Amur, and that a war vessel had been stationed there for policing the sea 'in the reciprocal interest of Russia and China.'" The ruse that a trading company was operating along the Amur was kept up by the Russian governor for years, and the Chinese Government found it convenient to be satisfied with this explanation.

"But to conquer indeed the great valley," says General dal Verme, "land forces were needed, and not a few, as always in vain the Cossack Khabarof had written in his reports. When Muraviof went into Siberia, he was astonished at finding there only four battalions and no artillery." He proposed the creation of native regiments, and authority for raising them was granted by an imperial ukase in 1851.

THE CRIMEAN WAR AS A STALKING-HORSE.

When the Crimean War broke out, Muraviof took advantage of it to turn the peaceful process of Russian expansion into military occupation. There was no need now of talking about the

Russo-American company. The sea-coast and its rivers must be defended against the French and English. So Muraviof established military communication along the Amur, and in force occupied important points both on the river and elsewhere. To the Emperor of China he wrote that these precautions were taken in the interest of both Russia and China. But Chinese envoys were sent to Muraviof to negotiate a definite treaty. Muraviof made long delays in the negotiations, but on May 16, 1858, a treaty was signed, in which the boundary between China and Russia was declared to be the Amur and the Ussuri. A subsequent treaty, made in 1860, defined the boundary more exactly, and extended the Russian possessions. That part of Manchuria which lay north of the Amur, and all that part which lay east of the Ussuri, became Russian territory, and Russia acquired the natural port of Vladivostok and access to the sea of Japan.

TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILROAD.

As far back as 1858, a railroad for facilitating passage to the ports of Tartary was urged by General Muraviof, but it was not till March 17, 1891, that an imperial rescript for the construction of the trans-Siberian railroad was issued. On the 12th of May following, the first stone was laid at the eastern terminus, Vladivostok. The estimated length of the line was 7,292 kilometers from Celiabinsk on the Asiatic slope of the Ural Mountains to Vladivostok. But the war between China and Japan, with its disasters to China, was fruitful in advantages to Russia. The intervention of Russia in the peace negotiations shut out Japan from the continent, and procured from China large concessions—among them Port Arthur and the right to build a railroad through Manchuria. The new line passes, in a pretty direct course, through Manchuria from Onon on the Scilka to Nikolskoe on the completed road along the Ussuri. A branch road is to go to Port Arthur. This concession shortens the main line of the trans-Siberian railroad by nearly 700 kilometers. To Russia was conceded the right of guarding and defending, with her own soldiers, the railroad and those engaged in its construction.

Although General dal Verme's paper is entitled "The War in Manchuria," the larger part of it is taken up with unfolding the events that brought the Russians into the present situation in that region, and this preliminary recital is, no doubt, the most valuable part of the article. The reports from the field of military operations have been so loose and inconsistent that an account of the war in detail must be, at present, largely conjectural.

A FRENCH RUSSOPHOBIST.

THE French magazine, *L'Humanité Nouvelle*, is a champion of the oppressed everywhere; it exults always in the defeat or check of oppressors. Writing in the September number on the theme "China and European Diplomacy," Élisée Réclus rejoices at the setback of Russia in Manchuria.

FUTILITY OF THE EUROPEAN ALLIANCE.

"Nothing good will come of the forced alliance of the European powers against China. They are jealous and suspicious of each other. Union will not come from these hateful sentiments. Forced to ally themselves temporarily, they will certainly attain their military objective, which is to occupy Peking, as they have occupied Tientsin. . . . But after the peace of Peking, . . . when it will be necessary to take firm resolutions as to the future, the powers will certainly be controlled by a preoccupation of the first importance—that of mutually preventing each other from gaining too much advantage from their common intervention, and all will contrive shrewd combinations with the enemy against the friend. So there will be arranged a way of depriving England of the commercial monopoly she has practically enjoyed till our day; likewise care will be taken to relieve France of the religious protectorate which she has arrogated to herself over the Catholic missions; and an attempt will be made to circumvent impetuous Germany, so that she will accomplish little else than noise. As for the two principal rivals, Japan and Russia, it will be necessary to leave them a free field, both having a force of expansion too great for compression by diplomacy.

RUSSIA'S HUMILIATION.

"Whatever happens, it is a fact most fortunate for humanity that Russia comes out of this adventure deeply humiliated. For some years her conduct has shown an arrogance unparalleled. Her seizure of Manchuria was almost without example as an act of hypocritical rapacity. If such perfidy were not punished in one way or another, new infamies of the same kind would become too easy; all the world would become too easily accustomed to prostrating themselves before the Czar and saluting him in advance as the future master of the human race. This redoubtable Muscovite power has already so many material advantages in its vital rivalry for domination! The approaches of the steppes and of the interior plateaux belong to it in advance. All the routes of Central Asia through Mongolia, through Dzoungarie, by the passes of Thianchan and the Pamiers, commence on its

territory and assure to it in advance the trans-continental traffic. The people that submit themselves—Turcomans, Kirgis, Mongols—would, as soldiers, supply to him incomparable ‘human material.’ Everything seemed ready for the universal servitude; and, even in Europe, a republic whose citizens pretend to march at the head of civilization, and which in fact possesses among its people some of the noblest and best men, debased itself by its flatteries and prostrations.

THE THREATENED RUSSIANIZING OF CHINA.

“The ‘yellow peril’ was not at all where so many historians have sought it. Surely, we have not to fear that the Chinese will overflow the earth in a torrent of conquest, like the Huns and Mongols. Moreover, we can dismiss as partly illusory the idea that the Orientals of Asia will despoil Europe of its industry by debasing wages. But it was certainly to be feared that Russia would recruit dozens and hundreds of millions of new subjects among the gentle and pacific races that people remote Asia. What a dreadful shock for the world, if the empire of the Czars had succeeded in the work of slow annexation that it gloomily sought to realize, while hypnotizing Europe by words of peace. This very government that perjures itself with such effrontery towards the Finns, and which debar-rasses itself so effectively of the troublesome Armenians in causing their extermination by the ‘Red Sultan,’ certainly would not have scruples at the thought of using some day against Europe all this world of Mongols, Manchurians, and Chinese. What fine diplomats; what devoted functionaries; what admirable soldiers; what docile workmen,—would it not have found in this immense factory of men!

IS RUSSIA ON THE DEFENSIVE?

“But all these beautiful combinations have momentarily failed; or, at least, their accomplishment has been delayed for years. The prestige is broken. Even the Chinese have had the unexpected audacity to cannonade Blagovestchensk on the Amur, and irreverently to cut communications, to burn bridges, to tear up and twist rails. Despite their boasting, the Russian generals have been reduced to the defensive. . . . The Russians, while saying they were ready, were not at all ready, and in their operations against Tientsin and Peking they have been obliged to take second place, after their detested ‘friends,’ the Japanese. It is an indisputable check; and we believe that, in the interest of humanity, it is right to rejoice over it.”

TOLSTOI AND NIETZSCHE.

A THOUGHTFUL paper on “The Ethics of Tolstoi and Nietzsche” is contributed to the *International Journal of Ethics* for October by Maurice Adams. In concluding his estimate of these two contemporary philosophers, this writer remarks:

“There is much in Nietzsche’s writing which is of great value and worthy of careful study and prolonged thought. His demand for health and strength as a condition of all worthy life is surely sound. His protest against the existence of the weaklings who are so numerous in modern society, and who ought never to have been born and are unfit both in body and mind to face the du-



THE LATE FRIEDRICH W. NIETZSCHE.

ties and pains of existence, is sorely needed. His contempt for the sickly and sentimental sympathy which loves to dwell on disease and suffering rather than strenuously strive to remove their causes—which admires itself for its tenderness of heart, but is quite incapable of a manly conflict with evil—is most timely. But his defense of a proud and egotistic aristocracy, of unfeeling and even brutal egotism, even of downright cruelty; his scornful repudiation of love and sympathy and of the feeling of human fellowship which is man’s greatest joy, is harmful, false, and evil; and tends only to the disruption of society and the loss of the hard-won gains of evolutionary progress.

POINTS OF DIFFERENCE.

"Tolstoi and Nietzsche are the very antithesis of each other. Tolstoi's asceticism is the reaction of a sympathetic and deeply religious nature against the parasitic and voluptuous life of his youth. Nietzsche's worship of strength, health, beauty, and vigorous will is the revolt of a proud and sensitive soul against the limitations, the feebleness, and the misery caused by a diseased and suffering organism. Tolstoi preaches the suppression of all instincts, the rejection of all the demands of 'the animal in man; for Nietzsche 'everything good is instinct,' while 'to have to contend with instincts' is for him the sign of *décadence*. Tolstoi finds the only way of happiness in the Christian life, and sums up the conclusions of his life experience in the 'Christian Teaching.' The last book which Nietzsche wrote is entitled the 'Antichrist,' and in it he characterizes Christianity as 'the most subterranean conspiracy that has ever existed—against healthiness, beauty, well-constitutedness, courage, intellect, *benevolence* of soul, *against life itself*.'"

POINTS OF AGREEMENT.

"Yet they have much in common. Both deny, either formally or by implication, the presence of a rational order in the world; are therefore pessimistic, and deny any objective truth or principle of conduct common to all. Tolstoi, it is true, speaks of the 'reasonable consciousness' which awakens in man, and of the 'Will of God' as determining the conditions of life; but the first merely serves to reveal to us our inner chaos and to show us the contradictions of our being, without giving us any guidance for solving them, and the second appears as an altogether inscrutable fate. Nietzsche repudiates, in the strongest terms, the presence of reason in the world or any kind of cosmic harmony. 'The character total of the world is to all eternity chaos,' he cries, 'not in the sense of a missing necessity, but of missing order, articulation, form, beauty, wisdom.' So, recognizing no appeal to reason, both are dominated by feeling: Tolstoi by the feeling of love and sympathy, Nietzsche by pride and contempt. The ethics of the former are the ethics of self-negation; of the latter of unconditional self-assertion. Neither recognizes the truth that a truly human life is not the uncontrolled indulgence of feeling, but an 'activity according to reason.'"

In their conceptions of the functions of the state, the two men differed widely. Tolstoi is a pure anarchist; Nietzsche's position was not always plain, but at times he seemed to favor aristocratic government.

THE LESSONS OF GALVESTON.

IN the *National Geographic Magazine*, Mr. W J McGee, formerly the geologist in charge of the coastal plain division of the United States Geological Survey, writes on certain physical aspects of the Galveston calamity.

The first lesson that Mr. McGee deduces from the experience of the flood-swept Texan city is that of the Scriptural parable warning against the building of a house on the sand:

"Galveston was founded on a sand-bank—a mere wave-built cay, or key—made by the waves of average storms during a few centuries. Up to its highest point (less than a dozen feet above low tide), the earth of the island comprised absolutely nothing but wave-cast sand and silt, and to a depth of at least half a mile in vertical measure there is no solid rock; the strata are loose sands and silts and mud-beds, nowhere firm enough to afford a sure foundation. Geologically, the deposits are those of the Pleistocene Columbia formation to a depth of several hundred feet, and these are underlaid by lithologically similar deposits of several tertiary formations. The successive formations from the Columbia downward are mechanical deposits; they are not cemented with calcareous or silicious substances, like some of the formations of the eastern Gulf coast, nor are they bound together by coralline masses like some of the West-India littorals; they include little material save water-logged muds and silts, semi-solidified by pressure at depths, but nowhere lithified into firm ledges. And what is true of Galveston is measurably true of the entire western Gulf coast from Vera Cruz to the Mississippi passes; no worse coast-stretch for foundations exists in the world, and none other so bad is of anything like equal extent.

A CITY WITHIN REACH OF THE WAVES.

"The second lesson is but the first raised from the plane of experience alone to that of recognition of natural agencies. The sand-bank on which Galveston was built is something more than a simple heap of silicious grains and dust; it is a record of past wave-work which might well have deterred the founders of the city. The most conspicuous work of waves and wind-driven sea-currents is the building of bars of sand or gravel gathered from neighboring shore-stretches or washed up from shallow bottoms; only less conspicuous is the work of these agents in carving sea-cliffs. Both modes of work are preëminently characteristic; there is not a mile of our eastern and southern coasts, from St. Croix River bounding Maine to the Rio Grande beyond Texas, without one or the other of these products of sea-work. On some coast-stretches, like that of

southern New Jersey, the bars and sea-cliffs alternate, the one stretching across the mouths of valleys embouching toward the sea, the other truncating the divides between the valleys; along higher and rockier shores, like those of New England, the sea-cliffs predominate; but along the flatter coasts, like most of those along the Gulf, the bars—the ‘keys’ of the vernacular—predominate, and are commonly separated from the mainland by sounds;—so that everywhere the character of the shore is determined primarily by its height above tide; secondarily, by the work of waves and sea-currents in building bars and carving cliffs. Now the important point in connection with the bar or key is the fact that it is built by waves aided by the currents, so that its height and breadth afford a fair measure of local wave-work—not of the idle ripples of the calms, not even of the breakers of lesser storms, nor yet of the great hurricanes happening by at intervals of centuries, but of the greater storms of current decades. So the crest of the key marks the reach of the great but not phenomenal tempest, and its seaward slope gives some indication of the frequency of such storms, the steeper slope attesting a more frequent wave-work; while the effect of the century-rare typhoon is rather to destroy than to build symmetric keys, such as those skirting our Gulf coast and some stretches of the Atlantic shore thence northward. Other factors, including customary tides and prevailing winds, affect this sea-work; but they are subordinate. Thus, the elongated key on which the city of Galveston stood was but a natural storm-record; and it was merely by chance of weather history that she so long survived.

“It is the business of the engineer and architect to look to foundations, and to avoid the traditional house on the sand; but it is the duty of the nature student to interpret natural records and guard against the building of houses within reach of storm-waves—still more against building on the storm-records themselves.”

A SINKING COAST.

“There is a third lesson, less simple than the first and second, but far too important to be neglected: it is the lesson of coast subsidence, already learned by Holland and Helgoland, and now forcing itself on Louisiana and Texas, as well as New Jersey. The student who scans the shores of Atlantic and Gulf, either on the ground or on the admirable maps of the Coast and Geodetic Survey and the hydrographic office of our navy, soon perceives that the relations between wave-built bars and wave-cut sea-cliffs vary from coast-stretch to coast-stretch. On the New Jer-

sey coast the bars are beaten well back to or beyond the line of the sea-cliffs, so that the ponds or sounds behind the bars are relatively short and discontinuous; along the Florida coasts the keys stand farther out to sea, and are separated from the mainland by great elongated sounds often affording navigable waterways; while about the northern shores of the Gulf the relations of the keys to sounds are more variable. Closer study serves to interpret these variable relations: from Florida westward to Mobile Bay the keys are nearly continuous and the sounds long and narrow; thence westward to Lake Borgne the typical keys are lost, though their lines continue in a series of islands—Ship Island, Horn Island, Cat Island, etc.—separated from the mainland by the broad Mississippi Sound; still farther westward a new series of keys, erratic in form and trend, appears in the Chandeleur Islands, and beyond the delta there is a corresponding (and correspondingly erratic) series of low keys stretching westward nearly or quite to Atchafalaya Bay. Now, the mainland shore of Mississippi Sound is marked by a series of small and narrow keys and sounds, evidently in process of growth, but much less advanced than those east of Mobile Bay; and these are among the evidences that along this stretch of shore the Gulf has encroached on the land to such an extent as to leave the original keys 20 to 40 miles behind.”

Mr. McGee refers, in this connection, to the submerged state of the island of Batavia, inhabited in the days of Tacitus, to the formation of the Zuyder Zee by an invasion of the sea at about the end of the thirteenth century, and to the dyke-protected farms of the Netherlands, lying from 7 to 10 meters below tide-level.

The subsidence of the New Jersey coast has been estimated at two feet per century, and valuable estates are destroyed there annually. On the Gulf coast (at least between Mobile Bay and Galveston Harbor) the subsidence is believed, from the geologic indications, to be as rapid as on the New Jersey coast, and more rapid than on the Netherland coast. Among the earlier catastrophes on the Gulf was the swallowing, 44 years ago, of L’Isle Dernéal, a health and pleasure resort of New Orleans, with most of its transient population, consisting of wealthy Creole families.

Mr. McGee concludes with a warning against the rebuilding of Galveston on the old site:

“And let it not be forgotten that, of all localities on the Gulf coast, Galveston is most exposed; it is the last of the great natural embankments of the west coast remaining unsubmerged, and hence is open to a wider range of gales than any other; it is the point of contact between opposing forces, the land subsidence on the one hand and

wave-building on the other hand, just as was Sabine Bank in its day—but, like that bank, it is bound to be overwhelmed by one of the few great forces of nature to which human ingenuity and strength must bow."

WEST-INDIAN HURRICANES.

IN *Cram's Magazine* for October, Dr. Eugene Murray-Aaron, who has seen service in the West Indies as a weather observer under General Greely, records some of the data acquired by him in that capacity regarding the typical late-summer storms, of which the one that devastated Galveston is the most recent example.

An old resident of Barbados, who had accurately observed one of the most destructive hurricanes of the century, is quoted as saying :

"The strongest houses were caused to vibrate to their foundations, and the surface of the very earth trembled as the destroyer raged over it. No thunder was at any time heard; had the cannon of a hundred contending armies been discharged or the fulmination of the most tremendous thunder-claps rattled through the air, the sounds could not have been distinguished. The horrible roar and yelling of the wind, the noise of the tumultuous ocean, whose frightful waves threatened the town with destruction, if all the other elements might spare; the clattering of tiles; the falling of roofs and walls, and the combination of a thousand sounds, formed the most hideous din, which appalled the heart and bewildered if not alienated the mind. No ade-

quate idea of the sensations which then distracted the mind and confounded the faculties can possibly be conveyed to those who were distant from the scene of terror. The sheltered observer of the storm, amazed and in a state of stupor, was fixed to the spot where he stood; the sight and hearing were overpowered, and the excess of astonishment refused admission to fear. What must have been the mental agonies of those wretched fugitives who, destitute of a place of refuge, were the sport of the dreadful and ruthless tempest, and alive to all its horrors! This unparalleled uproar continued without intermission for over three and one-half hours—the raging blast then veering from the west and other points to the southward of it, attended with avalanches of rain.

"The storm now and then for a few moments abated, at which time the dreadful roar of the elements having partially subsided, the falling of tiles and building materials, which by the last dreadful gusts had probably been carried to a lofty height; the shrieks of suffering victims; the cries of terrified inhabitants, and the howling of dogs—were clearly audible, and awakened the mind to a distressing apprehension of the havoc and carnage which had been and still were desolating the island. . . . Almost every merchant ruined, and few of them possessing so much as a suit of clothes to walk the streets in. Every vessel thrown high up into the bay. . . . A piece of lead which weighed 150 pounds was carried to a distance of more than 1,800 feet; and another piece, 400 pounds in weight, was

lifted up and carried a distance of 1,680 feet. Rafter and beams were flying through the air with frightful rapidity, and shingles pierced in several instances hardwood trees and remained sticking in them. Another instance is related that part of a child's trumpet was driven into an evergreen tree, where it buried itself in the trunk. If an object so light as a piece of tin can be driven into wood, the force required to bury it in the tree may be imagined."

Dr. Murray-Aaron describes the Caribbean Sea as "a great salt-water cauldron," for the most part surrounded by more or less continuous moun-



MAP SHOWING THE TRACK OF THE GREAT HURRICANE OF 1900, AUGUST 31 TO SEPTEMBER 9.

tain-chains. It is supposed that the initial impulses of these fierce tropical storms come from the sides of the sub-Andean Cordilleras.

"While the fury of these storms in their native places is greater than that of our Western cyclones, their appearance on our coasts is so gradual, and we are now so thoroughly warned of them by our weather bureau, that great loss of life can only in these times be attributed to criminal neglect on the part of the people in paying no attention to these warnings. When it shall dawn upon those going to sea and those living in specially exposed regions that these warnings are really meant to warn, such great loss of life as we have in the past witnessed will cease to be possible. These storms have usually lost some of the fury with which they are wont to visit certain of the West-Indian group by the time they reach the Atlantic coast. None has yet, nor is ever likely to do, the terrible damage that befell Savannah la Mar, Jamaica, in 1744. That thriving town, rich with the gains of sugar and rum on land and endless freebooting by sea, was in one dread hour so utterly swept from existence that not one dwelling, not one soul, nor ox, nor horse, was left as a reminder of the furies that saw the sun go down on a thriving community and its place covered by morn with many feet of sand, cast up by the mighty tidal wave that had come as a fitting climax."

FRUIT-GROWING IN AMERICA.

IN the November *Harper's*, Mr. Theodore Dreiser gives some remarkable figures of the great fruit-growing industry of America. He shows the enormous difference in our fruit-growing capacity between the present time and 1814, when only half a barrel of raisins could be found in the city of New York to make plum puddings in celebrating the treaty of peace. To-day, California alone ships more than 100,000,000 pounds of raisins a year.

\$80,000,000 WORTH OF STRAWBERRIES A YEAR.

Mr. Dreiser says that \$80,000,000 worth of strawberries are grown and consumed in the United States in a single season. Nowadays the strawberry season begins in the large cities in the late November and ends the following August, and the prices vary from one dollar to six cents a quart. Only twenty years ago, all of the strawberries eaten by New York and Brooklyn people were grown in Long Island and New Jersey. The producing area has been gradually extended through Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia; and then the fast freight lines brought in the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, and

even Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Arkansas. Now it costs but two cents to ship a box of strawberries from Southern Arkansas to New York. What oranges mean to Florida, and what oranges and grapes mean to California, are fairly well known, but Mr. Dreiser's showing of the importance of the fruit industry in Georgia and Alabama is most striking. Alabama, Texas, Missouri, and Tennessee are beginning to emulate Georgia in the production of peaches. In the last-named State, peaches have come to be king, instead of cotton, and cotton plantations have been supplanted by choice orchards, and packing-houses, canning-factories, and crate-factories have followed the extensive growing of fruit.

PEACHES ARE KING IN GEORGIA.

"There is a section of the State, traversed by one of the large east-coast roads, which is full of the new-found riches of fruit. This part of the State is singularly productive, and during the dull summer months, when cotton and grain crops are laid by, there are busy scenes among the peach-pickers and peach-packers. The whole section of the State, from Griffin to Smithville, thence to Albany, Cuthbert, and Fort Gaines, is one unbroken stretch of fruiting trees and perfect-bearing species. There is one man at Marshallville who individually controls 120,000 trees. Possibly this is one of the largest peach orchards in Georgia. One combination of men in Fort Valley controls 300,000 trees. In the neighborhood of this town are 700,000 trees in full fruitage this year. And yet the peach industry is known to be in its infancy here. In spite of tons of fruit shipped to Eastern and Western markets, the industry has just begun. The railroad traversing this one section handled 1,786 refrigerator-cars last season, loaded and iced at the various points of shipment. In the past ten years the same road has built 25 miles of spur tracks to accommodate growers whose orchards were coming into fruitage."

The little State of Delaware alone produces 4,000,000 baskets of peaches. Last year Connecticut furnished the same number; Maryland equals Delaware, and Michigan surpasses both. Mr. Dreiser tells of one peach farmer in Michigan whose orchards yield him \$80,000 a year.

THE FAR-WESTERN FRUIT.

As late as 1882, the California and Colorado fruit was sold in the East only at fabulous prices and in very small quantities. To-day, there is, in the fruit season—in fact, during the whole year—not a single city square in the business districts which has not its fruit store or stand covered

with the beautiful fruit of the Pacific Slope, to be sold at prices which allow every office-boy to indulge in handsome California pears, peaches, and grapes as a luncheon staple.

To show how rapidly fruit trade can grow where a demand is suddenly found together with the possibility of supplying it, Mr. Dreiser says that in 1896 a few crates of Rockeyford melons were shipped out of Colorado for the first time. The New York commission merchants at once saw the possibilities of this fruit, and the very next season 133 carloads were raised; in 1898 1,500 carloads were sent out, and to-day 23,000 acres, scattered through 19 States, are devoted to the raising of Rockeyford melons. The Government has never secured an adequate census of the entire fruit trade of the United States. Mr. Dreiser estimates that \$1,000,000,000 a year would be a moderate estimate.

THE MAN WHO INVENTED THE SUNDAY NEWSPAPER.

IN an article on "The Journalism of New York," in the November *Munsey's*, Mr. Hartley Davis tells how the great metropolitan dailies are made and marketed. Mr. Davis says the "great dailies" rely on the Sunday editions for their profits, and that three-fourths of the total net earnings come from that source. The morning edition does not pay, because the heaviest burdens of expense—telegraph and cable tolls, big salaries, correspondents' accounts, and the like—are saddled upon it. The morning edition is depended on to give prestige, standing, and influence to the property.

MR. GODDARD'S INNOVATION.

"The Sunday newspaper was the first to show a radical departure from old methods. It influenced the evening, and together they have had a marked effect upon the morning editions. Much of the so-called 'yellowness' first displayed itself on Sunday. To Morrill Goddard belongs the chief credit, or responsibility, of the modern Sunday newspaper. For years he has been known as 'the father of the Sunday newspaper,' and he has now reached the advanced age of thirty-three. He comes of a good Maine family, was graduated from Dartmouth when he was twenty, and entered upon newspaper work on the New York *World*. At twenty-five he was placed in charge of the Sunday edition, and free swing was given to him. It is Mr. Pulitzer's policy to ask certain results of his editors, and then to give them full authority.

THE SUNDAY EDITION A SEPARATE ENTITY.

"Mr. Goddard was the first man to make the Sunday edition a separate entity. Theretofore it had been under the care of a so-called Sunday editor, working under the direction of a busy managing editor, who had little time to give to it. Artists and writers in the city department furnished the matter at the Sunday editor's request—when they had time.

"The first thing Mr. Goddard did was to organize his own staff of artists, writers, and assistant editors, who worked for him exclusively. He made up his mind that the Sunday newspapers were not interesting, and it was his business to make them so. In a little time he had the whole establishment in a turmoil. The cables sang with messages to Mr. Pulitzer, then in Paris, warning him that 'this young man is ruining your property.'

ITS INFLUENCE ON CIRCULATION.

"By way of beginning, Mr. Goddard printed a page picture of a wonderful monkey in Central Park. Up to that time, two and three column cuts were about the limit of size, and the page drawing was a novelty. It was not long before Mr. Goddard was printing double-page illustrations. There were big, smashing headlines, too, and stirring articles about things that had never before been described in newspapers. It made the judicious grieve and the conservative rage; but the circulation mounted upward by 10,000 and 15,000 copies a week. In five years, Mr. Goddard had increased the sales of the Sunday *World* from 200,000 to 600,000 copies. Then he left the *World* to take a similar position on the *Journal*, and in three years he had built up the circulation of its Sunday edition from 100,000 to 600,000 copies.

"During his *régime*, the magazine idea has been introduced into the Sunday newspaper. The comic supplements alone are estimated to have increased the circulation of those Sunday editions which carry them by 50,000 a week. The colored illustrations and the half-tones were other important innovations, although the wisest 'circulation sharps' say they cannot trace any increased sales to them.

"These colored supplements go to press about three weeks in advance of the date of issue. The black-and-white supplement, with the exception of one section, is printed two weeks in advance, and yet the rush in the Sunday department is often as great as in the editorial rooms of the dailies."

THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

THE WORLD'S WORK.

THE first number of Doubleday, Page & Co.'s new magazine, *The World's Work*, appears for November. The editor is Mr. Walter H. Page, a member of the firm which publishes the magazine. Mr. Page has had a very full and successful editorial career at the helm of the *Forum*, and later as editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*. He outlines the special field and ambitions of the new magazine in his opening editorial remarks. Calling attention to the vast industrial and commercial progress in this country resulting from American character and enterprise, he hails the age when, "to an increasing number, work has become less and less a means of bread-winning and more and more a form of noble exercise. The artist always took joy in his work; it is the glory of our time that the man of affairs can find a similar pleasure in his achievements. It is with the activities of the newly organized world, its problems, and even with its romance, that this magazine will earnestly concern itself, trying to convey the cheerful spirit of men who do things."

A MAGAZINE OF DEPARTMENTS.

The World's Work is divided into departments, the first, under the title "The March of Events," dealing through short articles with such current topics as "The After-Glow of the Boer War," "The Coal Strike and the Public," "The Rebuilding of Galveston," "The Outlook for Young Men;" questions arising from our new colonial experiments, the Chinese problem, and various social and economic questions of the day. Following this department is a group of features, many of them illustrated, including travel sketches, fiction, and nature-study, as well as discussions of public questions. The magazine ends with two departments following out more definitely its peculiar aim, "Short Stories of Men Who Work," and "Among the World's Workers;" the latter being occupied with giving examples of the country's prosperity as seen in the industrial conditions at various business centers.

THE COST OF NATIONAL CAMPAIGNS.

An article on "The Cost of National Campaigns" gives a striking idea of the sudden and huge increase in the expense of getting a President elected. The writer estimates that the cost of the Presidential campaign in 1864 was \$200,000 for both parties, and that the cost of the National Committee's operations alone in 1900 will be over \$5,000,000; whereas "a Presidential campaign, including also Congressional, gubernatorial, and lesser campaigns, causes the total expenditure of perhaps \$20,000,000.

A WARNING TO AMERICAN MANUFACTURERS.

Mr. Frederick Emory, chief of the Bureau of Foreign Commerce, writes on "Our Growth as a World-Power," emphasizing especially the economic reasons for political expansion, and showing that our recent great leaps ahead in international trade have brought us far ahead of all competitors except Great Britain in exports and imports, and but slightly behind her. Mr. Emory thinks there is danger, even now, in this rapid success; that

American manufacturers "may make the mistake of thinking their goods will continue to sell themselves. It is not to be expected that nations like Great Britain, Germany, and France will permit themselves to be deprived of markets they have long controlled without a serious struggle. They will undoubtedly imitate our goods, and perhaps improve upon them; and they still have a great advantage over us in their carefully systematized methods of gaining and holding foreign trade."

The World's Work has a somewhat larger page than the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, and therefore considerably larger than the usual magazine size. The new magazine is carefully printed on handsome paper, and the illustration scheme is dignified by unusually well-executed full-page portraits of Secretary Hay, the Hon. Richard Olney, Rudyard Kipling, and Joel Chandler Harris.

THE CENTURY.

THE November *Century* is an exceptionally sumptuous magazine, with illustrations unusual in quality, even for the Century Company's products. The opening article, Mr. Maurice Thompson's "My Midwinter Garden," is resplendent with Mr. Harry Fenn's drawings of the symmetrical flowers printed in three colors.

Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer hails "A New Sculptor" in Hendrick Christian Andersen, a young Norwegian-American, only twenty-eight years old, who has accomplished most striking results in the expression of character through his figures. Mr. Andersen's most conspicuous works are his equestrian statue and the two groups called "Serenity" and "Fellowship," intended for casting in bronze.

BISHOP POTTER ON OUR DUTY IN THE PHILIPPINES.

An important article of interest is Bishop Henry C. Potter's on "The Problem of the Philippines." Bishop Potter says that the duty of the United States does not seem to be obscure. He thinks that it was a blunder of Dewey's that, after his great naval achievement, he failed to see that his task at Manila was at an end. "But at this writing there is no honorable way out. To throw up our task now would be a cruelty to those whom we abandoned, and a confession of our impotence which would disgrace us before the world. We must go on now, whether or no we find the task more expensive in men and means and less profitable commercially than originally we expected. A great nation cannot abandon a weaker people which it has before all men adopted as its ward without confessing that, great as it claims to be, it has nothing to impart, nothing to sacrifice, in order to give freedom and good government to those who have not forfeited all claim to such gifts because they have looked for them in the wrong direction."

ACTING AS A PROFESSION.

Mr. Bronson Howard makes an exceedingly readable article on "Our Schools for the Stage." He considers that at last the profession of acting has in English-speaking

communities taken its proper, natural place with other artistic professions, instead of being considered a mere desperate resort in the last emergency of need, as it undoubtedly was considered a third of a century ago. He says we have been the first in the world to establish a fully organized school for the training of young men and women for the stage with a large corps of teachers, additional lecturers, and special exercises in every requirement, physical and intellectual. Even the Conservatoire of Paris has no such organization as a school as the American Academy of the Dramatic Arts, founded by Mr. Franklin H. Sargent, its president.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE.

FROM the November *Harper's* we have selected Mr. Theodore Dreiser's article on "Fruit-Growing in America" to review in another department.

Prof. W. O. Atwater continues his investigation of the dangers and usefulness of alcohol in an article entitled "Alcohol Physiology and Temperance Reform." The sum and substance of Professor Atwater's full discussion is that, while all investigators agree that alcohol in large quantities is injurious, their judgments as to the results of small doses are conflicting; probably where men are called on for great muscular exertion, or continued nervous expenditure, the balance of testimony would be against the use of alcohol, even in small quantities. Professor Atwater thinks it very necessary that the public should have a better understanding of the nature of the drink-evil; and he thinks the time has come for the calm and careful study of the causes and the adaptation of treatment to the nature of the drink-disease, as against the conventional temperance-work.

The literary feature of this number of *Harper's* is the collection of "The Love-Letters of Victor Hugo," which are published with comments by M. Paul Meurice. The letters in this section are addressed to Mlle. Adèle Foucher, when Hugo was but eighteen years of age and his sweetheart was seventeen.

SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE.

THE November *Scribner's* opens with the concluding chapter of Mr. Henry Norman's very excellent account of the Siberian Railway. Now it takes thirty-eight days to go from Vladivostok to Moscow, and part of the journey has to be done by horse-power and a very large part by steamer. The uninterrupted railway journey from Moscow to Irkutsk, 3,371 miles, occupies about nine days. Mr. Norman comments on the extremely low fare—only \$44.30, including sleeping-car accommodations; "and this is for a train practically as luxurious as any in the world, and incomparably superior to the ordinary European or American train." In the eastern stretches of the journey the rate of speed is very low, going down to 12 miles an hour, and Mr. Norman tells us that this speed cannot be greatly increased until new rails are laid. The present weight of the rails is but little over 16 pounds to the foot, about half the weight used on the Pennsylvania road between New York and Philadelphia. Mr. Norman thinks this gigantic enterprise will ultimately cost no less than \$500,000,000. "Since the great wall of China, the world has seen no one material undertaking of equal magnitude. That Russia, single-handed, should have conceived it and carried it out makes the

imagination falter before her future influence upon the course of events."

Mr. Samuel Parsons, Jr., looking at the Paris Exposition from the standpoint of a landscape artist, says: "We may criticise some of the details, as the French themselves do more than any one else; but we must concede that probably never has such a glorious panorama of artistic life presented itself as in the *ensemble* at Paris in 1900." The one fundamental criticism Mr. Parsons has to make is the confined area allotted for the exposition; the Paris fair having but 250 acres all told, as against 800 acres occupied by the White City at Chicago.

Mr. Jesse Lynch Williams has a pleasant description of "The Cross Streets of New York;" Mr. J. M. Barrie concludes his serial, "Tommy and Grizel;" and there are short stories by Mr. Henry James and Mary Katherine Lee, the latter being illustrated very daintily in color.

M'CLURE'S MAGAZINE.

FROM the November *McClure's* we have selected the excellent article on Senator Mark Hanna by William Allen White to review among the "Leading Articles of the Month."

The magazine opens with a readable illustrated article on "The First Flight of Count Zeppelin's Airship." Count Zeppelin is an officer in the German army, and his interest in airships is primarily that of a military tactician seeking for a new and terrible engine of war. His airship is not a balloon, but rather a row of seventeen balloons confined in an enormous cylindrical shell with pointed ends, shaped like a cigar. The airship was tried last July, with five passengers occupying two aluminum cars suspended below the body of the shell. The balloons serve to lift the structure in air, and it is driven backward or forward by means of large airscrews, operated by two benzine engines. The machine cost the inventor more than \$1,000,000. It is an enormous affair, nearly 420 feet long, or longer than a first-class battleship, and its total weight is eleven tons. Mr. Eugen Wolf, the writer of this article, and one of the passengers on the trial trip, says there is every reason to believe this airship will attain a velocity of 26 feet a second, or 17 miles an hour. There are two 16-horse-power engines; and, if a third can be added by the saving of weight, the ship should make 30 feet per second. It was sunset when the airship was tried, and it rose very smoothly, quietly, majestically, described a large circle, and executed various maneuvers. The trial was made over the water, and the ship rose 1,300 feet above the lake. When the trial was completed the airship sank slowly, and rested on the water as smoothly as a sea-gull. Count Zeppelin and his assistants are now hard at work improving upon every point, and they look forward confidently to ultimate results which will make the airship a practicable vehicle.

THE GERMAN SOLDIER'S TRAINING.

Mr. Ray Stannard Baker has been studying in Germany the process of "Making a German Soldier," and writes on that subject in this number of *McClure's*. Mr. Baker says that the first great event in the life of the German boy is his confirmation, and the second his first week as a soldier. The boy and his parents decide whether he will enter as a *freiwillige*, to serve for one year only, or whether he must take the full service of two years. The physicians reject great numbers of

boys because they are not strong enough, or because they have such defects as the loss of the trigger-finger, color-blindness, or curvature of the spine. A few escape because they are the sole support of a widowed mother, and for similar reasons; but the authorities keep an eye on these, and if the conditions of their life change, they must serve afterwards.

STORY OF THE PEKING SIEGE.

One of the most graphic pictures of the terrible period in Peking, when the whites were besieged by the Boxers and Chinese army, is given in the diary of Mrs. E. K. Lowry, illustrated with excellent diagrams of the city and the European quarters. When the outbreak began, Mrs. Lowry was living in the Methodist Mission, about three-quarters of a mile east of the American legation. Her husband was absent in Tientsin.

THE COSMOPOLITAN.

CAPT. A. W. BUTT, U.S.V., writes in the November *Cosmopolitan* on "A Problem in Army Transportation," the problem being to transport horses across the Pacific to the Philippines for the use of our troops. It is no light matter to transport a cargo of horses across the Pacific. The animal must stand on its legs about forty days, and always suffers more or less from the sudden change of the sea voyage. The old method was to sling the horse, holding him in his recumbent position by means of a breastplate. In rough weather this was terribly uncomfortable and dangerous, and produced frequent panics in the cargo. The Quartermaster's Department has made a study of this question, and has now brought the transportation of horses to such a degree of perfection that the average loss on a voyage does not amount to 3 per cent. Other governments transporting animals count on a loss of 15 per cent. Captain Butt was the first to try the experiment of crossing the Pacific without unloading stock, and out of 456 horses only one was lost. This great record was obtained by extra care and the exercise of common sense. Electric and steam fans were used to give fresh air to the animals, and they were lifted by means of portable stalls, and the horses were tied in their stationary stalls on the transport with ropes long enough to give them three feet leeway from the stall. The horses learned to ride with the movement of the vessel, and after six hours of the first rough weather they worked together as if they were uniform machinery.

THE FUTURE OF GALVESTON.

Mr. John Fay, in an excellent article on "The Galveston Tragedy," prophesies that the Island City will never again be popular, as a city of homes, until some engineering genius constructs a sea-wall, or successfully elevates the city ten feet above its present level. He thinks that these feats are not beyond the bounds of possibility.

LIFE AT CAPE NOME.

Eleanor B. Caldwell, in her description of "A Woman's Experience at Cape Nome," tells of her visit to the newest mining-camp last summer. Her first dinner in a Nome restaurant consisted of a thin, tough steak, potatoes, poor bread and poor coffee, for \$2 apiece. She says that all the money that is being made is made in these saloons and restaurants. One small eat-

ing-house, 12 by 20 feet, rented for \$75 a day. Water sold at three buckets for 25 cents, and these economic unpleasantnesses were by no means the most important obstacles to a lady's sojourn at Nome. When the small-pox broke out a couple of weeks after the writer's party arrived, she took the next boat home.

LIPPINCOTT'S MAGAZINE.

IN the November *Lippincott's*, the complete novel of the month is "Madame Noel," by George H. Picard, a story whose scene is laid in the Acadian community of the Aroostook country.

Mr. Frederic Poole, writing on "China's Greatest Curiosity," describes the most striking characteristics of the Chinese language. The language used in Chinese books is never spoken, while the colloquial in written form would be looked on with supreme contempt by the average Chinese student. The mandarin is the court or official language, and is spoken in North, West, and Central China, while the Cantonese is spoken in Canton and the Southern districts.

The late Mr. Stephen Crane's accounts of "Great Battles of the World" are continued in "The Storming of Burkersdorf Heights," when Frederick of Prussia, on July 20, 1762, won his dramatic and important victory.

Dr. Theodore F. Wolfe contributes a pleasant essay, "In the Footprints of Bryant," which describes the secluded nook of the Housatonic region of Massachusetts where Dr. Peter Bryant and his bride lived in a little frame cottage.

THE NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINE.

IN the November *New England Magazine*, Mary E. Trueblood gives an account of "The Study of Housekeeping in Boston." Boston is to be thanked for the first organized systematic effort to teach the science of cooking. In March, 1879, the Woman's Educational Association started the Boston Cooking-School. Mrs. S. T. Hooper was the first president, and Miss Maria Parloa, and later Mrs. Mary J. Lincoln, gave a high standard to the instruction of the institution. That the school is eminently practical is shown by an incident Miss Trueblood gives, of the application of a family whose income was \$10 a week, and who wanted to know from the director whether they could begin housekeeping, or whether they had better pay \$8 a week for board and room. The school found and furnished two rooms and planned their meals for them, and after two months of oversight turned over the conduct of the little home to the couple with happy results.

The Hon. George S. Boutwell gives an interesting reminiscence of "The Last of the Ocean Slave-Traders." Mr. Boutwell was counsel for the republic of Haiti in a claim pressed by the alleged slave-trader against Haiti for having captured and imprisoned him. The bark *William* was the trader, and she was captured in the bay of Port Liberté, in April, 1861. The captain, Pelletier, escaped from prison in Haiti, and pressed a claim for \$2,500,000 against the little republic.

H. C. Shelley gives a very pleasant description of "The Home of Sir Philip Sidney," in the picturesque old village of Penshurst, in the county of Kent, which became the home of the Sidneys about the middle of the sixteenth century.

Mr. James L. Hughes gives a full and finely illustrated description of "Toronto,"

MUNSEY'S.

IN the November *Munsey's*, Mr. Hartley Davis gives an excellent account of the making of a great metropolitan newspaper. We have quoted from his article in another department.

Mr. Charles E. Russell, in summing up the results of France's World's Fair effort, says that in spite of all reports of failure, and no matter what is the financial outcome, the exposition of 1900 has unquestionably proved to be the greatest, the most complete, and the most instructive in the world's history. Mr. Russell is not so overwhelmingly impressed with the architectural features at Paris; it is the tremendous and varied array of the world's work that seems to him to make the Paris fair preëminent. As to financial results, while it was not impressive to see tickets of admission nominally worth twenty-five cents hawked around the streets at ten, eight, and even five cents, Mr. Russell reminds us that the exposition management did not sell tickets to the public, and received no part of the proceeds of sales at reduced rates. Tickets of admission were allotted to holders of the exposition bonds, and such holders subsequently sold the tickets for whatever they could get for them.

Mr. John Paul Bocock makes a dramatic story of "The Romance of the Telephone," in his account of the long struggle between Alexander Graham Bell, the successful inventor, and Prof. Elisha Gray, the unsuccessful claimant, with a huge fortune at stake. He says the annual expenses of the Bell Telephone Company for protecting its patents have amounted to as much as \$400,000.

OUTING.

IN the November *Outing*, Prof. I. T. Headland, of Peking University, writes on "Chinese Sports and Games," and illustrates his text from photographs of sportive Celestials "kicking the shoe," wrestling, tumbling, and playing hockey. Professor Headland says he has never seen a people so much given to play as the Chinese; but their games, like much else in their civilization, seem not to have gotten beyond the experimental stage. Professor Headland shows that the Chinese are, very contrary to current Western belief, exceptionally fond of athletic exercises; and he tells of no less than fifty popular games, nearly all of them more or less athletic in nature, which he collected in Peking alone.

A symposium on football by such authorities as Walter Camp, George H. Brooke, Haughton, of Harvard, and Chadwick, of Yale, is an important and timely feature of the number. Mr. Camp, writing on "Methods and Developments in Tactics and Play," says that for the last few years nothing especially new in the line of the running game has come to the front, but decided advances have been made in punting and drop-kicking, and especially in the management of the kicking games.

Mr. Leonidas Hubbard, Jr., writing on the Adirondack woods, calls for a generous appropriation from the coming legislature to enable the Forest-Preserve Board to do its work properly. The work of preserving the Adirondacks began in 1897, when the legislature of New York created the State Forest-Preserve Board and appropriated \$1,000,000 for its immediate use. The board was authorized to procure by purchase as much land as possible within the boundaries of the park. The law provided that land whose owners refused to

sell might be taken, and the owners were directed to present their complaints to the Court of Claims.

"The board paid from \$1.50, the price of 'lumbered' land, to \$7 an acre, and more than 250,000 acres were procured with the first appropriation. Later appropriations have enabled it to increase the State holding to something more than 400,000 acres. More than half of this is land that has not been lumbered, and still possesses its primeval wildness. There are some hundreds of thousand acres within the boundaries of the park that will be protected from the timber-cutter by reason of its being owned now by sporting clubs."

Lieut. William Kelly, Jr., tells of the use of "Animals in Warfare"—not only horses and mules, but camels, oxen, elephants, and dogs. He says the oxen are exasperating in their indifference to any demands for haste; but, on the other hand, they do not mind a cannonading, whereas no one has ever succeeded in making elephants stand fire quietly. Horses require too much attention to be entirely successful draught animals, and the mule is probably the most important war animal. Dogs are used in the German army to assist relief parties in discovering the whereabouts of men wounded in battle. Several regiments own packs of war-dogs drilled to assist in ambulance work. They are also used as watch-dogs to prevent surprise, and as messengers, and it is said they will have another use in attacking bicycle corps.

THE LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

MR. EDWARD BOK, editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*, protests in the November number of that magazine against the useless, and therefore bad, furnishing of American homes. "The curse of the American home to-day is useless bric-à-brac. A room in which we feel that we can freely breathe is so rare that we are instinctively surprised when we see one. It is the exception rather than the rule that we find a restful room. As a matter of fact, to this common error of over-furnishing so many of our homes are directly due many of the nervous breakdowns of our women. The average American woman is a perfect slave to the useless rubbish which she has in her rooms. This rubbish, of a costly nature where plenty exists, and of a cheap and tawdry character in homes of moderate incomes, is making housekeeping a nerve-racking burden. A serious phase of this furnishing is that hundreds of women believe these jimcracks ornament their rooms. They refuse to believe that useless ornamentation always disfigures and never ornaments."

AN OFFICE-ROOM NEEDED FOR THE PRESIDENT.

Col. T. A. Bingham, U.S.A., presents plans for enlarging the White House without destroying the noble lines of the present mansion. One of the present needs is to get a suitable working-place for the President. A separate office-building has been thought of. "But when the routine daily life of the President is considered, it will be found to be more convenient for him, and more conducive to the transaction of public business, to add to the present White House rather than to build at a distance from it. The President can have no set hours for his work, and necessarily does much of the routine at odd moments. There are also times when he works early and late; and, while he may not always need to be at his desk, he requires his tools—papers, records, clerks, messengers, etc.—always within

close call, no matter what the weather. A President cannot close his desk at a fixed hour and go away to a separate home until office hours next day. There are many matters brought to his attention at all hours of the day, after office hours as well as during them, some of which must be settled at once, and he may need to refer to office records or to use a clerk. As a matter of fact, a President does very little of his routine office work, such as signing papers, dictating, etc., during office hours; for his time is then taken up for the most part in seeing people, and it can never be otherwise in our country. This is a very practical argument against having his house and office separated."

THE FORUM.

THE opening article of the October *Forum* is contributed by Senator-elect Dolliver, of Iowa, and is entitled "The Paramount Issues of the Campaign." Senator Dolliver makes a vigorous argument on the money question, contending that the election of Mr. Bryan in 1900 would be fraught with as much danger to the financial interests of the country as it would have been in 1896.

SHOULD CUBA HAVE INDEPENDENCE?

The Rev. C. W. Currier writes on the subject of Cuban independence, analyzing the joint resolution passed by Congress on the outbreak of the war with Spain, and directing attention to the instructions of the military governor of Cuba, dated July 25 of the present year, ordering a general election to be held in September, and declaring that the people of Cuba, having established municipal government, are now ready to proceed "to the establishment of a general government which shall assume and exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, and control over the island." Dr. Currier states that, from an interview held not long ago with President McKinley, in company with several representative Cubans, he received the impression that Cuba's independence was only a question of a few months.

In the same number of the *Forum*, a prominent Cuban, whose name is withheld, pleads for the annexation of the island to the United States. He shows the heterogeneous composition of the population, considers the disasters that have attended the careers of the South American Latin republics, and declares that Cuba's best hopes lie under the Stars and Stripes.

THE POSSIBILITY OF A TIMBER FAMINE.

Chief Geographer Gannett, of the United States Geological Survey, writes in answer to the question, "Is a Timber Famine Imminent?" Mr. Gannett has reached the conclusion that the average stand of timber upon the wooded lands of the East probably does not exceed 1,500 feet per acre, the area of woodland in this part of the country being a little less than 500,000,000 acres. The total stand in the country, he thinks, is about 1,380,000,000 feet. In 1890 the cut was about 25,000,000 feet, and since then the annual cut has somewhat increased. The present stand would, therefore, supply the present rate of consumption for about fifty years. Some species, however, such as the Southern pine, the redwood, and the red fir, will last longer than others; and some species, like the black walnut and the white pine, are already very nearly exhausted.

THE CORN KITCHEN AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION.

Mr. J. S. Crawford, writing on "The Lesson of the Maize Kitchen at Paris," makes several suggestions relative to practicable measures for creating a demand for American corn, and supplying the market of Europe. He suggests that the differences between American and European maize ought to be shown to Europeans through our consuls and other agencies; that depots of supply should be established where corn flours and corn foods could be obtained at the lowest prices compatible with a fair profit; and that the methods of cooking these maize dishes should be promulgated at the supply depots. He states that the so-called "Corn Kitchen" at the exposition serves corn dishes to from 100 to 500 persons a day, and that this kitchen has created a great deal of inquiry among visitors.

THE MISSIONARIES IN CHINA.

Regarding the future of the missionaries in China, the Hon. Charles Denby, formerly United States Minister to that country, answers the question, "Shall the Missions be Abandoned?" emphatically in the negative. He advocates care in the selection of mission locations and restraint in the spirit of adventure. He declares that all classes in China have a great measure of respect for, and confidence in, the Christian missionaries settled in the country. "While it is proper to give to the imperial maritime customs, to the ministers and consuls, and to the great commercial houses full praise for their labors, we should not forget gratefully to remember those unobtrusive but influential agents of progress, whose inspiration came from a holier source than a desire for gain."

CANADA'S PREFERENTIAL-TRADE PROBLEM.

The Hon. John Charlton, a prominent Canadian and a member of the Anglo-American Joint Commission, contributes a paper on "Imperial and Colonial Preferential Trade." In the matter of preferential trade between Great Britain and her colonies, Mr. Charlton shows that Great Britain's position is essentially different from that of the colonies, and that nothing can be attained in the way of reciprocal tariffs except by an imperial Zollverein. He says: "The action of the Canadian Government in advancing the differential rate to 33½ per cent. is probably a mistake. The step meets with the general disapproval of the Canadian manufacturers; and there is force in the Conservative objection, that the action is purely sentimental, as the British tariff presents no features applicable to ourselves that do not apply to all other nations."

At the time of writing his article, Mr. Charlton regarded it as not at all improbable that, in the event of Conservative success at the approaching general election, the entire system of preferential duties would be swept away, unless Great Britain should reciprocate by granting preferential treatment for Canadian products in her markets.

THE NEGRO PROBLEM AND DISFRANCHISEMENT.

Representative Underwood, of Alabama, argues against negro enfranchisement, asserting that practically, for twenty years, the negro has had no vote, and that existing conditions compel the white man thus to protect himself. Mr. Underwood points out that in the North the negro, as a rule, is barred from most of

the trades, and must content himself to serve as a day-laborer, unless he can enter one of the professions; while, in the South, all fields of honest employment have at all times been open to him, and he has been protected in his right to work and earn an honest living.

THE COAL SUPREMACY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. Edward S. Meade shows that the United States, while drawing on only a portion of her available coal deposits, increased her output during twenty-eight years six times as rapidly as the average of her four competitors,—Great Britain, Germany, France, and Belgium,—who have taxed their entire resources to supply their needs. Not only are our coal deposits more abundant than those of Europe, but the veins are of far greater thickness. "The United States has the most abundant, the easiest-mined, and the cheapest coal of any nation."

EDUCATION IN PORTO RICO.

Prof. Victor S. Clark, late president of the Insular Board of Education, writing on "Education in Porto Rico," states that nearly 100,000 modern American textbooks in Spanish have been used in the island; while teachers' examinations, conducted in writing, have set new standards of attainment before both pupils and teachers. Although the schools still occupy rented buildings, they have been separated from the teachers' residences, and thus a higher ideal of school organization has been introduced and greater emphasis placed upon the school as a distinct institution.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Marrion Wilcox writes on "Our Agreement with the Sultan of Sulu," and Sir Walter Besant on "The Atlantic Union." The article on "The British General Election," by the Hon. Henry W. Lucy ("Toby, M.P."), has been quoted in our department of "Leading Articles of the Month."

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY.

IN the November *Atlantic*, Mr. William G. Brown, in his "Defense of American Parties," argues that our great political parties, "reckoning Populists as extreme and errant Democrats, soon to be absorbed in the greater mass their revolt has quickened, do in fact stand for a right and necessary division of the American people." While Mr. Brown admits that Bryanism, in its definite programme, is contrary to many Democratic precedents, he believes that, "in so far as it is a popular movement, so far as it is a matter of impulse, so far as it reflects character, it does not essentially differ from any essentially Democratic uprising of the past."

Mr. Edmund Noble, writing on "The Future of Russia," declares that the Czar's people have evinced the qualities and aptitudes "that will insure them a future of potency, even of splendor, in the coming progress of the world." He prophesies that the nation will not reach its full stature, however, until it gets a more advanced type of government, and "the modern and progressive institutions which such a type would insure."

In Mr. William E. Smythe's account of "The Struggle for Water in the West," he tells of Wyoming's excellent legislative control of the all-important water-rights. As the Missouri, the Columbia, and the Colo-

rado rivers all have their birth in Wyoming, it is fitting that this State should begin the work, so sorely needed, of giving some decent and effective oversight to the irrigation problem, the solution of which will make or mar the civilization of the arid West.

"The Wyoming law provides a complete system of administration, with a State engineer at its head. The State is apportioned into several large divisions, on the basis of watersheds, and these are divided into many districts. A commissioner presides over each division, and a superintendent over each small local district. These officials and their assistants are clothed with police powers, and it is a part of their duty to attend personally to the head-gates of all the canals, and be responsible for the amount of water which is permitted to flow into them. This method of administration completes the good work which was begun when the appropriations were reduced to the basis of actual beneficial use, and recorded in such a manner that no dispute could arise concerning them in the future. With these laws and this method of enforcing them, the lawyer is practically eliminated from the irrigation industry of Wyoming."

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

THE most prominent feature of the *North American* for October is a symposium on "Bryan or McKinley?—The Present Duty of American Citizens," in which the Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, Senator Tillman, Mr. Edward M. Shepard, Mr. Richard Croker, and Mr. Erving Winslow give their reasons for supporting Bryan in this year's election; while Postmaster-General Charles Emory Smith, Senators Hoar, Platt, of New York, and Stewart, Mr. Andrew Carnegie, and ex-Controller Eckels present arguments for the reelection of President McKinley. The views of these gentlemen are so generally known that it is hardly necessary to attempt a recapitulation of their articles in this place. During the month of October they received very wide circulation throughout the United States.

IS BRITISH COMMERCE ON THE DECLINE?

In a rather complacent survey of Great Britain's foreign trade, Mr. Benjamin Taylor declares that Britons are not the least alarmed at American competition. He says: "They know that in time it will take the gilt off a good deal of their gingerbread; but they know by experience that, as the world develops, new industries grow. Some may pass from Britain to America, but others will succeed. Change is not necessarily decay. And I wish Americans could understand that the industrial development of the United States is not regarded with jealousy and envy by Great Britain, but rather with the quiet pride with which a man watches the progress in life of his own son. It is an old saying that 'there is no friendship in business.' Whether this be true or not, there is certainly no need for enmity. The more prosperous America becomes, the better will it be for us and the rest of the world, though the conditions may undergo change."

WILL JAPAN FIGHT RUSSIA?

A Japanese writer, Mr. Ozaki, writing on "Misunderstood Japan," states that all that is needed to make the relations between Japan and Russia thoroughly satisfactory is "a little honest, straightforward speak-

ing." The cause of probable hostilities between the two nations, he says, can lie only in misunderstanding. He shows that there is no such pressure of population as to justify any apprehension of strife with Russia on that score. As regards the present Japanese emigration to America and Australia, Mr. Ozaki declares that its cause is not the pressure of population at home, but the prospect of higher wages abroad. "Even sparsely populated Ireland sends out infinitely more emigrants than does densely populated Japan."

CATHOLIC CITIZENS AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS.

The Rev. Father Thomas H. Maione, a member of the Colorado State Board of Charities and Corrections, replies to the article in the September *North American* by Bishop McFaul on "Catholics and American Citizenship." As to the question whether Catholics in the United States are permitted to enjoy their constitutional rights to the full, and whether they are protected in the free exercise of their religion, Father Malone replies that these rights are universally enjoyed, not only in our own land, but in our new possessions. As to the allegation that Catholics are denied full spiritual privileges in the penal institutions of the different States, Father Malone's intimate knowledge of the facts forces him to a conclusion directly opposite to that expressed by Bishop McFaul. He declares that the condition against which the bishop declaims does not, except in rare instances, exist in the United States. For many years priests have been welcome to visit institutions in the State of New York; and "so, in wellnigh universal degree, has it been elsewhere." With rare exceptions, the general statement holds that Catholic priests are free to minister without let or hindrance to the inmates of city, county, State, and federal institutions.

OTHER ARTICLES.

In the series of articles on "The Great Religions of the World," Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids contributes a paper on Buddhism, and the Rev. A. W. Jackson writes on the late James Martineau. The article on "China and Russia," by the Hon. Josiah Quincy, has been reviewed in our department of "Leading Articles of the Month."

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE.

THE leading article in *Gunton's* for October is contributed by President John Henry Barrows, of Oberlin College, on "The Coming Regeneration of China." Dr. Barrows valiantly defends the work of the Christian missionaries in China, showing that the missionaries have stood by the Chinese people in fighting the opium and liquor traffics. Dr. Barrows asserts that the missionaries are not particularly obnoxious to the Chinese, and that they usually have more friends than the merchants.

THE COAL STRIKE.

An editorial article on the coal-miners' strike in Pennsylvania censures the operators for denying the men's right to act through their organizations, and for refusing to treat with the highest officers of the union. "Regardless of the merits of the particular grievances recited in the laborers' demands, by refusing to use every available means rationally to adjust the differences before resorting to the disrupting and impoverishing

methods of fighting a strike, the corporations put themselves clearly and unmistakably in the wrong. They put themselves where the interests of labor, of the public, and the principle of common justice make them responsible for the results of the strike." On the other hand, the writer censures the men for breaking the Markle arbitration agreement.

PROFESSOR GUNTON ON TRUSTS.

In a paper on "Trusts and Monopolies," Professor Gunton reaches the following conclusions:

"First. That trusts, as distinct organizations, have ceased to exist; hence, the question is solely one of corporations.

"Second. That the public criticism is not against corporations *per se*, but against monopoly.

"Third. That monopoly is very much less than is generally supposed—indeed, very rarely exists.

"Fourth. That monopoly is not, necessarily, inimical to public welfare, but it is only dangerous when it rests on special privileges.

"Fifth. That, wherever actual or potential competition can operate, the benefits of invention and organization will be more equitably distributed through the community by the free action of economic forces than by state action.

"Sixth. That class of corporations which receive special privileges, in the form of charters and franchises which shield them from the influence of economic competition, may properly be subjected to some degree of state supervision."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. N. D. Hanna writes on "Mansfield and Henry V.;" Mr. Alexander R. Smith on "Ship Subsidies and Bounties;" and Mr. Hayes Robbins ventures a reply to President Hadley's *Atlantic Monthly* article, in which he declared himself opposed to so-called "political education" in colleges and universities.

THE ARENA.

A CONSIDERABLE part of the October *Arena* is devoted to the various issues of the present election. The first three articles deal with "The Menace of Imperialism." Ex-Chief-Justice Long, of New Mexico, treats imperialism as "The Antithesis of True Expansion," maintaining that in the Louisiana Purchase, as well as in all other acquisitions of new territory prior to the Spanish-American War, the main object of this Government was national security, "and with that the blessings of freedom and self-government to its inhabitants, present and future." He shows that in each instance, from 1803 to 1848, there was a treaty guaranty to the inhabitants of the ceded territory, former subjects of the ceding nations, and to those who might thereafter occupy these new possessions, that they were and should continue to be citizens of the United States and should have the right to be admitted into the Union as States on terms of perfect equality with the others of the republic. This is regarded by Judge Long as justifiable, beneficial, and necessary expansion. "This expansion is far different from the imperialism of the colonial theory, maintained by England and the European powers by force of arms, and advocated by some statesmen in this country in recent years."

Mr. Albert H. Coggins writes on the strength and

weakness of imperialism, while Mr. George W. Kenney discusses the place of imperialism in historic evolution. "Militarism or Manhood" is the subject of an article by Mr. Joseph Dana Miller, while the record of William Jennings Bryan as a soldier is appreciatively set forth by Mr. C. F. Beck.

A BOYCOTT OF THE TRUSTS.

Mr. A. G. Wall, recognizing the futility of anti-trust legislation, advocates a general boycott of the trusts by individual consumers. "If an article of whatever description is needed, make it an unvarying practice first to ascertain the producer; and if such producer is found to be a recognized trust or a corporation with trust tendencies, peremptorily refuse to purchase the same. If you are unable to find the desired article produced outside of a trust, then your duty is to look for a substitute, if it is something that cannot very well be dispensed with. Bring your children up in this. Never mind about your neighbor's politics, but call his attention to plain facts." Mr. Wall seems to indulge the hope that in this way trusts may finally be abolished.

PHILADELPHIA BALLOT CORRUPTION.

Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff makes an interesting exposure of Philadelphia election frauds, describing the excellent work of the Municipal League, which caused the flight from the country of the former deputy coroner and eight co-defendants under charges of ballot-box frauds. The league charged, and brought proof to substantiate its charge, that the assessor's lists had been padded, that men had been imported to fill the places of the names fraudulently on the lists, and that finally the ballot-box itself had been stuffed. As one result of the efforts of the league, warrants were issued in a certain division for a board for receiving illegal votes. In this division there were 146 illegal votes cast, and 217 voters were returned. "The judge and two inspectors are now fugitives, as also one of the repeaters: one of the latter, however, has already been indicted. In still another division, three of the officers have been bound over to answer a charge of misdemeanor—a canvass of the division showing 79 votes for one candidate who was given but 51, and but 30 votes for one credited with 60." The league proposes to make a full exposure of the system of repeating.

OTHER ARTICLES.

There are papers on "The Status of the Modern Hebrew,"—the secret of his immortality, his contributions to science, and his future—by Mr. Ezra S. Brudno and the Rev. A. Kingsley Glover; Mrs. Elaine Goodale Eastman writes on "The Education of the Indians;" Mr. E. A. Randall on "The Artistic Impulse in Man and Woman," and Mr. B. O. Flower on the Chartist uprising in England.

THE CONSERVATIVE REVIEW.

IN the *Conservative Review* for September (the current number) appears the second part of the interesting biography of Col. Richard Malcolm Johnston. In this paper is related Colonel Johnston's introduction to authorship through the publication in the *Southern Magazine*, of Baltimore, of several of his stories written while Colonel Johnston was a resident of Georgia and published in a Georgia newspaper. Of these stories, Colonel Johnston writes:

"It never occurred to me that they were of any sort

of value. Yet when a collection of them, nine in all, were printed by Mr. Turnbull, who about that time ended publication of his magazine, and when a copy of this collection fell into the hands of Mr. Henry M. Alden, of *Harper's Magazine*, whose acquaintance I had lately made, he expressed much surprise that I had not received any pecuniary compensation, and added that he would have readily accepted them if they had been offered to him. Several things he said about them that surprised and gratified me very much. I then set into the pursuit of that sort of work, and down to this time, besides my three novels, 'Old Mark Langston,' 'Widow Guthrie,' and 'Pearce Amerson's Will,' and other literary work in the way of lectures, juvenile articles, a 'History of English Literature,' and a 'Biography of Alexander H. Stephens' (the last two in collaboration with Dr. William Hand Browne, of Johns Hopkins University), I have written and printed about eighty of these stories."

THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS.

Another important feature of this number of the *Conservative Review* is the Hon. John Goode's paper of recollections of the Confederate Congress, of which he was a member. It seems strange that so little attention has been paid to the civil history of the Confederacy. According to Mr. Goode's account, the proceedings in Congress at Richmond were enlivened by occurrences well worthy of record. The personnel was high and the debates frequently spirited and able. Mr. Goode comments on the failure of the Confederate Congress to establish a supreme court for the Confederate States, as provided by their constitution. He does not agree with those who believe that the differences of opinion on the question of State rights operated to prevent the creation of such a court. "The men who composed the Confederate Congress were, as a general rule, the same men who had framed the provisional and permanent constitutions." There could be no question that it was the intention of the framers to provide for the establishment of a supreme court. In 1863 the Senate actually passed a bill to organize a supreme court, to consist of a chief justice and four associate justices, any three of whom should constitute a quorum. This bill failed of passage in the House of Representatives. Mr. Goode's explanation of the failure is that the military situation at that time demanded all the time and attention of the members of the House. "The city of Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy, was besieged on all sides by large armies. Every afternoon the balloons of the enemy could be seen hovering over the city, and it frequently happened that the flash of guns could be seen in every direction. There was no time to deliberate about the organization of courts, and the House naturally postponed the consideration of that subject until it was determined by the arbitrament of war whether or not the Confederacy should be established as an independent government."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Philip Alexander Robinson writes on "Economic Consolidation and Monopoly;" Mr. William Baird on "Imperialism," and Dr. Edward Farquhar on "Elements of Unity in the Homeric Poems." "Recollections of a Naval Life," by John McIntosh Kell, the executive officer of the *Sumter* and the *Alabama*, is appreciatively reviewed by J. R. Eggleston, a former lieutenant of the United States Navy and of the Confederate Navy.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

THE *Contemporary Review* for October contains several articles that call for special notice. We have dealt elsewhere with Mr. J. B. Robinson's suggestions for the South African settlement, with Mr. L. Orman Cooper's description of the Beira Railway, and with Mr. J. A. Hobson's "Proconsulate of Milner."

RUSSIAN POLICY.

"A Russian Publicist" contributes a short and not very enlightening article on "The Secret Springs of Russian Policy." The article is really an attack on Russian policy rather than an explanation of it. The author declares that Russia is not herself in a fit condition to take the part of civilizing the Orient, and that she ought rather to devote herself to internal reforms.

THE PREVENTION OF DISEASE.

Mr. Arthur Shadwell writes on "The True Aim of Preventive Medicine," the object of his article being to advocate the cultivation of natural immunity or resistance to disease. As the restoration of the tissues to health is the best way to counteract disease, so keeping them in a healthy condition enables men to resist infection. Mr. Shadwell's theory is that in time of epidemics those people who suffer from minor illnesses which are not classed as actual cases have in reality been attacked by the same deadly disease as the admitted victims of the epidemic, but have been enabled to resist its development owing to their having more healthy organisms. He recommends that bacteriologists should turn from their present methods of research to the study of this question of natural resistance.

COUNT WALDERSEE IN 1870.

Colonel Lonsdale Hale describes the part taken by Count von Waldersee in 1870. It was the count's success in that year which gained him the position of chief of the staff in the German army. Waldersee's duty in 1870 was to report to the King of Prussia, as supreme head of the army, the course and progress of the campaign in one of the theaters of the war. After the battle of Sedan, the general opinion among the Germans was that the war was over; but the king knew better, and sent the count to the Army of the Loire to warn Prince Frederick Charles, and report to him daily until recalled. Waldersee acquitted himself with success, and gained the approval both of the king and of Von Moltke, while at the same time keeping on good terms with the crown prince.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. R. Warwick Bond writes on "Ruskin, the Servant of Art." Prof. Marcus Hartog, in an article entitled "The Interpolation of Memory," describes an experiment in the education of children.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

OF the articles in the *Nineteenth Century* for October, we have noticed several among "Leading Articles."

NIETZSCHE.

Mr. Oswald Crawford contributes an appreciation of Frederick Nietzsche, the key to much of whose writings he finds in the fact that Nietzsche was not a German,

but a Slav. Much of Nietzsche's influence was due to the fact that he possessed a style and a clarity rare among German philosophers:

"Like Schopenhauer, Nietzsche arrived at his mastery in the art of expressing by refusing to consider language as a mere scientific exponent of thought, but rather as an artistic instrument through which, as through a violin or an organ, the hearts as well as the understandings of others could be reached. This is not always the Teutonic method of writing; it is not always the English method: but of course it is the best and the highest method. Such a style Nietzsche seems to have possessed; and this style, together with his strange magnetic personality, has helped to spread his views and tenets in the world of thoughtful men. Whether, as a seer, his work will live on and grow and develop as a true seer's work deserves to do by the handling of adequate disciples is doubtful; for, unfortunately, his reputation is for the moment in the mouths mainly of fanatics who confound his later visions and obscurities with the keen insight, the wide outlook, the large, clear utterance of his early years."

THE DUTCH AT WATERLOO.

Mr. C. Oman takes Sir Herbert Maxwell to task for his defense of the part played by the Netherlands regiments at Waterloo. He maintains that the statistics of killed among the Dutch and Belgian soldiers in that battle were really made up by the addition of the runaways, who formed the greater part. Mr. Oman does not, however, make any reflection on the courage of the defaulting regiments. The real cause of the misbehavior of the Dutch and Belgians was that the rank and file were disaffected, most of them having served under Napoleon himself, and being favorable to his cause.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Other articles are that of Mrs. Henry Birchenough, "Wanted—A New War Poet," in which she is very severe on Mr. Kipling's latest indiscretions, and that of Mr. W. H. Witt describing "Five New Pictures in the National Gallery."

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for October is a good number. We have noticed elsewhere several of the more important and timely articles.

THE CHAPERON VANISHED.

Lady Jeune contributes an amusing paper on "The Decay of the Chaperon." The emancipation of girls in England has resulted in the relegation of the chaperon to the things of the past. But not forever, Lady Jeune thinks:

"Let us cherish our belief, however, that the dethronement of the chaperon is only temporary, and not a visible and outward sign of her decay. We may be wrong, and possibly future generations will take their children to the British Museum to pay her effigy a visit, pointing her out as at one time an important character in English social life. But, on the other hand, it may be that this age of freedom is on the verge of a reaction, which will restore her to her pristine glory, with fuller powers, just as the fashions of past years return, and assert themselves with renewed rigor and tyranny."

GERMANY AND AMERICA AS BRITAIN'S INDUSTRIAL RIVALS.

Writing on the struggle for industrial supremacy, Mr. Benjamin Taylor agrees with Count Goluchowski that the industrial menace to England comes from America, not from Germany :

"A careful consideration of the commercial and financial position of Germany leads to this conclusion, that while the economic development has been natural and inevitable, the industrial expansion has been too rapid. Like a youth growing too quickly, the country has overshot its strength. If the pace of development is not abated, there will come soon a period of exhaustion and collapse. There will come also a rise in the level of wages and of the standard of living—both now lower than our own—not to be reached, probably, without some of the *Sturm und Drang* of industrial warfare through which Great Britain herself has passed. We are inclined to believe, therefore, that German competition with us in the world's markets has reached its high-water mark.

"On the other hand, the real strength of the industrial competition of America has yet to be felt. The measure designed to revive the American mercantile marine did not pass through last Congress; but some measure of the sort will certainly become law within the next four years, if the Republicans are confirmed in power. Even now American manufacturers are sending shipbuilding material to this country, not at a sacrifice and merely to lighten their stocks, but at remunerative prices. America has obtained and will retain the lead as the greatest iron and steel producer in the world. And as such she is compelled both to increase her home market by shipbuilding and to obtain foreign markets. As for American coal, it has certainly come to stay in Europe, though it may cease to come to Great Britain when our own inflated industry is restored to a normal condition. It is not necessary, however, for American coal to come into our ports in order to make a serious inroad upon our foreign trade."

OTHER ARTICLES.

"The Kingdom of Matter" is the title of a very abstract article by Maeterlinck, which is translated by Mr. Alfred Sutro. Mr. George Gissing concludes his series of papers "By the Ionian Sea."

THE NATIONAL REVIEW.

THE *National Review* for October does not contain any article of exceptional interest.

A writer who has signed himself "An English Catholic" takes on himself the task to warn the British public against the intrigues of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Australia; their object being, he declares, to found an independent Irish-Australian state. One of their chief weapons, he says, is the effort to form a distinct caste of Irish Australians. According to the writer, these Irish-Australian intriguers make use of the press much in the same way as the Rhodesians use the press of South Africa.

VATICAN AND QUIRINAL.

"Vatican and Quirinal" is the title of an article in which Mr. Richard Bagot draws a distinction between the policy of the Vatican and the upper clergy of Italy

and that of the rest of the church. Mr. Bagot holds that the real responsibility for the quarrel between church and state in Italy is restricted to the curia, the great mass of the clergy holding by no means inimical sentiments to the cause of the state.

"There is one thing, and one thing only, which the Vatican dreads; and that is, a reconciliation between church and state in Italy. Events of very recent occurrence have demonstrated this. The momentary *rapprochement* of the Quirinal and the church over the dead body of the late king was sufficient to arouse the fears of the Ultramontane party that a passing impulse of humanity might be taken to signify that the Italian clergy were patriotic Italians as well as priests of the Church of Rome, and that the Vatican approved of their being so."

THE INVESTOR'S OPPORTUNITY.

In an article entitled "The Investor's Opportunity," Mr. W. R. Lawson deals with the decline in "gilt-edged" securities since 1896. Mr. Lawson takes British consols and sixteen other chief securities, every one of which has fallen since 1896—the average drop being 14.1 per cent. Consols have fallen 15¼, and India 3 per cents 18¼. The average depreciation has been 3½ per cent. per annum. Mr. Lawson holds that all these securities will soon be on the rise again, and that as a consequence the investor at present prices will realize a large profit.

THE MONTHLY REVIEW.

A POSITIVE luxury to read—that will probably be the verdict of most readers of the new monthly published by John Murray, and edited by Mr. Henry Newbolt. The eye, too often wearied by traversing acres of poor print, finds a genuine pleasure in following the wide-spaced lines and large, clear type of the new periodical. The mind is thus prepossessed in favor of the contents, even before it has seriously reflected on them. The matter is intended to be varied enough. In the words of the prospectus: "Religion, ethics, literature, art, science, and history; international relations, colonies, empires, navies and armies; politics, social questions, hobbies, pastimes and amusements,—all these the *Monthly Review*, like others, will survey, discuss, and criticise."

It will give prominence to its unsigned editorial articles, which number in the first issue three as against eleven signed articles by non-editorial contributors. It disclaims the formulation of a party policy, but does not disguise a lively sympathy with the fortunes and principles of British Liberalism.

THE TWO SORTS OF IMPERIALISM.

The first article is entitled "The Paradox of Imperialism." The editor is concerned about the anti-imperialist attitude of many British Liberals. Imperialism is taken by them to denote restriction of liberty, militarism, centralization. These elements were certainly present in imperial Rome. But there was present also "the thoroughly Roman idea of universal denationalization," of freedom of intercourse, of the brotherhood of peoples. These he distinguishes as the "political" and the "organic" sides of imperialism. Medieval Germany developed the organic, France and Spain the political. In modern Russia "the political

stream has submerged everything else." In the British empire "the organic conception has taken as absolute possession." The editor finds the explanation of what he calls the paradoxical attitude of many Liberals in their confusing the organic with the political evolution. In their hatred of the Roman, French, Spanish, Russian imperialism, which is essentially anti-Liberal, they denounce the imperialism which is Roman, German, British, and as essentially Liberal. "The duality of the idea which underlay the Roman empire is the whole root of the matter." The immediate application of this analysis is that it was the Liberalism of England's colonies that made them eager to suppress "a nationality where liberty had grown corrupt." Liberals have only defended small nationalities that were Liberal. "Where true liberty and enlightenment have been with the aggressor, Liberalism has always been on the side of aggression." The editor concludes: "Liberalism has set its seal on the empire, and the mark is indelible; it has established, and must uphold, a democratic, autonomous commonwealth."

Having thus made clear his imperial policy, the editor passes to foreign affairs, and discusses the situation in the far East—"After Peking." He then treats of the continuity of party principles in home affairs. Both these articles are quoted by us elsewhere, as also the Afghan Amir's "Details in My Daily Life."

WHAT A SURGEON SAW IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. G. A. Bowlby's "Surgical Experiences in South Africa" are full of interesting facts. He says that men wounded in victories were mostly keen to fight again, but men wounded in defeats were noticeably less keen. He pronounces the physique of the men as a whole very good, and ridicules the talk about "feeble, undersized lads who compose our army." He testifies to the fortitude and absence of grumbling which were displayed almost universally. He attributes the prevalence of enteric at Bloemfontein to the defective water-supply. He thinks it likely that the plague of flies which befell

them conveyed the contagion, "for they were always thick on the lips and faces of the worst cases of typhoid." The orderlies, whom he praises very highly, "were all St. John's Ambulance men, and had had no previous experience of hospitals or sick people." He mentions some remarkable recoveries from wounds. "It is quite certain that some men did recover who were shot through the brain." He closes by remarking on the smallness of the British Army Medical Corps—only 800 for the whole empire outside of India, and 200 of these were wanting. The service is unpopular, he says, both pay and position not being high enough.

POETIC TRIBUTE TO GORDON.

Mr. Henry Newbolt contributes "an ode" on "the Nile," for the inauguration of the Gordon College at Khartum. Of this characterization of the hero, these lines touch the core:

"For this man was not great

By gold or kingly state.

Or the bright sword, or knowledge of earth's wonder;

But more than all his race

He saw life face to face

And heard the still small voice above the thunder."

OTHER ARTICLES.

Art is represented in 26 pages by Mr. Roger E. Fry, on "Art Before Giotto," illustrated by many fine pictures. Astronomy has its place in Professor Turner's account of recent eclipses, and the light they have cast on the inner and outer corona of the sun. The drama is not forgotten. Mrs. Hugh Bell urges that the influence of the stage ought to be morally upward, and expresses her detestation of "The Belle of New York," but laments what she considers the ill-advised and ill-informed censures of Mr. Samuel Smith in Parliament.

The impression left by the new monthly compels a hearty welcome. The New York publishers are Messrs. Doubleday, Page & Co., and the price in the United States is 60 cents a number.

THE CONTINENTAL REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

THE editor of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* himself writes a paper for the first September number on the reform of French syntax, which should be interesting to schoolmasters and schoolmistresses. On July 13, 1900, a ministerial decree was issued to the effect that in future people were not to say in French *les folles amours*, but *les fons amours*, and that they might please themselves as between *le Dieu des bonnes gens* and *le Dieu des gens bonnes*. The object of this and other reforms is apparently to make French easier to foreigners, but M. Brunetière pleads for a little reciprocity. Let the English, he says, begin by making their spelling agree with their pronunciation, or, better still, their pronunciation with their spelling.

EUROPEAN LITERATURE.

M. Brunetière is industrious, for he has another article in the second September number—one on the somewhat large subject of European literature, which he is well advised in treating as a province of the still larger subject of comparative literature. The paper is an excellent example of the best and sanest French criticism,

bearing the impress of a culture which is both wide and deep. M. Brunetière lays stress on the national element in all great writers. For example, in tracing the descent of Richardson's "Pamela" from the "Marianne" of Marivaux, we find that the modifications introduced by the later writer illustrate the differences of national psychology.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Among other articles may be mentioned an anonymous account of the French naval maneuvers; a study of the famous priest, Father Gratry, by M. Bellaigne; an anonymous letter from Rome, which describes the political situation in Italy following upon the assassination of King Humbert; and an article on the racial conflicts between Greeks and Bulgarians in the tenth century.

REVUE DE PARIS.

THE September numbers of the *Revue de Paris* are excellent, and fully maintain the revived reputation of this review, which may be described as a somewhat less solemn *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

CHINA.

The place of honor in the first September number is given to an anonymous article on the dealings of Europe with China. It is for the most part a brightly written summary of events now perfectly familiar, in which due prominence is given to the very natural grounds for alarm which the action of the powers had given to Chinese opinion. The writer then goes on to ask what Europe will do now that she is in Peking, and he answers his own question by asserting that she will do what France advises. She is in a good position for giving advice, we are told, inasmuch as she is herself practically disinterested, is on particularly good terms with Russia, America, and Japan, and has identical interests with Germany. Great Britain, it will be noticed, is ignored. We are reminded of M. Delcassé's speech at Foix, in which he laid it down that the presence of the allies in Peking will serve to obtain reparation for the past and guarantees for the future—a declaration that was closely followed by the Russian proposal of withdrawal. Finally, the writer asks whether Europe has learned the real lesson of recent events. Nothing can exceed the blindness—to use no harsher term—with which Europeans have outraged the habits, customs, and most cherished beliefs of the Chinese, and then stood thunderstruck before the inevitable catastrophe. The writer says, truly enough, that it is the egotism which prevails on both sides that has caused the danger. Europeans in China are so busily engaged in watching one another out of the tail of their eyes in the great game of concession-hunting that they have no time to study the Chinese themselves.

ENGLISH OPINION AND THE BOER WAR.

M. Chevrillon continues his extremely interesting study of English opinion on the Boer war. It is a merciless yet perfectly fair exposure of the bland limitations, the pride, the complete inability to conceive any point of view other than the purely selfish one, the astonishing pressing even of Christianity itself into the service of imperial expansion, which M. Chevrillon encountered in the course of his visit to England. Yet he recognizes the somewhat humbler spirit which breathes throughout such writings as Kipling's "Recessional." He thinks that England will come out of the war more strongly confirmed than ever in her own special delusions.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Among other articles may be mentioned a continuation of M. de Rousiers's study of German commercial prosperity, and a curious collection of oral traditions about Waterloo, gathered from the inhabitants in and near the great battlefield.

NOUVELLE REVUE.

ME. Adam's name is again absent from among the contributors of the rejuvenated *Nouvelle Revue*, and politics is scarcely touched upon, save indirectly in Captain Gilbert's able analysis of the South African campaign. Although the writer is in undisguised sympathy with the Boers, he is rigorously impartial, and avoids the vexed white-flag and loot controversies. In fact, his careful account of the campaign is so highly technical that it can only be recommended to those already knowing something of the science of war. He has not yet reached, in his history, the first marked British successes; accordingly, it would appear that these articles will continue to appear throughout the winter.

EARLY LETTERS OF POPE LEO.

In the second September number of the *Revue*, the place of honor is given to a number of letters written by the present Pope, in the days when he was only Monsignor Pecci, Papal Nuncio at Brussels. In the second of these (written in 1843) he describes a visit paid by him to the field of Waterloo, where he bought some relics of the battle to send home to his mother. In these home letters the future Pope goes into many little intimate details as to the cost of living in Belgium. He describes Queen Victoria, then paying her first visit to the Continent, as "small in stature," with a bright expression, and, though not plain, scarcely pretty. These letters, which throw a vivid light on the general character of the writer, are interesting as showing that Leo XIII. must be, above all, a man of shrewd wit and common sense, gifted with a strong sense of family affection.

RUSSIAN TRADE PROSPERITY.

A eulogistic article on the Russian exhibits at the great exposition gives some curious details concerning Russian trade. In 1867 the great empire was scarcely represented, but thirty years have wrought a vast change; and if Russia continues to make commercial progress at the same rate, we may live to hear "Made in Russia" substituted for "Made in Germany." To quote some figures in support of this allegation is easy. In 1867 there were 179 timber-yards, resulting in a total profit of 3,000,000 roubles; now 1,200 yards bring in 70,000,000 roubles. Thirty years ago the paper-mills of Russia were 150 in number, producing paper to the value of 5,000,000 roubles; now 201 factories bring in 34,000,000. The same increase is to be found in the chemical trade. Naphtha has always been a source of great profit to Russia, but whereas in 1867 the naphtha-springs brought their owners 30,000 roubles each year, the 247 companies now dealing with this natural product earn a yearly income of 36,000,000 roubles!



THE NEW BOOKS.

RECENT AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

BIOGRAPHY.

Paul Jones: Founder of the American Navy. By Augustus C. Buell. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. xv, 328—373. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.

If we were to seek the reason why so little has been done to commemorate the achievements of Paul Jones, the founder of the American navy, we should probably find it in the fact that Jones lived but a short period in the United States, and died in a foreign land. Nevertheless, so great was his fame as our first great sea-warrior that his memory has remained fresh for the 108 years that have elapsed since his death and burial in Paris. Of the many biographical sketches of Jones, none of any length has been written in the past half-century until the present year. The two volumes by Mr. Buell will meet the needs of all students of our naval history who wish as complete an account as possible of the public and private career of our first great naval hero. Mr. Buell is peculiarly qualified for the task of preparing such a biography, in that he possesses a technical knowledge of seamanship, which enables him to appreciate the peculiar qualities which contributed to Jones' success on the sea, and without which the naval victories of the Revolution could not have been won. Mr. Buell has made a far more strenuous effort than any of the earlier biographers of Paul Jones to acquire data from the writings of contemporaries. To this end he has obtained material from France, Scotland, and Russia, now utilized for the first time.

Commodore Paul Jones. By Cyrus Townsend Brady. 12mo, pp. xv, 480. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

Simultaneously with the appearance of Mr. A. C. Buell's two-volume life of Paul Jones, the Appletons have issued in their "Great Commanders" series a single-volume biography by the Rev. Cyrus Townsend Brady, the author of "Stephen Decatur," and other works relating to our naval history. Mr. Brady's book, like the more ambitious work by Buell, is based on original sources. Mr. Brady has adopted a more popular method of treatment and addresses himself to the general reader rather than to the technical naval expert. His book is distinguished by the qualities of style that have combined to make his writings so successful in the field of history and historical fiction.

Oliver Cromwell. By Theodore Roosevelt. 8vo, pp. 260. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.

Governor Roosevelt's study of Oliver Cromwell would be interesting, if for no other reason than its distinctively American point of view. It is natural that Mr. Roosevelt should compare Cromwell with Washington, and that he should apply to Cromwell's statesmanship the searching tests that he has learned to apply in his researches in the lives of American statesmen. While he regards Cromwell as one of the greatest military geniuses of all time, he is by no means blind to his hero's deficiencies and failures in civic life; nor does he attempt to gloss over the excesses, to use no severer term, which blotted Cromwell's career in Ireland. The book, as a whole, is a frank and appreciative account of the great Protector and his time. It is beautifully printed and illustrated.

Theodore Parker: Preacher and Reformer. By John White Chadwick. 12mo, pp. xx, 422. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$2.

Dr. Chadwick's endeavor in this volume has been, as he puts it, "to make Parker a reality for a generation of read-

ers born since he died, to many of whom he is little known or misknown, which is worse." It may surprise some of this younger generation of readers to find less than half of the volume given up to Parker's antislavery work. His biographer has not permitted Parker's prominence in the antislavery movement to overshadow his achievements as a religious leader. Parker was, indeed, a preacher before he was a reformer; and as Dr. Chadwick points out, he had, even in his later years, little sympathy with professional reformers, although his pulpit-platform agitation in Boston was of the greatest importance to the antislavery cause, and he was interested not only in the slavery question, but in the peace movement, the temperance movement, education, the condition of woman, penal legislation, prison discipline, and all the other great reformatory movements of his time.

James Martineau: A Biography and Study. By A. W. Jackson. 8vo, pp. 459. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$3.

The first complete biography of Dr. Martineau to appear since his death is of American origin. Dr. Martineau's life spanned all but the first five years of the nineteenth century. The period of his intellectual and literary activity was remarkably long, probably unequaled by that of any of his contemporaries. While Dr. Martineau was recognized as the greatest Unitarian preacher of his time, his contributions to theology and religious thought were in no sense sectarian. His life and teachings appeal to men of every denomination. Mr. Jackson has written his book in three grand divisions: the first dealing with Martineau "The Man;" the second with "The Religious Teacher," and the last with "The Philosopher of Religion." The biographical element of the book is somewhat subordinated to the critical and philosophical.

A Life of Francis Parkman. By Charles Haight Farnham. 8vo, pp. xv, 394. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$2.50.

This life of Francis Parkman, the historian, is hardly to be regarded as a biography in the ordinary sense, so little does it contain of personal details relating to its subject. Owing to an aversion which seems to have sprung from his lifelong physical ailments, Parkman was apparently determined to leave as little as possible in the way of materials that might be utilized by a biographer. Throughout his life he said and wrote little about himself. Mr. Farnham has been obliged to seek interpretations of Parkman's personality in his writings; so that his study, beginning as a biography, soon merges into a critical essay. For this the author is not to be censured; he has performed his task as well as any one could have done, and probably better than almost any one else, because of his personal acquaintance with the subject. Among the most interesting passages in the book are quotations from Parkman's journal of his student days, giving accounts of tramps in the New England mountains. Parkman's early adventures in the far West (the basis of "The Oregon Trail") also make entertaining reading.

Richelieu, and the Growth of French Power. By James Breck Perkins. 12mo, pp. 359. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

Mr. James B. Perkins, the scholarly member of the New York Legislature whose works on "France Under Mazarin," "France Under the Regency," and "France Under Louis XV." have attracted the well-deserved notice of historical scholars everywhere, has just completed an

interesting account of "Richelieu, and the Growth of French Power." Recognizing the extreme difficulty of finding anything of great importance bearing upon Richelieu's career still unpublished, Mr. Perkins has endeavored, by careful comparison of Richelieu's memoirs and letters and other documents, to compile an accurate statement of the main facts of his career. He has also made a study of the numerous contemporary memoirs, giving special attention to the exhaustive work of M. Hanotaux, which is not yet completed. This volume forms one in the "Heroes of the Nations" series, and is copiously illustrated with portraits, maps, and facsimiles.

Memoirs of the Countess Potocka. Edited by Casimir Stryenski. Translation by Lionel Strachey. 8vo, pp. xxiii, 253. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$3.50.

An addition to the already long list of published Napoleonic memoirs is furnished in the volume of "Memoirs of the Countess Potocka," edited by Casimir Stryenski, and translated into English by Lionel Strachey. The countess was a member of the Polish royal family, and gives reminiscences of Napoleon and of many other historical characters. The illustrations comprise portraits, views, and facsimiles.

The Private Memoirs of Madame Roland. Edited, with an Introduction, by Edward Gilpin Johnson. 12mo, pp. 381. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. \$1.50.

This favorite French classic, although translated into English and published in London as long ago as 1795, within two years after Madame Roland's death by the guillotine, has been for some years out of print. The introduction by the editor, Mr. Edward Gilpin Johnson, helps the reader to understand the historical circumstances under which these famous memoirs were written.

HISTORY.

A Century of American Diplomacy; being a Brief Review of the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1776-1876. By John W. Foster. 8vo, pp. 497. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$3.50.

The Hon. John W. Foster, who was Secretary of State in President Harrison's cabinet, has for many years made a special study of the foreign relations of the United States. Few writers are so well qualified as he to trace the history of those relations. The present work is the outgrowth of a series of lectures delivered in the School of Diplomacy of the Columbian University at Washington. In the preparation of this volume for the press, the author has been influenced, first, by a hope that the study of this review of the diplomatic conduct of American statesmen may quicken the patriotism of the young men of the country and inspire them with a new zeal to assist in maintaining the honorable position of our government in its foreign relations, and also by the belief that such a review would be specially opportune at this time, in view of the recently enlarged political and commercial intercourse of the United States with other powers. Mr. Foster has carried his review down to the year 1876, and in the case of the Monroe Doctrine has brought the account practically up to date.

Source-Book of English History. By Guy Carleton Lee. 12mo, pp. 609. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$2.

In this compilation, Dr. Lee has included illustrative material not strictly documentary, together with the great constitutional and legal documents which furnished the framework of the history of England's national development. The scope of this collection extends from the first mention of Britain by the ancient historians to the last British treaty with the Boers of South Africa. The book will form a useful accompaniment of any text-book on English history.

The Venetian Republic: Its Rise, Its Growth, and Its Fall. By W. Carew Hazlitt. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 814—815. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$12.

This elaborate history of the Venetian Republic, the most complete in the English language, is now published in its entirety for the first time. It contains the results of forty years of research. The first edition (1860) has for some time been out of print, and the writer has to a great extent rewritten the text and has brought down the career of the republic to its abrupt close in 1797. Both volumes abound in footnote references, which will be highly appreciated by historical students.

The Boers in War. By Howard C. Hillegas. 12mo, pp. 300. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

The Boer side of the war of 1899-1900 is clearly pictured by Mr. Hillegas in this volume. Parts of the picture, it is true, will shock and possibly offend those intense partisans of the Boers who can see no fault in them; but on the whole it is far more likely that Mr. Hillegas will give offense to the pro-British reader than to the pro-Boer. He has tried to show the Boer army, country, and people as they existed prior to the British occupation of Pretoria. He has made an earnest effort to eliminate all personal feeling, and to portray the failings of the Boers as truthfully as their good qualities. He repeatedly refers to the Boer army as at no time consisting of more than 30,000 armed men, and claims ample authority for this statement. Mr. Hillegas looks forward to an ultimate Afrikaner union under a South African flag.

The Monitor and the Navy Under Steam. By Frank M. Bennett. 12mo, pp. 369. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.

In this volume, Lieutenant Bennett has attempted a history of the origin, career, and influence of the United States ironclad steamer *Monitor*, including in the record an account of the causes that produced the *Monitor*, as a sort of midway type of vessel in the gradual transformation of wooden ships of war to the steel-armored battleship, and also some reference to the effects on American naval development as shown in the naval operations of the Spanish-American War. The work is fully illustrated, and meets the requirements of the technical student as well as the seeker after general knowledge.

Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston. By Samuel Adams Drake. 8vo, pp. 484. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$2.50.

A careful and thorough revision of Mr. Drake's "Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston," first published nearly thirty years ago, has now been made, and the work is brought out by Messrs. Little, Brown & Co., the publishers who so successfully revised the same author's "Historic Mansions and Highways Around Boston" last year. The "Old Landmarks" has always been Mr. Drake's most popular work on American history, and it well deserves its popularity. Few American cities have had done for them what Mr. Drake has done for Boston in exploring historical sites and verifying local traditions.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION.

Through the First Antarctic Night, 1898-99. By Frederick A. Cook. 8vo, pp. 502. New York: Doubleday & McClure Company. \$5.

Dr. Cook's volume is chiefly interesting as the first record of human experience in the Antarctic night. It is not merely the story of a fruitless chase after the South Pole. The aim of the Belgian expedition of 1898-99 was one of scientific exploration, and in this the expedition was reasonably successful. Dr. Cook has not told the whole story in this volume, but has selected from his diary and notes important and interesting data, omitting much of the daily routine of life. He has also refrained from a discussion of technical

topics. The scientific records will be published in full by the Belgian Government. The illustrations of this volume have a special interest, being the first photographic reproductions of Antarctic life and scenes, while the color-plates give examples of the daily touches of color characteristic of the regions visited. One of the chapters describes a race of Fuegian giants, while others relate discoveries in the new world of Antarctic ice, and describe the autumn and the days of twilight preceding the long night.

Along French Byways. By Clifton Johnson. 12mo, pp. 261. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$2.25.

Even if the paths followed by Mr. Johnson in procuring material for this volume were not always "byways" in the ordinary sense of the word, Mr. Johnson at least chose to regard them as such; for he has written "a book of strolling, a book of nature, a book of amiable peasant life." Mr. Johnson has avoided the large towns and has sought the rural villages, farm firesides, fields, and country lanes. This writer's exceptional skill in adapting photographic art to the demands of bookmaking has been noted in our comment on his earlier publications.

Constantinople. By Edwin A. Grosvenor. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 413-398. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$4.

In view of the impending changes in the city of Constantinople, and the probable disappearance of much of its ancient architecture, the descriptive volumes of Professor Grosvenor are especially welcome. It is this writer's ambition "to preserve the careful panorama of the capital as it was in the last year of the nineteenth century." In this revised edition of a work published five years ago, few variations have been made from the original, and the work is substantially the same as when first published, the most important change being the material reduction in price.

Through the Yukon Gold Diggings. By Josiah Edward Spurr. 12mo, pp. 276. Boston: Eastern Publishing Company. \$1.25.

It was during Mr. Spurr's travels as geologist of the United States Geological Survey, investigating the geology of the Yukon district, that the Klondike gold discovery was made. He is, therefore, fairly entitled to be regarded as a Yukon pioneer, and his observations on the geology of the region are certainly authoritative.

POLITICS AND ECONOMICS.

Newest England. By Henry Demarest Lloyd. 8vo, pp. 387. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. \$2.50.

Mr. Henry Demarest Lloyd, whose "Country Without Strikes" has already been noticed in these pages, gives us in "Newest England" a fuller statement of the results of his investigations in New Zealand and Australia into the newer developments of democratic government in those British colonies. As a contribution to the study of modern democracy, Mr. Lloyd's book at once suggests Mr. Bryce's "American Commonwealth." Looking upon New Zealand as an "experiment station" in advanced legislation, Mr. Lloyd has watched the practical operation of various recent reforms introduced in that country. In the closing paragraph of the book, Mr. Lloyd sums up the real purpose of his writing: "In New Zealand the best stock of civilization (ours) was isolated by destiny for the culture of reform as the bacteriologist isolates his culture of germs. New Zealand has discovered the anti-toxin of revolution—the cure of monopoly by monopoly. New Zealand, because united, was able to lead; because she has led, others can follow."

Government in Switzerland. By John Martin Vincent. 12mo, pp. 370. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.25.

In the discussion of political reforms, perhaps no country is more frequently cited than the small mountain republic of Switzerland. Advocates of the initiative and referendum are continually referring to the experience of the Swiss

cantons. Dr. Vincent began his study of Swiss politics many years ago, and an essay by him published in the Johns Hopkins University series of political and historical treatises has long been a standard authority on this subject. Since the publication of that essay, many important changes have taken place in the Swiss Government; and in preparing the present volume Dr. Vincent has changed his order of treatment, and retained large portions of the other work, besides adding much new matter. It is certainly a credit to American historical scholarship that so thorough and able an account of Swiss institutions should be written and published on this side the Atlantic.

The Strénuous Life. By Theodore Roosevelt. 12mo, pp. 225. New York: The Century Company. \$1.50.

The phrase with which Governor Roosevelt's name has of late been most frequently associated has been adopted as the title of his new volume of essays. These essays are typical of Governor Roosevelt's literary work, in that almost every one represents a distinct point of view. The introductory address, which gives its name to the book, was originally delivered as a speech before the Hamilton Club of Chicago on April 10, 1899. This is followed by "Expansion and Peace," "Latitude and Longitude Among Reformers," and "Fellow-feeling as a Political Factor." Among the other titles are "Military Preparedness and Unpreparedness," "Admiral Dewey," "Civic Helpfulness," and "The Eighth and Ninth Commandments in Politics." The direct, clear, and emphatic writing for which Governor Roosevelt has become noted is maintained through all these papers. There is something in each of them to interest every active and serious-minded American.

The Gospel of Wealth, and Other Timely Essays. By Andrew Carnegie. 8vo, pp. xxii, 305. New York: The Century Company. \$2.

From the biographical introduction to these essays—"How I Served My Apprenticeship"—to the final chapter, entitled "Imperial Federation," this latest volume of Mr. Carnegie's writings is full of interest. The topics treated bear direct relation to the fundamental problems of American life. "The Gospel of Wealth," "The Advantages of Poverty," "Popular Illusions About Trusts," and "An Employer's View of the Labor Question" are some of the subjects treated. The fact that Mr. Carnegie exemplifies his teaching on the subject of wealth by yearly setting apart millions of dollars for the founding and endowment of libraries and art galleries adds to the importance and interest of his deliverances on this subject. Mr. Carnegie also writes frankly on the problems of national expansion and our international relations.

Expansion, Under New World-Conditions. By Josiah Strong. 12mo, pp. 310. New York: The Baker & Taylor Company. \$1.

In this compact little volume Dr. Strong discusses such practical problems as the exhaustion of our arable public lands, our new manufacturing supremacy, foreign markets as a new necessity, the new China, the new isthmian canal, and the new Mediterranean as an Anglo-Saxon sea. The keynote of the book is struck in its concluding sentence: "It is time to dismiss the 'craven fear of being great,' to recognize the place in the world which God has given us, and to accept the responsibilities which it devolves upon us in behalf of Christian civilization."

Clearing-Houses: Their History, Methods, and Administration. 8vo, pp. 383. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$2.50.

As vice-president of the Fourth National Bank of New York City, Mr. Cannon has intimate knowledge of the workings of the New York Clearing-house, and has collected material regarding the different institutions of that character throughout the world. The chapters on the more important clearing-houses written for this work have been submitted to those in charge of their administration for criticism.

SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY.

Essays, Letters, Miscellanies. By Count Lyof N. Tolstoi. 12mo, pp. 605. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. \$2.

This volume represents the latest views of Count Tolstoi on the vital questions of the day. Most of the essays have been for the first time translated for this publication, and the materials have been gathered from various sources, most of which are inaccessible to the American reader. A large number of the translations have been made by Mr. Aylmer Maude, who is a personal friend of Count Tolstoi, and is in touch with his religious, social, and industrial activities. Although the volume necessarily lacks unity, it is by no means wanting in consistency or vitality, and is especially interesting as representing the count's mental activity. Among the topics treated are arbitration, liquor-drinking, vegetarianism, non-resistance, disarmament, persecution of the Doukhobors, or spirit-wrestlers, and the suffering in the famine-stricken districts of Russia.

Tolstoi: A Man of Peace. By Alice B. Stockham. 16mo, pp. 140. Chicago: Alice B. Stockham & Co. \$1.

Dr. Stockham gives an entertaining account of her visit to Tolstoi's Russian home. In the same volume is included an essay by H. Havelock Ellis, on "Tolstoi: The New Spirit."

Prophets of the Nineteenth Century: Carlyle, Ruskin, Tolstoi. By May Alden Ward. 16mo, pp. 189. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 75 cents.

The interesting treatment of these three philosophers was suggested to Mrs. May Alden Ward by the fact that Carlyle once said that John Ruskin was the only man in England who was carrying out his ideas; while Ruskin said, shortly before his death, that Tolstoi was the only man in the world who stood for the movement which he had tried to further. While Ruskin's relation with Carlyle was direct and organic, that with Tolstoi was less obvious, although Mrs. Ward says that it was none the less real, "since a spiritual sympathy through the contagion of ideas may furnish a bond of the most lasting kind." Three prophets of social reform these men assuredly were, and they had much in common. From this point of view, a discussion of their several philosophic systems is timely and pertinent.

Spencer and Spencerism. By Hector Macpherson. 12mo, pp. 241. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. \$1.25.

Perhaps "Spencerism and Spencer" would be better suited as a title to describe the contents of this little book. The writer has essayed the presentation of Herbert Spencer's philosophy in a lucid and coherent form, suitable for the general reader. Doubtless it makes as close an approach to a personal biography as is possible during the lifetime of the subject. The writer's purpose has been strictly followed, but that purpose was not the making of a biography in the ordinary sense. Mr. Macpherson has had the advantage in his work of the active interest and coöperation of Mr. Spencer; and the book has a peculiar appropriateness, coming so soon after the anniversary of Mr. Spencer's eightieth birthday, and only a few months after the publication of the book marking the completion of the great system of synthetic philosophy on which Spencer's fame will rest.

LITERATURE AND CRITICISM.

English Literature. By Stopford A. Brooke. 16mo, pp. 358. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.

This little volume has had a rather remarkable history for a book of its class. It was first issued by Macmillan & Company in 1876, under the title of "Primer of Literature," and at once won the approbation of Matthew Arnold, who wrote a critical estimate of it, which was later published under the title, "A Guide to English Literature." In 1896, Mr. Brooke revised and in part rewrote his book, which then appeared under its present title. The additions continue the history of English literature through the period ending

with the deaths of Tennyson and Browning, and include a brief sketch of American literature.

A Book for All Readers. By Ainsworth Rand Spofford. 12mo, pp. 509. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$2.

Mr. Spofford has included in this volume not only many suggestions as to the choice and use of books, but several chapters of practical hints regarding their collection and preservation, together with much information as to the formation of public and private libraries and library management. All of these suggestions and directions to the reader are the result of many years of library experience, and certainly no one in this country is better fitted than Mr. Spofford to act as a guide for the average reader.

Counsel Upon the Reading of Books. 12mo, pp. 306. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.50.

A series of specific suggestions for readers in certain definite lines is offered in the six papers composing this volume, which are based upon lectures arranged by the American Society for the Extension of University teaching, and delivered in Philadelphia in the winter of 1898-99. The general preface on the subject of reading and books is contributed by Dr. Henry van Dyke. Prof. H. Morse Stephens contributes a chapter on history; Agnes Repplier on memoirs and biographies; President Hadley, of Yale, on sociology, economics, and politics; Prof. Brander Matthews on the study of fiction; Prof. Bliss Perry on poetry, and Mr. Hamilton Wright Mabie on essays and criticism.

Short-Story Writing. By Charles Raymond Barrett. 12mo, pp. 257. New York: The Baker & Taylor Company. \$1.

This is a practical text-book on the technique of the short story. It may surprise some of our readers to learn that a course on "The Art of the Short Story" has been conducted at the University of Chicago. Whether the subject has been treated at other universities, we do not know. The present volume seems to us to be an excellent introduction to such a course. The author attempts to put into definite form the principles observed by the masters of the short story in the practice of their art. He has made a careful study of the work of these masters, and informs us that he has also made a critical examination of several thousand short stories written by amateurs. The book can hardly fail to be of much practical assistance to the novice in short-story writing.

The World's Best Orations. Edited by David J. Brewer. 8vo. Vols. III.-VII., pp. 396, 402, 404, 406, 418. St. Louis: Ferd. P. Kaiser. Sold by subscription.

The range and scope of this collection are well illustrated in the seventh volume, in which French oratory is represented by Victor Hugo, M. Lator, Jean Baptiste, Henry Lacordaire, and Alphonse Lamartine, and German oratory by Hecker, Herman von Helmholtz, and Johann Gottfried von Herder; while Isocrates stands for classical oratory, Hildebert of Tours for that of the Middle Ages, Kossuth for Eastern Europe and its modern movement, and Tecumseh, Logan, Old Tassel, Weatherford, and Red Jacket for the American Indian. The same volume contains extracts from the works of many standard English and American orators, including Sir Robert Holborne, Charles Kingsley, Hugh Latimer, Robert Leighton, William Lenthall, Sir John Lubbock, Sir Joseph Jekyll and Lord Lyndhurst, Patrick Henry, Abraham Lincoln, Samuel Houston, George F. Hoar, Benjamin H. Hill, Andrew Jackson, Thomas Jefferson, Rutherford B. Hayes, Rufus King, Richard Henry Lee, Robert R. Livingston, and John Lansing. There is a great diversity in the length of the selections; the object of the collection being to give the great masterpieces of oratory complete, regardless of their length. Even the minor orators whose work possesses genuine historical importance are not excluded, but so much is given from their best orations as will fairly represent what they actually stood for in history, in religion, in science, in art, or in literature.

INDEX TO PERIODICALS.

Unless otherwise specified, all references are to the October numbers of periodicals.
For table of abbreviations, see last page.

- Acadia, Pioneer Women of, Mary S. Pepper, Chaut.
Afghanistan, Amir of, Details in the Daily Life of the, MonR.
Africa, Journey Through the Heart of, NatGM.
Africa: On the Beira Railway, L. O. Cooper, Contem.
Africa: The Niger (1896-98), A. Lebon, RDM, September 15.
Air Compression by Water Power, W. O. Webber, Eng.
Airship, Zeppelin, T. E. Curtis, Str.
Alcohol, Nutritive Value of, W. O. Atwater, Harp.
Allen, James Lane: Scenes of His Novels, A. B. Maurice, Bkman.
Alps: Mont Blanc Mountaineering, Dial, September 16.
Alps: The Pass of the Tête Noire, Mildred I. McNeal, O.
American Feeling Toward England, P. A. Bruce, West.
Anglo-Saxonism and Catholic Progress, B. J. Clinch, ACQR.
Animals: How They Sleep, L. Robinson, Pear.
Animals in the Hercynian Forest, Grace G. Begle, School.
Animals, Mental Processes of, C. C. Nutting, Dial, September 16.
Animals, Wild, on Board Ship, W. B. Robertson, Cass.
Antarctic Explorations of C. E. Borchgrevink, W. G. Fitzgerald, Str.
Antioch, Church at, J. M. Stifler, BSac.
Apple Industry in America, T. Dreiser, Pear.
Architecture: Georgian House for \$7,000, B. Price, LHJ.
Architecture: Farmhouse for \$3,500, R. C. Spencer, Jr., LHJ.
Arctic Highlanders, With—II., W. A. Wyckoff, Scrib.
Army, German, Ambulance Dogs in the, F. A. Talbot, Str.
Army Medical Organization in War, W. Hill-Climo, USM.
Art:
 Alien Element in American Art, E. T. Clarke, BP.
 American Life, Studies of Art in—II., Knickerbocker Days, Virginia H. Robie, BP.
 Art Before Giotto, R. E. Fry, MonR.
 Artistic Impulse in Man and Woman, E. A. Randall, Arena.
 Caricaturists Caricatured—II., R. Hughes, Crit.
 Century of Art—II., M. Hamel, R. Par, October 1.
 Chippendale, Sheraton, and Other Cabinet-Makers, AI.
 English Painting, Subject in, R. de la Sizeranne, Art, September.
 Flowers, Wild, in Winter, T. Holmes, AA.
 Hermitage, Picture Gallery of the, C. Phillips, NAR.
 Inness, George, E. Wiley, MRN.
 Interiors and Furniture at the Paris Exposition, W. Fred, Art, September.
 Iron-Work, Ornamental, H. W. Coleman, BP.
 Japanese Art for American Students, W. T. Hadley, BP.
 Leather Work, AA.
 Lettering, Practice of, E. F. Strange, AJ.
 Macbeth, R. W., A. L. Baldry, AJ.
 Maréchal, J. F., and K. Doudlet, P. de Mont, Art, September.
 Maris, James, Eleonore D'Esterre-Keeling, LeisH.
 Menpes, Mortimer, C. Roberts, Harp.
 Metal, Arts of—XI., AA.
 Miniature Painting, American, Pauline King, Cent.
 Moran, Thomas, Painter-Etcher, F. W. Morton, BP.
 National Gallery, New Pictures in the, M. H. Witt, Nine C.
 Nickerson Collection at the Art Institute, Chicago, A. Hewitt, BP.
 Orr, Monro S., W. Sharp.
 Pan-American Exposition, Artistic Side of the, E. H. Brush, AI.
 Panoramas, Painting of, W. Telbin, MA.
 Paris Exposition, American Art at the, Grace W. Curran, Mod.
 Pyrography for Interior Decoration, R. Jarvis, AA.
 Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelites, Elizabeth L. Cary, Crit.
 Ruskin, the Servant of Art, R. W. Bond, Contem.
 Silhouettists, Last of the, C. H. Hart, Out.
 Soane Museum, London, Mary E. Palgrave, LeisH.
 Stott, Edward, L. Housman, MA.
 Tapestries, Museum of, at Florence, A. Melani, AJ.
 Wade, George E., Sculptor, A. L. Baldry, MA.
 Watts, George Frederick, C. Monkhouse, Out.
 Wood-Carver, Modeling for the, R. Wells, AA.
 Yerkes, Charles T., Art Gallery of, Florence N. Levy, AI.
Asceticism and Christian Conduct, G. U. Wenner, Luth.
Asia, Rulers and Governments of, E. Parsons, Int.
Atlantic Union, W. Besant, Forum.
Australia, Roman Catholic Hierarchy in, NatR.
Australia, Western, How Federation Was Won in, H. I. Blake, RRM, August.
Automobile, Place of the, R. Bruce, O.
Automobiles, Gasoline, M. Baxter, Jr., PopS.
Automobile Trials, Thousand-Mile, W. W. Beaumont, Eng.
Baking Cure for Diseases, W. B. Northrop, Str.
Bancroft, George, Homes and Haunts of, A. S. Roe, NEng.
Bank of Belgium and the Bank of Holland, Variations in the Rate Charged by the, BankL.
Baptist History, Fifty Years of, H. C. Vedder, BSac.
Bartlett, Robert, C. S. Fobes, NEng.
Belgian Census of Industries and Professions, A. Julin, RefS, September.
Belgium, Attacks on the Plural Vote in, L. Dupriez, RGen.
Belgium Parties, Programmes of the, C. Woeste, RGen.
Belgium, Proportional Representation in, Professor Wilmotte, NA, September 1.
Bible: Covenant People and Their Part in the Promises, J. F. Pollock, Luth.
Bible, Higher Criticism of the, G. H. Schodde, Luth.
Bible Lands, Occupations in—II., E. W. G. Masterman, Bib.
Bible Translation and Distribution, W. J. Edmonds, MisR.
Biblical Law: Naboth's Vineyard, D. W. Amram, GBag.
Bird Acrobats, P. Brooklyn, Cass.
Birds, Young, C. H. C. Baldwin, Art, September.
Bourget, Paul, and the English People, U. Guérin, RefS, September.
Brown, Thomas Edward, J. C. Tarver, Mac; A. T. Quiller-Couch, MonR.
Bubonic Plague, F. G. Novy, PopS.
Buddhism, T. W. R. Davids, NAR.
Bürger, Gottfried August, Birthplace of, Carina C. Eaglesfield, Cath.
Burroughs, John: A Day at His Home, G. Gladden, Out.
Calendar, Russian Proposal for Reformation of the, D. O'Sullivan, ACQR.
California Mountain Road, G. C. Meeker, PhoT.
California: Native Sons and Daughters and the Semi-Centennial, E. D. Ward, Over, September.
Campbell, William, Wilfred L. J. Burpee, SR.
Canada, Forecast of the Elections in, M. E. Nichols, Can.
Canada: The Jason of Algoma, P. Grant, Can.
Canada, Leaders of Thought and Action in, A. Mee, YM.
Canoeing, The Real, R. B. Burchard, O.
Canoe Meet, International, of 1900, D. J. Howell, Can.
"Canterbury Tales," Religious Characters in the, T. W. Hunt, Hom.
Cape Nome Gold-field, Elizabeth Robins, RRL.
Cavalry, Evolution of, F. N. Maude, USM.
Cervantes, Youth and Education of, R. L. Mainez, EM, September.
Chaperon, Decay of the, Lady Jeune, Fort.
Charity and Gospel, F. Almy, Char.
Charles Edward, Prince, Black.
Chaucer's Poems, Flora of, Martha B. Flint, Mod.
Children, Good Books to Give to, Elisabeth R. Scovil, LHJ.
Child-Study, Ethics of, M. P. E. Groszmann, Mon.
China:
 After Peking, MonR.
 Campaign Against Peking, W. Fawcett, Mod.
 China, a Survival of the Unfittest, FRL.
 Chinaman, Some Aspects of the, F. T. Dickson, Mac.
 Chinese as Business Men, S. P. Read, Cent.
 Chinese Problem, L. Tolstoy, RRP, October 1.
 Chinese Resentment, H. H. Lowry, Harp.
 Chinese Traits and Western Blunders, H. C. Potter, Cent.
 Confucius, Tomb of, E. von Hesse-Wartegg, Cent.
 Control of China, Plea for, F. E. Younghusband, NatR.
 Crisis in China, J. B. Angell, Atlant; I. T. Headland, Mun.
 Education, Chinese, R. Hitchcock, Cent.
 England's Future Policy, J. Ross, Contem.
 Future of China, G. F. Wright, BSac.
 Future of China and the Missionaries, C. Denby, Forum.
 German Danger in the Far East, NatR.
 Gordon's Campaign in China, Fort.
 Hunan, the Closed Province, W. B. Parsons, NatGM.
 Impressions from a Tour in China, H. Blake, NineC.
 Kwang Hsu and the Empress Dowager, I. T. Headland, Ains.
 Language, Chinese, Humor of the, F. Poole, LHJ.
 Manchu Family, Imperial, E. H. Parker, Corn.
 Market, Chinese, Race for the, J. Foord, FRL.
 Missionaries, Testimony of Diplomats Concerning, MisH.
 Missionary Question, M. von Brandt, Deut; C. Denby, MisR.

- Plea for Fair Treatment, Wu ring Fang, Cent.
 Regeneration of China, Coming, J. H. Barrows, Gunt.
 Russia, China and J. Quincy, NAR.
 Russia: Is She to Preponderate? D. C. Boulger, Fort.
 Sectarians, Among the, M. Delines, Nou, September 1.
 Situation in China, B. J. Ramage, SR.
 Waldersee, Count, Field-Marshal, W. von Bremen, Deut.
 Wei-Hai-Wei, P. Bigelow, Harp.
 Christian Evidences, Modern, C. F. Sanders, Luth.
 Christianity, Historical Antecedents of, Professor Mariani, NA, September 16.
 Christian Ministry, Prophetic Office of, T. S. Wynkoop, Hom.
 Civic Helpfulness, T. Roosevelt, Cent.
 Civil War: Sherman-Johnston Convention, J. D. Cox, Scrib.
 Coal Miners' Strike, Gunt.
 Coal Supplies in the United States, F. E. Seward, Eng.
 Coal Supremacy of the United States, E. S. Meade, Forum.
 Coke Region, Connellsville, F. C. Keighley, Eng.
 Columbus as a Typical Hero, F. V. Moore, MRN.
 Comédie Française, New Members of the, E. Friend, Cos.
 Commerce of the United States, O. P. Austin, Home.
 Commercial Integrity: Is It Increasing? I. W. Morton, IJE.
 Connecticut River, Early Traffic on the, C. G. Burnham, NEng.
 Conscience, J. Hyde, NC.
 Constitution and the New Territories, J. K. Richards, ALR.
 Coursing on Western Prairies, W. S. Harwood, O.
 Crane, Stephen, True Story of, R. W. Kauffman, Mod.
 Cranial Variation, Studies in, F. Russell, ANat, September.
 Cricket, Some Village, W. B. Thomas, Bad.
 Croker, Edward F., Fire Chief, C. M. McGovern, Home.
 Cromwell, Oliver—XII., J. Morley, Cent.
 Crookes, Sir William, C. Schmidt, RRP, September 15.
 Crucifixion and the War in the Creation, W. W. Peyton, Contem.
 Cuban Teachers at Harvard, R. Clapp, EdR; Fanny H. Gardiner, Mod.
 Cuba, Plea for the Annexation of, Forum.
 Cuba: Why She Should be Independent, C. W. Currier, Forum.
 Curiosities and Souvenirs, S. S. Moncrieff, Cham.
 Democracy and Empire, G. M. Adam, Mod.
 Diphtheria, Persistence of, San.
 Doctors' Diversions, F. Dolman, Str.
 Dog-Breaking, First Lessons in, H. B. Tallman, O.
 Dogs that Earn Their Living, C. J. Cornish, Corn.
 Dreams and What They Are Made of, H. G. Drummond, NC.
 Durham Cathedral, H. Pope, Cath.
 Eclipses, Recent, H. H. Turner, MonR.
 Education: see also Kindergarten.
 Academy, Problems Which Confront the, G. D. Pettee, A. L. Lane, J. C. MacKenzie, and A. C. Hart, Ed.
 College Entrance Requirements in English, F. N. Scott, EdR.
 Democracy and Education in England, W. G. Field, EdR.
 English in the German Reform School, O. Thiergen, School.
 Farm, Education on the, Eleanor K. Howell, Chaut.
 Grammar, Modern Teaching of, S. E. Lang, EdR.
 High School Assistants, Work of, S. Thurber, Ed.
 Honor and Justice, Teaching of, E. S. Holden, Cos.
 Manual Training, J. Fitch, Can.
 Nature Lessons, J. E. Bradley, Ed.
 Old-Fashioned Doubts About New-Fashioned Education, L. B. R. Briggs, Atlant.
 Parent and Teacher, Agnes D. Cameron, Can.
 Paris Educational Congress, Amalie Hofer, Kind.
 Physical Examination of Students, A. Henry, Pear.
 Physical Geography in the High School, W. M. Davis, School.
 Political Education, President Hadley on, H. Robbins, Gunt.
 Porto Rico, Education in, V. S. Clark, Forum.
 Press, Public, and the Public School, E. L. Cowdrick, Ed.
 Principals' Reports on Teachers, F. L. Soldan, EdR.
 Public Schools, Influence of the State University on, R. H. Jesse, School.
 Ruskin's Educational Views, E. A. Knapp, Ed.
 Sanitary Condition of City Schoolhouses, Elizabeth M. Howe, EdR.
 Secondary Education—III., E. E. Brown, School.
 South, Small College in the, A. Sled, MRN.
 Universities, People's, A. Rivaud, RPP, September.
 Transportation of Rural School Children, A. A. Upham, EdR.
 Egypt: Finding the First Dynasty Kings, H. D. Rawnsley, Atlant.
 Egyptian Civilization, Origin of, M. B. Chapman, MRN.
 Electric Cables for High Tensions, W. Mayer, Jr., CasM.
 Electricity for Domestic Purposes, A. T. Stewart, Cham.
 Electric Motors, Gearing for, A. H. Gibbins, CasM.
 Electric Power in Great Britain, W. H. Booth, Eng.
 Electric Power, Transition to, A. D. Adams, CasM.
 Eleusinian Problem, Certain Aspects of the, C. J. Wood, OC.
 Eliot, Charles William, Address of, at Tremont Temple, G.
 McDermott, Cath.
 Empire, Mission of, E. D. Bell, West.
 England: see Great Britain.
 England: Ightham Mote, Kent, S. Baring-Gould, MA.
 England: The Salt Country, C. Edwardes, Cham.
 Eskimo, Central, Religious Beliefs of the, F. Boas, PopS.
 Ethics: Defective Theories of Moral Obligation, C. C. Dove, West.
 Evolution in New-Church Light—IV., G. Hawkes, NC.
 Evolution, Relation of Ethics to, A. W. Benn, IJE.
 Evolution, Science and Religion, Lamarck on, A. S. Packard, Mon.
 Evolution, Stampede into, J. B. Thomas, Hom.
 Ezra, Historicity of, J. O. Boyd, PRR.
 Fénelon, François de la M., C. M. Stuart, Chaut.
 Fêtes, Open-Air, at Bryn Mawr, D. A. Willey, Home.
 Fiction, Bachelor in, P. Pollard, Bkman.
 Finland, Music of, A. E. Keeton, LeisH.
 Fire Department, New York, E. F. Croker, Home.
 Flowers of Fall, E. E. Rexford, Lipp.
 Football Twenty-five Years Ago, W. J. Henderson, O.
 Forestry for Beauty and Use, Cham.
 Forms, Esthetic, Principles of, A. Emch, Mon.
 France:
 Brittany Pagan Woman, A. de Croze, RRP, October 1.
 Democracy and the Army, J. Charmont, RPP, September.
 France, North and South, C. Julian, RPar, September 15.
 French Revolution and the Jewish Question, J. Hocart, BU.
 Idealism, New French, Count de Soissons, Contem.
 Orthography, French, Evolution of, A. Renard, RRP, October 1.
 Pacific, Colonies in the, J. Durand, RRP, September 15.
 Revolution, Political Clubs During the, J. W. Perrin, Chaut.
 Frederick the Great—II., W. O'C. Morris, USM.
 Froebel, Friedrich, Philosophy of, R. Eucken, Forum.
 Fulham Palace, England, Beatrice Creighton, AJ.
 Galveston Disaster, Lessons of the, W. J. McGee, NatGM.
 Galveston Storm, Experiences in the, C. Ousley, NatM.
 Germany, Commercial Supremacy of, P. de Rousiers, RPar, September 15.
 German Navy, Increase of the, L. Jadot, RPP, September.
 Geographic Society: Address of the President, NatGM.
 Geology, Recent Progress in, A. C. Lawson, IntM.
 Georgia Dumb Act of 1850, F. D. Peabody, ALR.
 Gibraltar to Alexandria, Marie Jadwin, Chaut.
 Goethe, Influence of Swedenborg Upon, C. R. Nugent, NC.
 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, Study of, Wern.
 Gold Dredging: How to Make It Pay, A. W. Robinson, CasM.
 Golf in America, Rise of, P. Collier, AMRR.
 Gospel, Fifth, Discovery of, A. Dr. La Touche-Treville, RRP, September 15.
 Gospel of Luke, Purpose and Plan of the, E. D. Burton, Bib.
 Great Britain: see also Transvaal.
 American Feeling Toward England, P. A. Bruce, West.
 Army, Compulsory Service in the, G. N. Banks, USM.
 Army Reform, J. M. Creed, Contem; F. W. Tugman, West.
 British Czar: The General Elector, W. T. Stead, RRL.
 British Empire, Growth of, from 1800 to 1900, J. H. Schooling, PMM.
 Burden of Empire, W. S. Lilly, Fort.
 Commerce, British, Decline of, B. Taylor, NAR.
 Education and Sectarian Interference, J. Dowman, West.
 England's Military Prestige Abroad, J. W. Gambier, Fort.
 Englishman: Why He Succeeds, W. H. Fitchett, RRM, August.
 General Election, British, Cath; H. W. Lucy, Forum.
 Imperialism, Paradox of, MonR.
 Jingo, Development of the, Frances H. Freshfield, West.
 Military Policy of the Country, Black.
 Naval Officers, War Training of, C. Bellairs, MonR.
 Navy, Electors and the, C. McL. McHardy, NatR.
 Parable of the General Election, W. T. Stead, RRL.
 Parliament, Dissolution of, Black.
 Parties and Principles, MonR.
 Petitions and Electioneering Pledges, Sophia Palmer, NineC.
 Public Schools and the Public Services, J. C. Tarver, Fort.
 Public Service, Reform in the, A. West, NineC.
 Revolution of Force, How England Averted a, B. O. Flower, Arena.
 Ritualism and the Election, Lady Winborne, NineC.
 Russia? Why Not a Treaty with, Fort.
 Wage-Earners and the War, E. B. Husband, West.
 Workingman and the War Charges, F. Greenwood, NineC.
 Greek Religion and Mythology, P. Carus, OC.
 Guiana Boundary, G. L. Burr, AHR.
 Gun Factory, Visit to an English, D. T. Timins, Cass.
 Gun, Most Powerful, in the World, F. Heath, Jr., Home.
 Hamadryad and Her Kinsfolk, W. C. Lawton, SR.
 Hamlin, President Cyrus, A. F. Schaudier, MisH; MisR.
 Hanne, Marcus A., W. M. Clemens, Home.
 Hare, Belgian—Past, Present, and Future, E. H. Glover, Int.
 Hawaii First—II., E. S. Goodhue, AngA.
 Heaven and Earth, Contrasts Between, H. Vrooman, NC.
 Hebrew, Modern, Status of the: I., The Secret of His Immortality, E. S. Brudno; II., Jewish Contributions to Science, The Future of the Jews, A. K. Glover, Arena.

Heraldry, Elizabeth C. Neff, A MonM.
 Holy Spirit as Essential to Effective Gospel Preaching, F. B. Meyer, Hom.
 Homestead Legislation, J. B. Sanborn, AHR.
 Horse, Ancestry of the, F. A. Lucas, McCl.
 Horses: Development of the American Trotter, N. A. Cole, O.
 Hospitals, Dispensaries, and Nursing, H. M. Hurd, Char.
 Hunting Methods in Russia, W. Gerrare, O.
 Hurricane, West Indian, of September 1-12, 1900, E. B. Garriott, NatGM.
 Hygiene and Demography, International Congress of, San.
 Ice-Crushers on the Great Lakes, W. Fawcett, Pear.
 Imagination, Competence of, to Serve the Truth, E. H. Johnson, BSac.
 Immigrants, Our, and Ourselves, Kate H. Claghorn, Atlant.
 Immigration of Oriental Peoples, F. M. Todd, Ains.
 Imperialism, Menace of: I., The Antithesis of True Expansion, E. V. Long; II., Its Strength and Weakness, A. H. Coggins; III., Its Place in Historic Evolution, G. W. Kenney, Arena.
 Indian Baskets, The Making of, Helen M. Carpenter, Cos.
 Indians, Education of, Elaine G. Eastman, Arena.
 Indigo Planting in India, M. N. MacDonald, Pear.
 Industrial Supremacy, Struggle for, B. Taylor, Fort.
 Industrial Tide: Is It on the Turn? W. R. Lawson, BankL.
 Injuries, Mechanical Treatment for, R. P. Lambert, Pear.
 Inquiry, Curbing of the Spirit of, C. Sterne, OC.
 Insurance, Burglary, BankL.
 International Liability for Mob Injuries, F. J. R. Mitchell, ALR.
 Inventors, Psychology of, G. Caye, RRP, October 1.
 Invertebrates, North-American—XIII., G. H. Parker, ANat, September.
 Investor's Opportunity in England, W. R. Lawson, NatR.
 Ireland, Month in, S. Gwynn, Black.
 Irish Life, More Humors of, Corn.
 Iron-Trade Development, National Ideals in, H. J. Skelton, Eng.
 Irrigation in the Arid West, E. Mead, Out.
 Italy:
 Humbert I., Constitutional Character of the Reign of, D. Zanichelli, NA, September 1.
 Humbert, King, Recollections of, Count di Ronzaglie, Deut.
 Italy and Her Makers, W. Littlefield, Mun.
 Italy, the New, S. Cortesi, IntM.
 Kings, After the Death of the, E. Vidari, NA, September 1.
 Social Life in Italy, Mac.
 Vatican and Quirinal, R. Bagot, NatR.
 Jachin and Boaz, G. St. Clair, West.
 Jacksnipe: When They Come Out of the North, H. S. Canfield, O.
 Jamaica: Does It Contain a Lesson in Colonial Government? J. Moritzsen, AMRR.
 Japan, Misunderstood, Y. Ozaki, NAR.
 Japan, Old, A Wheel in the Heart of, T. P. Terry, O.
 Jeanne d'Arc, Home of, C. Johnson, FrL.
 Jesus: The Title "The Son of Man," M. G. Evans, BSac.
 Jesus, Resurrection of, P. Schwartzkopf, Mon.
 Jesus, Story of, C. Howard, LHJ.
 Jesus with the Doctors, R. B. Peery, Luth.
 Jockeys, The Prince of Wales', A. F. Meyrick, Str.
 Kansas, Buford Expedition to, W. L. Fleming, AHR.
 Kentucky, Court of Appeals of—IV., J. C. Doolan, GBag.
 Kindergarten, Ethical and Religious Import of the, W. L. Bryant, KindR.
 Kindergarten, Hygiene and Emergencies of the, E. F. Smith, Kind.
 Kindergarten in Cienfuegos, Rita W. Hines, Kind.
 Kindergartens in the South, P. P. Claxton, Kind; KindR.
 Kindergarten, Story in the, Olive McHenry, KindR.
 Klondike: Canadian Royalty in the Yukon—II., W. H. Lynch, AngA.
 Klondike, Impressions of the, C. C. Osborne, Mac.
 Labor: Anti-Sweating Legislation in Victoria, J. Hoatson, West.
 Labor Organizations in France, L. Banneux, RGen.
 Lamb, Charles, as Critic and Essayist, E. W. Bowen, MRN.
 Leather-Dressers of Annonay, France, A. Tourgée, Mod.
 Lee, Robert E., Recollections of—III., R. E. Lee, Jr., FrL.
 Lenox, Massachusetts: The Church on the Hilltop, F. Lynch, NEng.
 Lens, Great, Casting a, R. S. Baker, McCl.
 Levees, Appropriations for, G. E. Mitchell, IA.
 Literary Evolution, Phenomena of, J. London, Bkman.
 Literature: An American Impression of the New Grub Street, E. Fawcett, Bkman.
 Literature: An Early Romanticist, Clara Thomson, Corn.
 Literature, Backwoods Life in, P. Stapfer, RRP, October 1.
 Literature, French, Critical Studies in, F. M. Warren, Chaut.
 Literature, Nineteenth Century, B. W. Wells, BB.
 Literature of Europe, F. Brunetiere, RDM, September 15.
 Logging-Camp, Work of a, S. Allis, Over, September.
 London, East, Types, W. Besant, Cent.
 London, Great Railway Stations of, D. T. Timins, Cass.
 London Parks, Rustic Spots in, M. R. Roberts, Cass.

London, where Poor Ladies Can Live in, Frances H. Low, Leish.
 Louisa, Queen, Girlhood of, A. W. Ward, Corn.
 Luther and the Augsburg Confession, J. W. Richard, Luth.
 Machine-Shop, Organization of the—V., H. Diemer, Eng.
 Magpies, Experiences with, E. H. Barker, Leish.
 Maize Kitchen at Paris, J. S. Crawford, Forum.
 Man, Breed of, H. H. Almond, NineC.
 Marco Polo's Adventures, E. S. Holden, O.
 Martineau, James, Dial, October 1, A. W. Jackson, NAR.
 Martineau, James, Some Letters of, Atlant.
 Mason, Jeremiah, GBag.
 Mason, William, Reminiscences of—IV., Cent.
 Master, Life of the—X., Jesus Before the Council; Before Pontius Pilate, J. Watson, McCl.
 Matter, Kingdom of, M. Maeterlinck, Fort.
 Medical Ethics, R. B. Carter, IJE.
 Medicine, Preventive, True Aim of, A. Shadwell, Contem.
 Memory, Interpolation in, M. Hartog, Contem.
 Mental Energy, E. Atkinson, PopS.
 Mental Healing, J. Bois, RRP, October 1.
 Meshed, Holy City of, J. A. Lee, WWM.
 Mexico, Imperial Régimes in—III., H. M. Skinner, Int.
 Michigan, University of, Mary L. Hinsdale, Mod.
 Mind, Architecture of the, Dial, October 1.
 Missions:
 Ahmednagar Theological Seminary, R. A. Hume, MisH.
 Amatogaland, British, W. S. Walton, MisR.
 China, Missionary Question in, C. Denby, MisR.
 China, Mysteries of God's Providence in, A. T. Pierson, MisR.
 Government Protection of Missions, J. T. Gracey, MisR.
 Java, Results of Missions in, J. Warneck, MisR.
 Livingstone Memorials, J. Johnston, MisR.
 Manchuria, Christianity in, J. Ross, MisR.
 Medical Missionary Work, L. B. Salmans, MisR.
 Monaco and Its Prince, H. K. Underwood, Mod.
 Mongols, Modern, F. L. Oswald, PopS.
 Montenegro—The Benjamin of Europe, Helen Zimmern, Leish.
 Morgan, Sir Henry, and His Buccaneers, C. T. Brady, McCl.
 Mosquito, Popular Description of the, R. W. Shufeldt, Pear.
 Musical Renaissance of Northern New England, Lillian T. Bryant, NatM.
 Music, Dramatic, in Russia, M. Delines, BU.
 Music, Mysterious, G. G. Thomas, Cham.
 Mysteries, Greek—A Preparation for Christianity, P. Carus, Mon.
 National Ideals, G. Murray, IJE.
 Nations, Rivalry of: World Politics of To-day—I—IV., E. A. Start, Chaut.
 Naval Officers, Education of, USM.
 Naval Officers, War-Training of British, C. Bellairs, MonR.
 Navy, Our, Fifty Years from Now, W. E. Chandler, Cos.
 Navy: The Kentucky and the Kearsarge, F. Chester, Mun.
 Needlecraft, American, Plea for, A. Sterling, Atlant.
 Negro Problem in the South, O. W. Underwood, Forum.
 Nerves and Morals, P. Tyner, Mind.
 Nervous System, Narcotic Poisons and the, B. H. Boyd, Int.
 New Netherlands, English and Dutch Towns of, A. E. McKinley, AHR.
 New Zealand, Affairs in, J. Christie, Atlant.
 Nietzsche, Friedrich, O. Crawford, NineC; T. de Wyzewa, RDM, October 1.
 Nietzsche and His Philosophy, S. Zeisler, Dial, October 1.
 Nietzsche and the Idealist Revival, P. S. Reinsch, Mod.
 Nietzsche at Turin, NA, September 16.
 Nietzsche, France and Germany as Judged by, H. Lichtenberger, RPar, October 1.
 Nietzsche, Tolstoi and, Ethics of, M. Adams, IJE.
 Oberammergau, Passion Play at, G. Franciosi; NA, September 16.
 Opera in English, E. Singleton, Bkman; R. Aldrich, Crit.
 "Orthodoxy," Russian, R. Parsons, ACQR.
 Oxford Undergraduate, H. Brodick, NatR.
 Palmer, Mrs. Potter, Caroline Kirkland, Ains.
 Paraguay, South America, Cham.
 Paris, American Colony in, W. G. Robinson, Cos.
 Paris Exposition:
 Arms, Ancient, M. Maindron, RDM, October 1.
 Belgium at the Exposition, F. Bournand, RGen.
 British Royal Pavilion, MA.
 Paris Exposition, H. de Varigny, BU; J. Horner, CasM.
 Russia at the Exposition, Nou, September 15.
 Social Economics in the Exposition, W. H. Tolman, Out.
 Pastorates, City, F. M. Porch, Luth.
 Patterson, Elizabeth, and Jerome Bonaparte, W. Perrine, LHJ.
 Patti, Adelina, at Home, YW.
 Petrified Forest of Arizona, C. Howard, Pear.
 Philadelphia's Election Frauds, C. R. Woodruff, Arena.
 Philip, Admiral John W., Extracts from Diary of, FrL.
 Philippines: Our Agreement with the Sultan of Sulu, M. Wilcox, Forum.
 Philippians, Bryan Policy for the, E. M. Shepard, AMRR.
 Philosophy, Modern, History of, P. Shorey, Dial, October 1.

Photography:

Backgrounds, Making and Painting, J. A. Randall, WPM.
Business Methods in Photography, J. A. Tennant, WPM.
Carbon Printing, Practice in, E. Vogel, APB.
Copyright and the American Photographer, PhoT.
Expression in Portraiture, APB.
Intensification and Toleration, J. R. Coryell, PhoT.
Lantern-Slide Making, P. Adamson, PhoT.
Lighting and the Hands in Portraiture, F. Paulus, WPM.
Machinery, Photographing, WPM.
Picture Possibilities of Photography, Laura M. Adams, Over, September.
Silver Chloride, Action of Light on, R. Hitchcock, PhoT.
Silver Paper, Plain Surface, T. J. Herrick, WPM.
Surveying, Photography in, J. A. Flemer, APB.
Vignette, The, G. E. Loring, WPM.
Physical Training in Character-Building, Lucia G. Barber, Mind.

"Pickwick Papers," The Writing of, H. Hall, BB.
Pins, Class, for School and College, Sarah MacConnell, LHJ.
Plagiarism, Real and Apparent—II., B. Samuel, Bkman.
Poetry : Wanted—A New War Poet, Mrs. H. Birchenough, NineC.

Polar Regions, Life and Living Beings in the, A. Dastre, RDM, October 1.

Political Affairs in the United States: see also Expansion, Imperialism, Trusts.

American Presidential Campaign, J. Boyle, NineC.
Anti-Imperialist Position, E. Winslow, NAR.
Blunder of Electing Bryan, Cost of the, T. C. Platt, NAR.
Bryan as a Soldier, C. F. Beck, Arena.
Bryan's Financial Policy: A Democratic View, C. B. Spahr, AMRR.

Bryan's Financial Policy: A Republican View, G. E. Roberts, AMRR.

Democratic Party, Significance of the, A. D. Morse, IntrR.
Duty, Our, in the Presidential Election, A. Carnegie, NAR.
First Voter, Interest of the, R. Croker, NAR.
Gold Democrat, Duty of the, J. H. Eckels, NAR.
Issues of the Campaign, C. E. Smith, NAR; A. E. Stevenson, NAR.

Militarism or Manhood? J. D. Miller, Arena.
Paramount Issues of the Campaign, J. P. Dolliver, Forum; W. M. Stewart, NAR.

Party Government in the United States, G. F. Hoar, IntM.
Presidential Campaign, J.-P. des Noyers, RDM, October 1.
Presidential Elections, Choice of, B. Winchester, ALR.
President McKinley, or President Bryan? G. F. Hoar, NAR.
Sound-Money Democrats, Support of Mr. Bryan by, E. M. Shepard, NAR.

Southern Opposition to Imperialism, B. R. Tillman, NAR.
Stevenson, Adlai E., J. S. Ewing, AMRR.
Strategy of National Campaigns, McCl.
Tammany Hall, H. Davis, Mun.

Polo, Glorious Sport of, R. Newton, Jr., Mun.
Poor, Relief and Care of the—VI., E. T. Devine, Char.
Pope, Nomination of the, Nou, September 15.
Porto Rico, Education in, V. S. Clark, Forum.
Positivist Movement, Dr. Canconal, RRP, September 15.
Poultry-Breeding in the United States, H. S. Babcock, O.
Preachers, A Few Don'ts for, A. Pollok, Hom.
Prices, Influence of Money on, R. Laburthe, RPP, September.
Princesses of Europe, YW.

Printing, Modern, Vale Press and, H. C. Martillier, PMM.
Prison, Dartmoor, England, A. Griffiths, PMM.
Prisoners, Reformation of, Maud B. Booth, MisR.
Privateer, Fighting a, H. Senior, Corn.

Prophet an Apostle of Progress, B. O. Flower, Mind.
Psalms, Inscriptions of the, C. Martin, PRR.
Psychology and Therapeutics, Dr. Buttersack, Deut.
Quivera, History and Legends of—II., E. E. Blackman, AngA.
Railway, "Double-Tracking" a, H. I. Cleveland, NatM.
Railway, Inspection of, A. C. Childe, Cos.

Railways, Government Ownership of, R. L. Richardson, Can.
Reading, Question of, B. Winchester, SR.
"Reign of Law," Review of, J. J. Tigert, MRN.
Religion and National Life, H. M. Scott, PRR.
Religion: A Reply to "The Final Seat of Authority," A. Burnell, West.

Religion, Authority in, R. E. Day, Cath.
Religion: The Appeal to Reason, J. E. Sagebeer, BSac.
Religion, Truth-Seeking in Matters of, Eliza Ritchie, IJE.
Resurrection of the Lord Jesus, H. G. Weston, BSac.
Revelation, Principle of Adaptation in, G. S. Rollins, Bib.
Riding to Hounds, F. L. W. Wedge, Bad.
Rockies, Adventures in the, W. Sparks, Ains.

Roman Catholic Church:
Anglo-Saxonism and Catholic Progress, B. J. Clinch, ACQR.

Australia, Roman Catholic Hierarchy in, NatR.
Church and Material Progress, R. F. Clarke, ACQR.
England, Catholic Church in, Father Cuthbert, Cath.
Greek Ordinal in the 17th Century, F. A. Gasquet, ACQR.
Kenricks, The Archbishop, J. J. O'Shea, ACQR.
Missionaries from France and Germany, T. J. Shahan, Cath.

Roman Catholic Citizens and Constitutional Rights, T. H. Malone, NAR.
Virgins Consecrated to God, J. A. Campbell, ACQR.
Roosevelt, the Representative American, G. B. Chandler, AngA.

Roosevelt, Theodore, Sr., J. A. Riis, Out.
"Rubáiyát," Hebrew, G. D. Sparks, SR.
Rural Life, Study of, K. L. Butterfield, Chant.
Ruskin, John, as an Art Critic, C. H. Moore, Atlant.
Russell, Lord, of Killowen, G. McDermot, ACQR; W. T. Stead, AMRR; E. Dicey, Fort.

Russia:
Army, Organization of the, W. C. Rivers, Cos.
China and Russia, J. Quincy, NAR.
Count Lamsdorff's First Failure, Fort.
Driving in Russia, T. Morton, Pear.
Expansion of Russia, A. Rambaud, IntM.
Greek Church of Russia, B. Meakin, MisR.
Rural Life in Russia, LeisH.
Russian Policy, Secret Springs of, Contem.
Russia of To-day, H. Norman, Scrib.
Siberian Exile System, N. M. Babad, FrL.
Rye, England, G. F. Scott, Art, September.

Sahara, Prehistoric, A. Chipault, RRP, September 15.
St. Clair, General Arthur, Arda B. Rorison, AMonM.
St. Francis of Assisi, Father Cuthbert, ACQR.
"Sartor Resartus," Blumine of, E. S. Nadal, Bkman.
Saturnalia and Kindred Festivals, J. G. Frazer, Fort.
Savonarola and Jesus: A Comparison, J. W. Buckham, BSac.
Science: Address of the President Before the British Association, W. Turner, PopS.

Scotland: A Harvest Home in Thrums, M. E. L. Addis, Lipp.

Scotland, Ecclesiastical Situation in, Black.

Scottish Reformation—III., D. M. Barrett, ACQR.

Sea-Power, Study of, D. Bonamico, JMSI.

Servant, Indented, Diary of an, 1773-76, AHR.

Shakespeare, Furness's Edition of, W. J. Rolfe, Crit.

Shakespeare's Sonnets in French, Bkman.

Shakespeare, Staging of, A. Dillon, West.

Shakespeare's Time, Domestic Life of—II., S. Lanier, Mod.

Shakespeare, William—XII., H. W. Mabie, Out.

Sharks, Big, as Game, C. F. Holder, O.

Sherman-Johnston Convention, J. D. Cox, Scrib.

Slave, American, J. S. Metcalfe, Pear.

Slaver, Capture of a, J. T. Wood, Atlant.

Slavery, Historical Origin of, A. Loria, SR.

Slaves, Bond, Mary S. Pechin, AMonM.

Slave-Trade in America—III., J. R. Spears, Scrib.

Sleep, Hygiene of, C. Edison, Cos.

Socialism and Anarchism, G. Langtoft, Fort.

Socialistic Idea of the State, P. Dramas, RSoc, September.

Somaliand, Big-Game Trip to, E. Lechmere, WWM.

Solferino, Battle of, S. Crane, Lipp.

Southern Homes, Romances of—II., Mrs. T. Horton, LHJ.

South, Old, Literature and Life in the, M. Thompson, MRN.

Space, Annihilation of, F. A. Munsey, Mun.

Speculation, Bucket Shop in, P. Thomas, Mun.

Spiritual? What Is, E. A. Whiston, NC.

Sportsmen, Continental—II., D. B. Varé, Bad.

Sportsmen, Imperial, H. Ryall, Pear.

Stage, On the Influence of the, Florence Bell, MonR.

Stark, Molly, Isabel L. Preston, AMonM.

Stars, Variable, S. Newcomb, PopS.

State, Suits Against a, J. Wheelless, ALR.

Steam-Condensing Plant, Centralized, H. G. V. Oldham, Eng.

Steam-Engine Practice, American, J. B. Stanwood, CasM.

Stevenson, Adlai E., J. S. Ewing, AMRR.

Stuttering: Its Nature and Treatment, H. G. Hawn, Wern.

Subsidies, Ship, and Bounties, A. R. Smith, Gunt.

Switzerland: A Gruyère—A Medieval Village, Int.

Talladega, Battle of, Louisa McK. Taylor, AMonM.

Tammany Hall, H. Davis, Mun.

Taoism, M. Müller, NineC.

Teeth, Care of the, A. de Voe, Cos.

Tennessee Mountains, W. T. Hale, MRN.

Thackeray, William Makepeace, L. W. Payne, Jr., SR.

Theology: Gifford Lectures by Josiah Royce, H. C. Minton, PRR.

Theology in Terms of Personal Relation, H. C. King, BSac.

"Theology of the New Testament," Review of, G. Vos, PRR.

Thomson, James—Author of "The Seasons," G. Douglas, Bkman.

Thought, Dynamics of, A. E. Gibson, Mind.

Timber Famine: Is One Imminent? H. Gannett, Forum.

Time and Eternity, J. A. Hayes, NC.

Tolstoi and Nietzsche, Ethics of, M. Adams, IJE.

Trade, Imperial and Colonial Preferential, J. Charlton, Forum.

Transvaal: see also Great Britain.

Almond's Nek, Defeat of the Boers at, Black.

Army, British, Glimpse of the, A. C. Doyle, Str.

Boer, African—II., Olive Schreiner, Cos.

Boers of South Africa—IV., J. Villars, BU.

Boers, Psychology of the, Olive Schreiner, RRP, Sept. 15.

- British Public Opinion and the War, A. Chevrillon, RPar.
 September 15.
 Campaign with the Boers, A. Lynch, RPar, October 1.
 Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa, J. I. Marais, PRR.
 Heroes of the War, and Others, A. Griffiths, Fort.
 Kaffirs, Tribes Classed Under the Name of, Can.
 Krüger, President, A. Stead, RRP, October 1.
 Lessons of the War, Military, A. C. Doyle, Corn; McCl.
 Milner, Proconsulate of, J. A. Hobson, Contem.
 Pretoria, Last Days of, R. H. Davis, Scrib.
 Puzzles of the War, S. Wilkinson, MonR.
 Second Boer War—III., J. P. Wisser, JMSI.
 Side-Lights on the Battlefield, RRM, August.
 South African Settlement, J. B. Robinson, Contem.
 Surgical Experiences in South Africa, A. A. Bowlby, MonR.
 Transport and Supply During the War, PMM.
 War in South Africa, Captain Gilbert, Nou, September 1
 and 15; C. Waterer, West.
 Trollope, The, Anna B. McGill, BB.
 Trusts:
 Anti-Trust Legislation, Futility of, A. G. Wall, Arena.
 Bryan, Mr., and the Trusts: An Anti-Trust View, F. S.
 Monnett, AMRR.
 College Man and the Corporate Proposition, J. B. Dill, Mun.
 Morals and Religion, Influence of Corporations on, J. W.
 Van Cleave, MRN.
 "Trust Problem, The," Review of, C. R. Flint, AMRR.
 "Trusts," and Monopolies, G. Gunton, Gunt.
 Trusts, in Case of Bryan's Election, J. L. Laughlin, AMRR.
 Tuberculosis, Methods of Treatment of, K. von Ruck, San.
 United States, Commerce of the, O. P. Austin, Home.
 Vocal Physiology, Practical, C. Lunn, Wern.
 Voting by Mail, E. Stanwood, Atlant.
 Waldersee, Count von, in 1870, L. Hale, Contem.
 War and Civilization, W. P. Trent, SR.
 Warfare, Some Principles of, W. J. Roe, PopS.
 Water-Cooling Towers, J. A. Reavell, CasM.
 Waterloo, Dutch-Belgians at, C. Oman, NineC.
 Waterloo, Legendary, H. F. Gevaert, RPar, September 15.
 Waterways of America, A. H. Ford, Harp.
 Weather-Bureau and the Gulf Storms, W. L. Moore, NatM.
 West, Seven Lean Years in the Atlant.
 Whaling, Offshore, in the Bay of Monterey, Cos.
 Witches and Wizards of To-day, H. Sutherland, Ains.
 Wives, Deserted, Ada Eliot, Char.
 Wolfe, General James, Letters of, Eveline C. Godley, NatR.
 Woman and the Trades and Professions, W. T. Harris, EdR.
 Women, Employments of—II., Isabella F. Mayo, Cham.
 Woodcock and His Ways, E. Sandys, O.
 Worcester, John, J. Reed, NC.
 Workmen's Insurance, T. Bödiker, Deut.
 Worship, Primitive Objects of, L. Marillier, IntM.

Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

- | | | | | | |
|---------|---|---------|--|----------|--|
| Ains. | Ainslee's Magazine, N. Y. | EdR. | Educational Review, N. Y. | NineC. | Nineteenth Century, London. |
| ACQR. | American Catholic Quarterly Review, Phila. | Eng. | Engineering Magazine, N. Y. | NAR. | North American Review, N. Y. |
| AHR. | American Historical Review, N. Y. | EM. | España Moderna, Madrid. | Nou. | Nouvelle Revue, Paris. |
| AJS. | American Journal of Sociology, Chicago. | Fort. | Fortnightly Review, London. | NA. | Nuova Antologia, Rome. |
| AJT. | American Journal of Theology, Chicago. | Forum. | Forum, N. Y. | OC. | Open Court, Chicago. |
| ALR. | American Law Review, St. Louis. | FrL. | Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y. | O. | Outing, N. Y. |
| AMonM. | American Monthly Magazine, Washington, D. C. | Gent. | Gentleman's Magazine, London. | Out. | Outlook, N. Y. |
| AMRR. | American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y. | GBag. | Green Bag, Boston. | Over. | Overland Monthly, San Francisco. |
| ANat. | American Naturalist, Boston. | Gunt. | Gunt's Magazine, N. Y. | PMM. | Pall Mall Magazine, London. |
| AngA. | Anglo-American Magazine, N. Y. | Harp. | Harper's Magazine, N. Y. | Pear. | Pearson's Magazine, N. Y. |
| Annals. | Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila. | Hart. | Hartford Seminary Record, Hartford, Conn. | Phil. | Philosophical Review, N. Y. |
| APB. | Anthony's Photographic Bulletin, N. Y. | Home. | Home Magazine, N. Y. | PhoT. | Photographic Times, N. Y. |
| Arch. | Architectural Record, N. Y. | Hom. | Homiletic Review, N. Y. | PL. | Poet-Lore, Boston. |
| Arena. | Arena, N. Y. | HumN. | Humanité Nouvelle, Paris. | PSQ. | Political Science Quarterly, Boston. |
| AA. | Art Amateur, N. Y. | Int. | International, Chicago. | PopA. | Popular Astronomy, Northfield, Minn. |
| AE. | Art Education, N. Y. | IJE. | International Journal of Ethics, Phila. | PopS. | Popular Science Monthly, N. Y. |
| AL. | Art Interchange, N. Y. | IntM. | International Monthly, N. Y. | PRR. | Presbyterian and Reformed Review, Phila. |
| AJ. | Art Journal, London. | IntS. | International Studio, N. Y. | PQ. | Presbyterian Quarterly, Charlotte, N. C. |
| Art. | Artist, London. | IA. | Irrigation Age, Chicago. | QJ Econ. | Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston. |
| Atlant. | Atlantic Monthly, Boston. | JMSI. | Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H. | QR. | Quarterly Review, London. |
| Bad. | Badminton, London. | JPEcon. | Journal of Political Economy, Chicago. | RasN. | Rassegna Nazionale, Florence. |
| BankL. | Bankers' Magazine, London. | Kind. | Kindergarten Magazine, Chicago. | Record. | Record of Christian Work, East Northfield, Mass. |
| BankNY. | Bankers' Magazine, N. Y. | KindR. | Kindergarten Review, Springfield, Mass. | Refs. | Réforme Sociale, Paris. |
| Bib. | Biblical World, Chicago. | LHJ. | Ladies' Home Journal, Phila. | RRL. | Review of Reviews, London. |
| BSac. | Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O. | Leish. | Leisure Hour, London. | RRM. | Review of Reviews, Melbourne. |
| BU. | Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne. | Lipp. | Lippincott's Magazine, Phila. | RDM. | Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris. |
| Black. | Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh. | LQ. | London Quarterly Review, London. | RDP. | Revue du Droit Public, Paris. |
| BB. | Book Buyer, N. Y. | Long. | Longman's Magazine, London. | RGen. | Revue Générale, Brussels. |
| Bkman. | Bookman, N. Y. | Luth. | Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa. | RPar. | Revue de Paris, Paris. |
| BP. | Brush and Pencil, Chicago. | McCl. | McClure's Magazine, N. Y. | RPP. | Revue Politique et Parlementaire, Paris. |
| Can. | Canadian Magazine, Toronto. | Mac. | Macmillan's Magazine, London. | RRP. | Revue des Revues, Paris. |
| Cass. | Cassell's Magazine, London. | MA. | Magazine of Art, London. | RSoc. | Revue Socialiste, Paris. |
| CasM. | Cassier's Magazine, N. Y. | MRN. | Methodist Review, Nashville. | RPL. | Rivista Politica e Letteraria, Rome. |
| Cath. | Catholic World, N. Y. | MRNY. | Methodist Review, N. Y. | Ros. | Rosary, Somerset, Ohio. |
| Cent. | Century Magazine, N. Y. | Mind. | Mind, N. Y. | San. | Sanitarian, N. Y. |
| Cham. | Chambers's Journal, Edinburgh. | MisH. | Missionary Herald, Boston. | School. | School Review, Chicago. |
| Char. | Charities Review, N. Y. | MisR. | Missionary Review, N. Y. | Scrib. | Scribner's Magazine, N. Y. |
| Chaut. | Chautauquan, Cleveland, O. | Mod. | Modern Culture, Cleveland, O. | SR. | Sewanee Review, N. Y. |
| Cons. | Conservative Review, Washington. | Mon. | Monist, Chicago. | Str. | Strand Magazine, London. |
| Contem. | Contemporary Review, London. | MonR. | Monthly Review, N. Y. | Sun. | Sunday Magazine, London. |
| Corn. | Cornhill, London. | MunA. | Municipal Affairs, N. Y. | Temp. | Temple Bar, London. |
| Cos. | Cosmopolitan, N. Y. | Mun. | Munsey's Magazine, N. Y. | USM. | United Service Magazine, London. |
| Crit. | Critic, N. Y. | Mus. | Music, Chicago. | West. | Westminster Review, London. |
| Deut. | Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart. | NatGM. | National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C. | Wern. | Werner's Magazine, N. Y. |
| Dial. | Dial, Chicago. | NatM. | National Magazine, Boston. | WWM. | Wide World Magazine, London. |
| Dub. | Dublin Review, Dublin. | NatR. | National Review, London. | WPM. | Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y. |
| Edin. | Edinburgh Review, London. | NC. | New-Church Review, Boston. | Yale. | Yale Review, New Haven. |
| Ed. | Education, Boston. | NEng. | New England Magazine, Boston. | YM. | Young Man, London. |
| | | NIM. | New Illustrated Magazine, London. | YW. | Young Woman, London. |
| | | NW. | New World, Boston. | | |

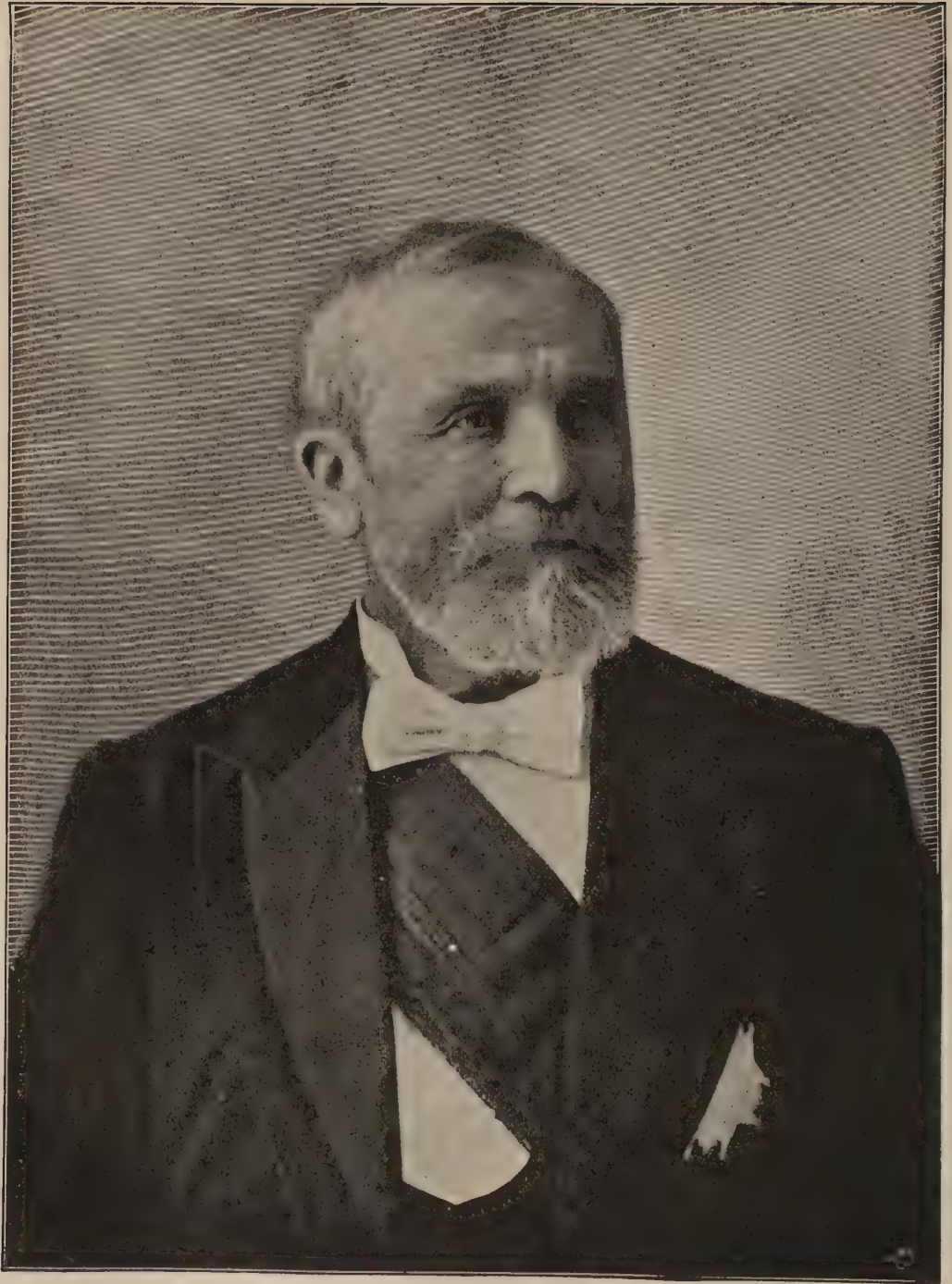
THE AMERICAN MONTHLY REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW.

CONTENTS FOR DECEMBER, 1900.

President Emile Loubet.....	Frontispiece	The Old Age of New England Authors.....	698
The Progress of the World—		By Hezekiah Butterworth.	
The Century's Ending.....	643	With portraits of Edward Everett Hale, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, James W. Bradbury, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Julia Ward Howe, the late Edwards A. Park, A. Bronson Alcott, John Townsend Trowbridge, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and Charles Eliot Norton.	
Wars as Marking Periods.....	643	An Estimate of Max Muller (1823-1900).....	703
Some Factors of Future History.....	643	By Charles Johnston.	
A Reminder of the Hague Conference.....	644	With portraits of the late Professor Müller.	
Subsequent Action.....	644	Marcus Daly, Empire-Builder	707
As to "Militarism".....	645	By Samuel E. Moffett.	
How Armies May Prevent War.....	645	With portrait of the late Mr. Daly.	
A Sequel to Our Non-Military Policy.....	646	The Cuban Republic—Limited.....	708
The New Army Bill.....	646	By Walter Wellman.	
France and England—(1) Population.....	646	A Town and Country Club.....	713
France and England—(2) Defense.....	647	By Lillian W. Betts.	
Salisbury and Rosebery on National Defense.....	647	Leading Articles of the Month—	
The New Head of the English War Office.....	648	Sir Robert Hart on the Chinese Problem.....	717
England's Army System.....	649	Prince Ching and Li Hung Chang.....	719
The Swiss Example.....	650	A Russian Among Chinese Sectaries.....	720
The Population of the United States.....	650	Concerning Missions in China.....	721
How We Have Grown in a Century.....	651	The Chinese "Mother Goose".....	722
Distribution of Our New Population.....	651	The Value of Mounted Infantry.....	723
Evenness of Growth.....	652	The Count von Moltke.....	724
Should Arizona and New Mexico Be Admitted?.....	652	The Revival of Italy.....	725
The Equilibrium of the Senate.....	653	Pensions for Italian Operatives.....	726
Representation in the House.....	653	The Remaking of Ireland.....	727
The President's Party and the South.....	654	The Limits of Municipal Trading in England.....	728
Time for a New Era in Dixie Politics.....	655	What Competition Costs Us.....	729
What the Election Meant.....	655	The Upshot of the Paris Exposition.....	730
The Reflection of President McKinley.....	656	The Building of Our National Capital.....	731
Mr. Bryan's Heavy Undertaking.....	657	The Sources of the Jordan River.....	732
Congressional Elections.....	658	Africa as a Game-Preserve.....	733
The New Governors.....	658	Life Around the Poles.....	733
The President's Cabinet.....	658	The Modern Fortune-Teller.....	734
Questions for Congress This Month.....	659	The Oxford Undergraduate.....	734
The Nicaragua Canal.....	660	A Successor to Poe and Lanier.....	735
Cuba's Convention.....	660	The Process of Infection.....	736
Yellow Fever and our Sanitary Supremacy.....	661	Neurasthenia in Statesmen.....	737
Race Lines in Hawaii.....	661	The Presidential Campaign of 1900.....	738
Porto Rico's Election.....	661	The Great Financier, J. Pierpont Morgan.....	738
Liberal Victories in Canada and Newfoundland.....	661	With portraits of Li Hung Chang, Count von Moltke, and J. Pierpont Morgan, and other illustrations.	
The Far-Eastern Imbroglio.....	662	The Periodicals Reviewed.....	740
Affairs in Germany; in France; in England.....	662	Art in the Holiday Books.....	749
Obituary Notes.....	663	By Ernest Knauff.	
With portraits of Frederick W. Holls, George Gray, Duke of Tetuan, Sir Richard Webster, Lord Rosebery, Earl of Selborne, George Wyndham, St. John Brodrick, Richard Yates, Winfield T. Durbin, Robert La Follette, Aaron T. Bliss, Samuel F. Van Sant, J. B. Orman, A. M. Dockery, John R. Rogers, Benton McMillin, J. K. Toole, W. S. Jennings, Frank White, John Hunn, Chester B. Jordan, George P. McLean, W. Murray Crane, Señor Llorente, Señor Villuendas, Robert W. Wilcox, Queen Wilhelmina and her prospective consort, and Freiherr von Richthofen.		With illustrations.	
Record of Current Events.....	664	The Change in Current Fiction.....	755
With portraits of W. E. Stanley, Heber M. Wells, M. B. McSweeney, A. B. White, the late William L. Strong, Charles M. Hays, and Gen. Christian De Wet.		By Talcott Williams.	
Some Cartoons of the Day After Election.....	668	With illustrations.	
William McKinley: A Chronology.....	673	Notes on the New Books of Fiction.....	759
With portrait of President McKinley.		With portraits of Mrs. Humphry Ward, Maurice Thompson, Edward Bellamy, John Uri Lloyd, Irving Bacheller, Hamlin Garland, Charles Frederic Goss, Mlle. De La Ramée, Joel Chandler Harris, Cy Warman, and Gilbert Parker, and other illustrations.	
A Hundred Years of the District of Columbia.....	675	Some New Editions.....	769
By Albert Shaw.		With portrait of Honoré Balzac.	
With portrait of Henry B. F. Macfarland, and other illustrations.		Some New Books of History and Travel.....	771
Governor-Elect Odell, of New York.....	687	With portrait of F. Marion Crawford, and other illustrations.	
By Lyman Abbott.		Books for Children and Young People.....	774
With portrait of Benjamin B. Odell, Jr.		With illustrations.	
Making a Way Out of the Slum.....	689	Index to Periodicals.....	780
By Jacob A. Riis.			
With portraits of H. L. Sabsovich, and Meyer S. Isaacs, and other illustrations.			

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EMILE LOUBET.

(President of France in the Exposition year, and exponent of French Republicanism and political progress.)

THE AMERICAN MONTHLY

Review of Reviews.

VOL. XXII.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER, 1900.

No. 6.

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD.

*The
Century's
Ending.*

New Year's Day will usher in the twentieth century. The transition has, however, been so much in mind, and has led to so many reviews of the period that lies behind us and forecasts of that which is to come, that there is little reason for trying to add anything more by way of effort to jog the memory or stimulate the imagination. As we remarked a year ago, the century end represents no real cleavage of periods or epochs, but is an imaginary line at once arbitrary and accidental. The equator is an imaginary line, but it is not accidental. It is determined on mathematical principles by essential conditions. The most striking experiences of the human race do not accommodate themselves in any very symmetrical fashion to the marshaling of the years by tens and hundreds. But for the ancestral habit of using the fingers as an aid to ready reckoning, we should never have had the decimal system of numbers. And, of course, without the decimal system, it would never have occurred to us to mark off the larger divisions of time by those periods of ten times ten years that we call centuries. This tendency to apply "round" numbers has had many an application far more practical than the recognition of hundred-year periods as fixed in the Gregorian Calendar. Countless millions of men,—doubtless billions,—in ancient, medieval, and modern times, have been organized as soldiers on the plan of the century, or company of a hundred. The discovery that a different numerical basis affords a better scheme of organization has been a comparatively recent one. But the world will continue to mark time by centuries, and to find the measure on some accounts a convenient one.

*Wars as
Marking
Periods.*

Generally speaking, nothing else causes demarcations so indelible as war. In the political and general history of the United States, the war period of the Revolution forms one boldline that divides periods; and the next line of the first order of

importance is not reached until we come to the period of the Civil War of 1861–65. The War of 1812 and the Mexican War, taken in connection with their various results, also have importance as secondary divisions. It happens that the end of the nineteenth century coincides somewhat closely with the period of the Spanish and Philippine wars, which, with their political and social consequences, are evidently destined to form one of the major rather than secondary transitions of epoch in our national history.

*Some Factors
of Future
History.*

As for the European world, the writers of the future will doubtless mark the Peace Conference at The Hague, the war in South Africa, the determination of the United States to remain in the Philippines, and notably the Chinese crisis, as historic events at the close of one century which were destined to affect profoundly the course of affairs in the coming period. As the American and French revolutions towards the end of the eighteenth century produced world-wide results that gave much of its character to the nineteenth,—so these various matters of international moment, which belong to the conclusion of the present century, will doubtless result in making the twentieth one that in future ages will be famous for the expanded and altered nature of international relations. It is not improbable that, when the events of the nineteenth century fall into their true places in the perspectives of history, the work of the Hague Peace Conference will appear as the crowning achievement of the period, and its best legacy to its successor. An event like the great conference at The Hague usually lacks full contemporary appreciation. None of the participating governments entered upon it hopefully; and even our own, like all the others, was at the outset rather skeptical and indifferent. There were, however, men here and there who were bold enough to hope that something could be done. One of these was Mr. Frederick W. Holls, whose interest in the matter was probably

greater than that of any other man in this country, and to whose initial efforts was largely due the changed sentiment that at length happily led Mr. McKinley to appoint an influential delegation, with Mr. Holls as its secretary and executive member.

*A Reminder
of the Hague
Conference.*

The Hague Conference, and Mr. Holls' previous interest in it and active service while there, are brought to mind again by the appearance of an excellent volume from his pen, entitled "The Peace Conference at The Hague, and Its Bearings on International Law and Policy." The conference was not held in the presence of newspaper correspondents; and its official proceedings, only very recently published, are not accessible to the general reader. It happens, therefore, that even the studious and philanthropic public has been heretofore only imperfectly informed as to the magnitude and profound importance of the work accomplished by this august international assemblage. Mr. Holls' volume, which embodies the full text of treaties and conventions, and much other matter of a formal and documentary nature, contains in addition an admirable commentary, not only upon the work of the conference, but also upon those great departments of international law and diplomacy that relate to war and peace. The conference drew up and agreed upon three conventions, or general treaties. The first of these is known as the arbitration treaty; and this, of course, is the preëminent achievement of the conference, and one of the greatest achievements of the nineteenth century. The first of the other two treaties deals with the laws and customs of war on land, and provides an enlightened and progressive code; while the second extends to naval warfare the principles of the Geneva convention of 1864, and makes provision for hospital-ships—thus, in a word, admitting the methods of such humane organizations as the Red-Cross Society in maritime warfare. There ought to have been a fourth, extending the same exemptions to private property on sea as are granted on land. The American delegates advocated it, but the subject was postponed.



HON. F. W. HOLLs.

*Subsequent
Action.*

The ratifications of these three important treaties have now been made by practically all civilized governments, while several countries have announced the names of the judges (not more than four in number) whom each is entitled to have enrolled

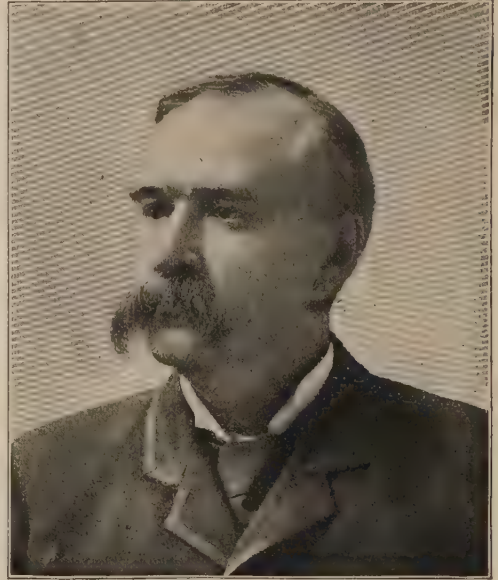


Photo by Bell.

JUDGE GRAY, OF DELAWARE.

(An American member of the Hague Tribunal.)

as members of the permanent court of arbitration, from which roll arbitrators are to be selected on the occasion of any practical resort to the tribunal. In so far as announced, the nations have appointed men of distinguished attainments and reputation, as the following examples will show. Spain has named her most highly respected public man, in the person of the Duke of Tetuan. Holland has chosen Dr. Asser, president of the Institute of International Law. From Russia come the names of M. Fritsch, president of the Senate; Count Mouravieff, minister of justice; M. Pobyedonoszeff, and Professor Martens, the great authority on international law. From the United States are appointed ex-President Benjamin Harrison and Judge George Gray, formerly United States Senator from Delaware. Ex-President Cleveland was appointed, but declined. While the English appointees have not been announced, it is understood that they will be jurists of great eminence, and it is not improbable that one of their number may be the new Lord Chief Justice of England, who succeeds the late Lord Russell, and who,—widely known to lawyers

everywhere as Sir Richard Webster, formerly attorney-general,—has more recently masqueraded under the title of Lord Alverstone.

As to "Militarism," The idea, much discussed previous to the Hague Conference, that something might be done in the direction of limiting European militarism by international agreement, only needed discussion to show its futility. So long as war is a real menace to nations, money and thought will be expended upon the devising of the most efficient means of defense and aggression. There is no virtue in having an inefficient army, like that of China. The world's peace would have been positively promoted if the Chinese army had been large, modern, and up to European standards. Such an army would, on the one hand, have kept the revolutionary and criminal movement of the Boxers from gaining such headway as to engulf the empire; and, on the other hand, it would have held the rapacity of the European powers in check, and there would have been no thought of such insolence as the storming of the Taku forts.

How Armies May Prevent War. It is likely enough that, if the military equipment of the United States had been a little more evident and ample, Spain would not have risked the chance of hostilities, and would have withdrawn from Cuba on some plan beneficial to the Spanish treas-



THE NEW LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND.

(Lord Alverstone, more widely known as Sir Richard Webster, was chosen in October as the successor of the late Lord Russell.)



THE DUKE OF TETUAN.

(Spanish member of Hague Arbitration Tribunal.)

ury, and not less so in the end to our own. This question of military efficiency is one about which there should be plain speech as well as clear thinking. Let us admit that it was negligence and error rather than wisdom and foresight that had allowed this nation of ours to attain its vast population and wealth with an army of only 25,000 men, and with preparations—as to arms, ammunition, and materials of all kinds—scarcely adequate even for so small a force. There were many Spaniards in high position, and many military experts throughout Europe, who strongly believed that Spain could defeat us in a quick campaign, on the same principle that fifty well-armed soldiers may readily disperse several thousand unarmed and unwarmed citizens. Spain had 200,000 men under arms in Cuba, while we had hardly more than a tenth of that number, and ours were doing garrison duty in small detachments all over the continent. Under these circumstances, Spain could not believe that we really meant to fight; and still less did she believe that we could fight to any advantage on short notice. For this very reason the controversy was allowed to drift on until it was too late for a peaceful solution. Spain would have understood what we meant, and there would have been no war, if our army had been two or three times as large.

*A Sequel to
Our Non-Milit-
ary Policy.*

It is important to remember that if we had induced Spain to give up Cuba peaceably we should not have had the Philippine fighting as an unwelcome sequel. It is, in our day, just as necessary and just as honorable for a nation to maintain an army as for a city to have a police force. And since there must be an army, the silly talk about militarism should cease. Congress should have behind it a clear and strong public opinion in favor of making the army of the United States adequate to the needs of the present and of the early future. The enlargement of the army under the existing law was temporary, and it will end on the first of next July. Under that law the President was allowed to enlist men in the regular army to a maximum of 65,000, and to employ volunteer troops to the number of 35,000. It was argued, in passing the temporary measure, that time would thus be gained for consideration of a permanent army bill, and meanwhile the emergency in the Philippines which had called for a large force might happily have passed away.

*The New
Army Bill.*

One of the principal subjects, therefore, that must occupy Congress at the session which opens Monday, December 3, will be the permanent limit of the size of the regular army in times of peace. There may be very radical differences of opinion on this subject, but there will be no excuse for appeals to prejudice or for mere rhetoric. An attempt was made in the recent campaign, in more than one neighborhood, to frighten women and children of families that had come to this country from continental Europe by suggesting to them that in case of the reelection of McKinley conscription would be the rule, and fathers, husbands, and sons would be compelled to go and fight in the Philippines. The political campaign being over, it ought to be possible to have an honest discussion of this subject. Our responsibilities extend over areas, continental and insular, that will have a population of a round hundred millions before the end of the census period upon which we are already entered. It is proposed in some influential quarters that, as a general principle, we might do well to keep the regular army at about the ratio of 1 to 1,000 of the whole population. We have never found it difficult in this country to reduce the size of the army by law. In Europe, the tendency has steadily been towards large armies and universal military training. The tendency with us has been in just the opposite direction. It will be economical, in the long run, to bring the war in the Philippines to an end as

quickly as possible; and there need be no fear, even if we should find ourselves, four or five years hence, with too large a military establishment on our hands, that public sentiment in favor of reduction would not have due influence.

*The
Army
Outlook.*

According to indications, Mr. Root, the secretary of war, with the full indorsement of the President and the entire administration, will favor a bill providing for a permanent army of about 100,000 enlisted men and about 3,500 officers. In accordance with an order made public November 12, the military department of Porto Rico is to be discontinued on December 15, and most of the American troops now stationed there will be brought to New York. Brig.-Gen. George W. Davis goes to the Philippines as inspector-general, and it is likely that the troops withdrawn from Porto Rico will also be sent to the Philippines. Including certain troops originally destined for China, but landed at Manila instead, General MacArthur has now an army of 70,000 men; and immediately after the Presidential election fresh orders were sent to him to enter upon a vigorous campaign to end the insurrection. Arrangements have been made for bringing the volunteers home with an extra supply of transports towards the end of their period, in order to retain their services as long as possible. Men like President Schurman have been pointing out the necessity of enlarging rather than diminishing the army in the Philippines, and the country seems disposed to take that view of the case.

*France and
England—(1)
Population.*

In England, far more than in the United States, the question of military reorganization is recognized as of pressing importance. British population grows rapidly, while that of France, a country whose coast is in plain sight across the Channel on clear days, is at a standstill. The British Islands at the end of the nineteenth century have a greater population than France. The English census, which like ours is decennial, will not be taken until next year. In 1891 the population of Great Britain and Ireland was only a little short of 38,000,000. For each of three previous census periods, the increase was about 3,000,000. It is probable, therefore, that the census a few months hence will show about 41,000,000. The new French census will also be taken next April. The population of France in April, 1891, was, in round figures, 38,343,000, and in April, 1896, 38,518,000. For the ten years from 1886 to 1896, the population of France increased by a little less than 300,000. That is to say, the

population of France has lately been gaining only as much in ten years as that which the United Kingdom gains every year. Thus the enumerations of 1901 will probably show that the British are from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 in the lead of the French. About the year 1906 the island of Great Britain alone, without Ireland, will have a population fully equal to that of France. In 1801, just a hundred years ago, the population of France was 27,349,000, while that of Great Britain was only 10,500,956. It is not agreeable to the French to see their English neighbors thus outstripping them in population as well as in commerce, industry, and national wealth.

*France and
England—(2)
Defense.*

France, however, has a superb military organization, with fully 500,000 men in the active army who could be thrown into action on a day's notice, and more than 2,000,000 additional trained men who could be mobilized within a few days. And at least an equal number of older reserves would be immediately available for purposes of defense. Thus, in case of invasion, France could now rely upon almost 5,000,000 trained soldiers between the ages of 20 and 45. England, on the other hand, with a larger population than France, has in ordinary times, since 1890, maintained in the United Kingdom an army of only a little over 100,000 men, of whom about 25,000 were in Ireland and 75,000 in England. The war in South Africa has however, drained both countries of regular troops, as well as of an equal number of volunteers and raw recruits. Fresh enlistments in the volunteers have provided in a temporary way for the manning of fortifications and defensive positions. There are, it is true, a good many men in England who have had a limited amount of training in volunteer and militia organizations; but these are not to be compared with the reserves of France or other Continental countries, where universal military service is thorough as well as compulsory. England's chief defense, as is well known, lies in her navy, and the Channel fleet is mighty and vigilant. Yet it is conceivable, though very unlikely, that a conjunction of circumstances might lead to the landing of a French army of invasion on English soil.

*Salisbury and
Rosebery on
National
Defense.*

Lord Rosebery, who is England's most sagacious statesman, has regarded the war in South Africa as dangerous and reckless in the extreme because of the comparatively undefended condition in which England has been left at home. And now Lord Salisbury, after the new parliamentary election has given him a fresh lease of power, confesses in a gloomy and pessimistic speech at the Guildhall on the occasion of the Lord Mayor's banquet, November 9, that the defenses of England must be looked after as a matter of the most urgent importance. He took the ground that, as in the Transvaal and Chirra the governments of President Krüger and the Empress Dowager had been led by prejudice, passion, and evil counsel into the ruinous paths of war, so it never could be said for certainty of any country that ignorance, vehemence, and popular clamor might not some day come into control of the government, and thus endanger the peace of neighboring nations. The significance of these remarks of the prime minister of England is obvious. He had reference to the growing hatred of England that is manifested by the Nationalist movement in France—a popular movement against the attitude of President Loubet and of Premier Waldeck-Rousseau's ministry that might, very conceivably, lead France either into domestic convulsions or into foreign war. Mr. Chamberlain seems to like sailing on a khaki sea in a military hat, but the Old Premier likes war less than ever. So Lord Salisbury led up to the following conclusion:

The moral of this is, that we must remain on our guard, however burdensome and painful it may be. We



ON A KHAKI SEA.

MR. C.: "Isn't this jolly?"

LORD S.: "H'm—I'm a little too old for this sort of thing."

From *Westminster Gazette*.

must some time come to consider the defenses of the country, scrutinize them carefully, and make as certain as any human calculations can that we shall not be exposed to the danger of a sudden interruption of the peace on which all our prosperity depends. No internal reforms or improvements are of the slightest value unless security from external interference is obtained.

These are not idle words of needless apprehension; they express the clear truth, to which it is well that Lord Salisbury has awakened. Surely there ought not, for any reason that sensible men could possibly assign, to be even so much as the talk of a war between France and England. It would be almost as appalling a crime against humanity as war between England and the United States. The best men of France, and the men now at the helm there, desire good relations with England and with all the world. But there is real danger that political reaction may now at almost any moment overthrow the existing ministry, and bring an element of a wholly different temper into responsible control of French affairs. The best guarantee of peace, therefore, and the greatest kindness that England could possibly render to the French republic, would lie in the direction of England's prompt and energetic attention to her preparations for possible attack. Lord Rosebery, on November 16, made a stirring address on the British empire on the occasion of his being installed as lord-rector of the Glasgow University. His tone was not so cynical and despondent as that of Lord Salisbury, but it was full of a ringing appeal to the British people to recognize and face successfully the perils of their situation, both military and commercial. He advocated,



From a new photograph by Elliott & Fry, London.

LORD ROSEBERY, NEW LORD-RECTOR OF THE GLASGOW UNIVERSITY, AND FUTURE HEAD OF LIBERAL PARTY.

above all things, a higher degree of thoroughness in the training of men for the pursuits of war as well as those of peace. Rosebery is the one man in sight to unify and lead the Liberal party.

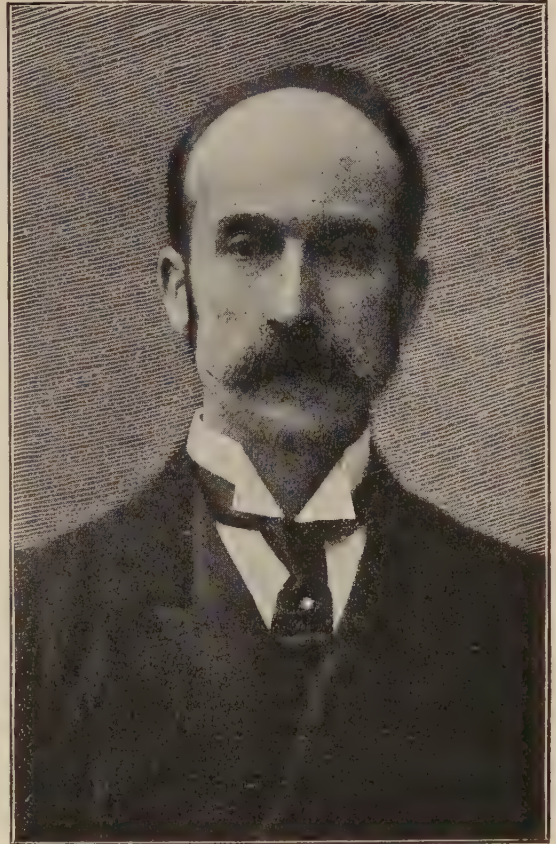
Lord Lansdowne, who had been secretary for war since 1895, and whose conduct of that office had been extremely unsatisfactory to almost everybody, has been removed from that position in response to a general demand. It was characteristic, however, of Lord Salisbury's contempt for public opinion that this removal took the form of Lord Lansdowne's promotion to the portfolio of the foreign office, which heretofore Lord Salisbury had held himself, in addition to his responsibilities as prime minister. The popular member of the old war-office organization was Mr. George Wyndham, the rising young under-secretary who represented the war department in the House of Commons. Mr. Wyndham, however, has now been made chief secretary for Ireland instead of secretary for war. He was, it should be noted, private secretary to Mr. Arthur J. Balfour when that gentleman was himself chief secretary for Ireland, in the period from 1887 to



MANNING THE LIBERAL BOAT.

LORD ROSEBERY: "Hold hard a moment! I'm coming aboard."—From *Westminster Gazette*.

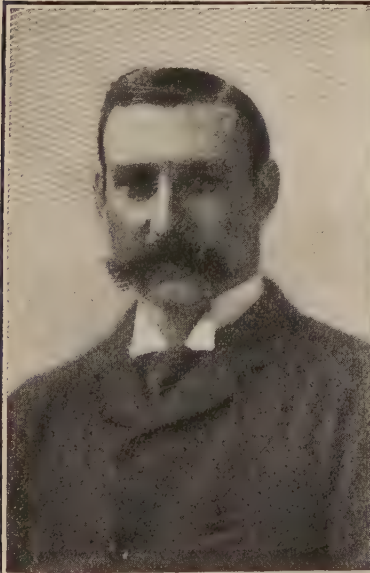
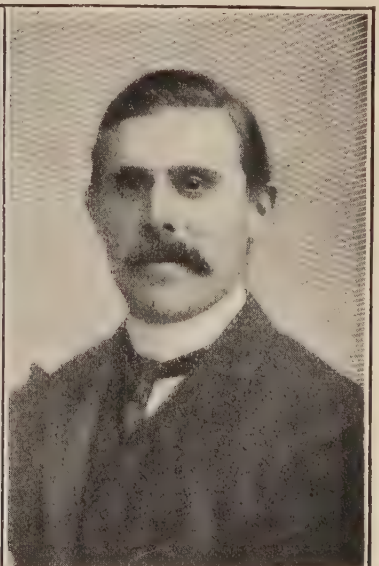
1891. Mr. Wyndham, who has the faculty of being popular, was much liked in those days by Irishmen, even when his chief, the gentle and contemplative defender of "Philosophic Doubt," was known everywhere in the Emerald Isle as "Bloody Balfour." His younger brother, Mr. Gerald Balfour, who has been chief secretary for Ireland since 1895, is now transferred to another cabinet post—namely, that of president of the board of trade. Meanwhile, the successor of Lord Lansdowne, and the man to whom the country must look for the reorganization and improvement of the army, is the Rt. Hon. William St. John Fremantle Brodrick, who has been under-secretary of state for foreign affairs since 1898, and one of Lord Salisbury's most favored and trusted lieutenants. Mr. Brodrick, who is now forty-four years of age, is the eldest son of Lord Middleton, and his wife is the daughter of the Earl of Wemyss. He is talented and energetic, but hardly likely to prove the man to rid the British army of those social and aristocratic connections that impair its value for military purposes. It is to be remembered that, just before his recent service at the foreign office, Mr. Brodrick was under-secretary for war from 1895 to 1898, and that he was financial secretary for the war office from 1886 to 1892.



LORD LANSDOWNE, NEW FOREIGN MINISTER OF ENGLAND.

England's
Army System.

Undoubtedly England needs a new and improved system of coast defenses, with a great increase of artillery, and a corresponding supply of trained men

EARL OF SELBORNE.
(New Head of Admiralty Office.)MR. GEORGE WYNDHAM.
(New Secretary for Ireland.)MR. ST. JOHN BRODRICK.
(New Secretary for War.)

behind the guns. It is not proposed in England to resort to any system of conscription or compulsory military service, although there are now more Englishmen ready to advocate it than ever before. But it is expected that the regular army will be increased, the volunteer and militia systems extended and improved, and something done towards modernizing the methods by which officers are appointed and trained. The curse of the English army, as of almost every other department of English life, is the aristocratic system. Under the American plan, the humblest and poorest boy in the land has the same chance as the son of a millionaire or a Senator to go to West Point; and the methods of training at West Point are so thorough that we have the best officers in the world. In England, on the other hand, the laborer's son has no possible chance of a commission, and the army is inflicted with a body of officers made up very largely of young sprigs of aristocracy, who as a rule are brave enough, and who also, as a rule, never learn much about the military art. The government of England is to-day, perhaps more than ever before in modern times, in the hands of a group of titled families; and it is not to be expected that the scandals and weaknesses of the British military system can be dealt with very radically by this government.

*The
Swiss
Example.*

A high degree of military efficiency in a country is in no way incompatible with democratic ideals or the pursuits of peace. For instance, in Republican Switzerland there is universal zeal for military training, and the drill of a soldier begins with eight-year-old boys at school. The design of the law under which all men of military age are liable to service in the Swiss army is to fit every young man to aid in the defense of his country, with the least possible withdrawal from the ordinary pursuits of life while subject to drill. The young recruits in the first year spend two months, more or less, in actual army service. In subsequent years their enrollment in the army takes hardly more of their time than is occupied by membership in our American national guard. Yet the system is so well thought out, and has behind it so much earnest patriotism, that it manages to give the little Swiss nation a possible army of defense of 500,000 men, without any very heavy drain upon the treasury of the Confederation, and without impairing the industrial and productive resources of the people. What we need in the United States is a larger body of highly trained officers, a better organization of the general staff, a considerable increase in the maximum size of the regular army, and some plan by which a purely voluntary system will

give the country a large force of young citizens in all ranks and walks of life possessed of enough military training to constitute an effective reserve for times of emergency.

Hon. William R. Merriam, director of the Census, has informed the country that the enumeration of last June foots up 76,295,220. Of this number, 74,627,907 are in the 45 States of the Union; the remaining 1,667,313 being made up of the population of Alaska, Arizona, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, the Indian Territory, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and an estimated 84,400 stationed abroad in the service of the United States, principally in the Philippines. The official table arranged alphabetically by States, comparing the population of 1900 with that of ten years ago, is as follows:

	1900.	1890.	Indians not taxed.
Alabama.....	1,828,697	1,513,017	.....
Arkansas.....	1,311,584	1,128,179	.....
California.....	1,485,053	1,208,180	.....
Colorado.....	539,700	412,198	1,549
Connecticut.....	908,355	746,258	597
Delaware.....	184,735	168,493	.....
Florida.....	528,542	391,422	.....
Georgia.....	2,216,329	1,837,353	.....
Idaho.....	161,771	84,385	2,297
Illinois.....	4,821,550	3,829,351	.....
Indiana.....	2,516,463	2,192,404	.....
Iowa.....	2,251,829	1,911,896	.....
Kansas.....	1,469,496	1,427,006	.....
Kentucky.....	2,147,174	1,858,635	.....
Louisiana.....	1,381,627	1,118,587	.....
Maine.....	694,366	661,086	.....
Maryland.....	1,189,946	1,042,390	.....
Massachusetts.....	2,805,346	2,238,943	.....
Michigan.....	2,419,782	2,093,889	.....
Minnesota.....	1,751,395	1,301,826	1,768
Mississippi.....	1,551,372	1,289,600	.....
Missouri.....	3,107,117	2,679,184	.....
Montana.....	243,289	132,159	10,746
Nebraska.....	1,068,901	1,058,910	.....
Nevada.....	42,334	45,761	1,665
New Hampshire.....	411,588	376,530	.....
New Jersey.....	1,883,669	1,444,993	.....
New York.....	7,268,009	5,997,853	4,711
North Carolina.....	1,891,992	1,617,947	.....
North Dakota.....	319,040	182,719	4,692
Ohio.....	4,157,545	3,672,316	.....
Oregon.....	413,532	313,767	.....
Pennsylvania.....	6,301,365	5,258,014	.....
Rhode Island.....	428,556	345,506	.....
South Carolina.....	1,340,312	1,151,149	.....
South Dakota.....	401,559	328,808	10,932
Tennessee.....	2,022,723	1,767,518	.....
Texas.....	3,048,828	2,235,523	.....
Utah.....	276,565	207,905	1,472
Vermont.....	343,641	332,422	.....
Virginia.....	1,854,184	1,655,980	.....
Washington.....	517,672	349,390	2,531
West Virginia.....	958,900	762,794	.....
Wisconsin.....	2,068,963	1,686,880	1,657
Wyoming.....	92,531	60,705	.....
Total for 45 States.....	74,627,907	62,116,811	44,617
Alaska (estimated).....	44,000	32,052	.....
Arizona.....	122,212	59,620	24,644
District of Columbia.....	278,718	290,392	.....
Hawaii.....	154,001	89,990	.....
Indian Territory.....	391,960	180,182	56,033
New Mexico.....	193,777	153,593	2,937
Oklahoma.....	393,245	61,834	5,927
Persons in the service of the U. S. stationed abroad (esti- mated).....	84,400	.....	.....
Indians, etc., on Indian reser- vations, except Indian Ter- ritory.....	.....	145,282	.....
Total for 7 Territories, etc..	1,667,313	952,945	89,541

*How We Have
Grown in a
Century.*

The actual increase of population in the ten years is about 13,225,000. The rate of increase in the period from 1880 to 1890 averaged about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. each year. The rate for the past ten years has been about 2.1-10 per cent. annually. This diminution in the rate is, in considerable part, due to the diminished volume of immigration. The individual effectiveness of the American population is so high that, in respect to material resources and power, it will be conceded by every one that the United States is well in the forefront of the nations. The structure of the British empire is such that, in a comparison of population, commerce, and other statistical data, there is no more reason for adding Australia to England than for adding Mexico to the United States. Our population at the beginning of the nineteenth century was, in round figures, 4,300,000 white people, and 1,000,000 negroes, the total being 5,308,483. Curiously enough, we had almost exactly the same population at that time as Ireland, which in 1801 had 5,395,456. After gaining very rapidly for four decades, Ireland since 1845 has declined steadily, until now it has a population of about 4,500,000. The comparison of our national position at the beginning and the end of the nineteenth century makes it clear enough that, from the standpoint of the world at large, the progress of the United States has been the most noteworthy feature of the age. When France assisted us to gain our independence, her population was at least five or six times as great as ours. Ours is now just twice as great as hers. Ten years ago our population was about 25,000,000 more than that of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and now it is about 35,000,000 more. In 1910, unless normal conditions are much disturbed, we shall have a population of 90,000,000, while the British Islands will have about 44,000,000. And we shall thus have more than twice as many people as the mother-country.

*Growth of the
People Who
Speak English.*

In the retrospect of the nineteenth century, among other things of prime significance must be noted the immense relative gain in influence, power, and in territorial advantage of the people who speak the English language. Whatever else the struggle in South Africa in this closing year of the century may mean, it signifies the permanent conquest of great regions not merely for the future predominance of the language of Shakespeare, but also for the development of the kind of civilization that the English tongue seems inevitably to carry with it. In the previous year, the expedition to Khartoum and the reopening of the

Soudan had made it certain that the twentieth century would not be very old before it witnessed the completion of an English railroad from the Delta of the Nile to the Cape of Good Hope. On the first day of January, the new federation known as the Commonwealth of Australia begins its official career, with the brilliant promise of vast developments in the coming century. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Australia had a population too small to be considered. New Zealand, which was not settled until 1841, now has about 1,000,000 people, and the great island of Australia has perhaps 5,000,000. Their progress as civilized communities has a significance not measured by their growth in people or trade. Canada as late as 1841 had only about a million and a half, and its census next year will probably show not far from six million people. It has room and resources for a hundred million.

*Distribution of
Our New
Population.*

The period from 1870 to 1880 was marked by the great development in population of the rich wheat and corn lands that were still open to settlement under the homestead and preëemption laws in Minnesota, Iowa, Western Missouri, and contiguous regions. In the period from 1880 to 1890 there was a rush still farther west into the Dakotas, Montana, the Puget Sound country, western Nebraska and Kansas, Colorado, and southern California. The period just ended, from 1890 to 1900, has been especially marked by the growth of manufacturing population in the older States. Thus New Jersey's gain of 30 per cent. has been principally due to the growth of manufacturing towns and of the Jersey suburbs of New York City. New York's gain of more than 20 per cent. is accounted for largely by the growth of the great metropolis at the eastern end of the State and of Buffalo and its commercial and industrial environs at the western end. Northern New England has gained very little, and would have lost decidedly but for the immigration of French Canadians and others. Massachusetts has gained about 25 per cent., which is evidence enough that her manufacturing prosperity is not a thing of the past. The gain of little Rhode Island in ten years has amounted to twice the population of the State of Nevada. Connecticut has now 908,000 people, and has gained 162,000 in ten years. This growth, like that of Rhode Island and Massachusetts, is due to manufacturing progress. There would seem no reason in the nature of things why little Delaware should not have more people than little Rhode Island; yet Delaware has not quite 185,000, while Rhode Island has more than 428,000. Manufactures make the difference.

Evenness of Growth.

All things considered, the advance of the country has been on a satisfactory plane as respects its evenness. The center of population, which had been moving westward for a hundred years, has remained almost stationary since 1890, as the diagram on this page will show. New York and Pennsylvania keep their distinct lead as the most important States of the country, and each of these has gained more than 1,000,000 people. Illinois, which is third in the list, has gained almost 1,000,000. Next in order of total population comes Ohio; but it has not gained as much as Massachusetts, and not nearly as much as Texas. This great commonwealth of the Southwest has an enormous area of tillable land and still greater stretches of pasture land. It has now more than 3,000,000 people, and its development has only begun. It has almost caught up with Missouri in population, and will soon have a right to the fifth place. The only States which have not made a very decided growth are Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont in the extreme Northeast; Nebraska, which has been almost at a standstill; Nevada, which has actually lost 5,000, and Kansas, which has gained only about 3 per cent. It must be remembered that there was a terrible reaction, owing to hard times and bad crops, that depopulated portions of Nebraska and Kansas in the early part of the decade, and that the Indian Territory and Oklahoma, each of which has now about 400,000 people, have drawn enormously from Kansas, and not a little from Nebraska. One of the very notable achievements of the decade has been the creation of Oklahoma. It lacked something of 400,000 people when the census was taken in June, but by the date of the announcement last month it had doubtless gone beyond that round figure. It had less than 70,000 people in 1890. The Indian Territory shows a growth to 392,000 from about 236,000 in 1890. North Dakota has grown at the rate of about 40 per cent., as has also Montana.

Should Arizona and New Mexico be Admitted?

Arizona's growth, in our opinion, does not justify the position of the party politicians who are on record as favoring its immediate admission to the Union. A Territory that

is a candidate for Statehood ought to show growth at a high rate, and to give promise of attaining in the early future something like the average population of the rest of the States. Oklahoma promises well, but ought to absorb still more, if not all, of the Indian Territory. The total population of Arizona is less than the gain that New York alone makes every year. There are no reasons of weight why the 122,000 people of Arizona should be given a representative in the House and two United States Senators. There has been altogether too much haste to admit underpopulated and immature Territories to full Statehood. Nevada is an awful example, with its 42,000 people. Ohio alone has a hundred times as many people as Nevada. It is easy enough to condone inequality of representation in the case of original members of the Union like Delaware, for example; but what possible reason can there be for creating new States out of the national domain and giving their citizens a representation in the National Government ten times or a hundred times greater than those citizens enjoy who live in the older States? It would have been far better, when the question of admitting Utah was decided affirmatively in 1896, to have annexed Utah to Nevada. If New Mexico and Arizona are to be admitted, it would be better to bring them in as one State. Taken together, they have not much more than the average population of one Congressional district. Why, then, should they have four seats in the United States Senate? There would be nothing contrary to the Federal Constitution in a plan by which, while having representation in Washington as one State, they should carry on their internal administration in two districts, keeping two capitals. Even little Rhode Island



The stars on this diagram indicate the westward movement of the center of population by decades from 1790 to 1900. (The Chicago *Times-Herald* erected a monument east of Columbus, Indiana, ten years ago, and now locates the new center just west of that town.)

and little Connecticut, until lately, held legislative sessions alternately—in the one State at Hartford and New Haven, and in the other at Providence and Newport.

The Equilibrium of the Senate. It is important to preserve the average representative character of the United States Senate; and it is the part of conservatism to prevent any further exaggeration of inequalities, so as to destroy all semblance of equilibrium. As long as the system works fairly well, the country will submit to it with good grace. But in matters that affect the general prosperity as vitally as the silver question, for example, it assumes a wonderful forbearance to expect that the people of the two States of New York and Pennsylvania, with 13,569,374 people, should have no more voice in the United States Senate than two States like Nevada and Wyoming, which, taken together, have not the population of a single ward of Pittsburg or Buffalo. The provision that dignified individual Statehood by giving equal representation in the United States Senate had to be conceded in a period when, more than a hundred years ago, thirteen colonies, without railroads or much intercommunication, were feeling their way amid jealousy and misapprehension towards a federal union. Whatever propriety there might have been in allowing the original thirteen States to keep perpetual equality of representation in the Senate, it is a serious question whether that provision ought to have been made to apply to all future States erected out of the public domain. This is not the place to discuss a Constitutional problem in exhaustive detail; but it is a fitting moment to call attention again to the planks in the party platforms of the present year on the admission of Territories, and to ask what course Congress is likely to pursue. The Democratic platform declared as follows:

We denounce the failure of the Republican party to carry out its pledges to grant Statehood to the Territories of Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma; and we promise the people of those Territories immediate Statehood, and home rule during their condition as Territories; and we favor home rule and a Territorial form of government for Alaska and Porto Rico.

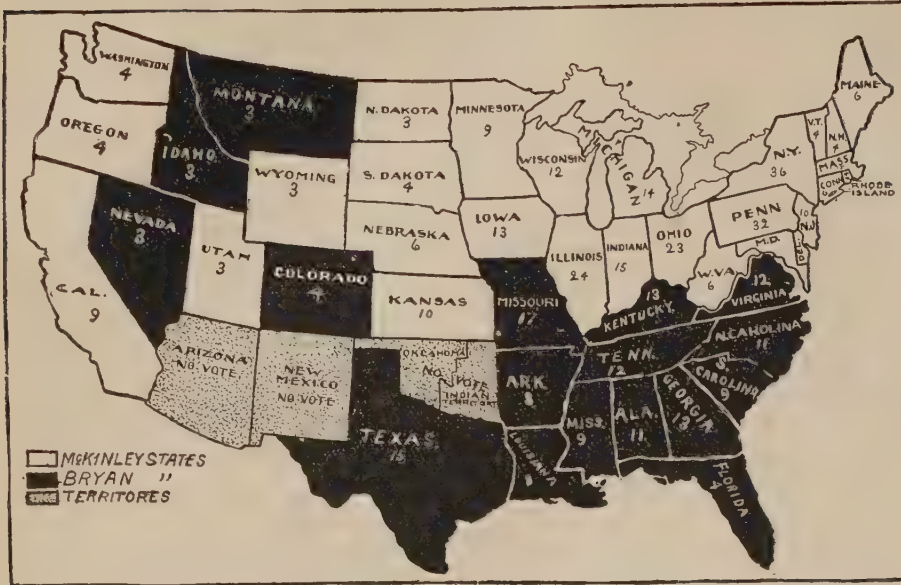
In the Republican platform, we find these words:

We favor home rule for, and the early admission to Statehood of, the Territories of New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma.

Unfortunately, in times past, neither party has dealt with the question of admitting new States on the highest grounds of statesmanship. The subject has been too much left to the politicians who think no farther ahead than the next election. It is true, of course, that when the Repub-

licans in 1889 admitted Dakota as two separate States, as well as Montana and Washington, and brought in Idaho and Wyoming the next year, it was generally expected that all those vast regions were going to continue to flourish and wax great without reaction or loss of time. But there came a fearful bursting of speculative booms; and then began the slow, painful, and inevitable process of permanent development on a hard-pan basis. These will all be great States some day, with ample population, wealth, stable institutions, and a high and brilliant order of civilization. But a combination of undue optimism as to Northwestern prosperity, and a certain pressure of party exigency, admitted them to the Union a little too soon. And that is the very reason why there should be no hurry about admitting Arizona and New Mexico.

Representation in the House. It is to be borne in mind that the Constitutional reason for counting heads every ten years is the need of reapportioning among the States their membership in the House of Representatives at Washington. The general evenness of gains will make the changing among the States of relative strength in Congress decidedly less than at previous decennial periods. North, South, East, and West have grown at about the average rate of 20 per cent., and there will be no marked sectional gains or losses in representation. The one peculiar problem—as we took pains to point out very frankly in our September number—that is involved in reapportionment arises under the explicit mandate of the Constitution that whenever in any State the right of citizens to vote is “in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.” In several of the Southern States there have been sweeping changes in the suffrage laws, resulting in the exclusion of an immense number of citizens from participating in the elections. Originally, the Constitution based representation upon the population as a whole; but the XIVth Amendment distinctly modified that basis, without prescribing a way to give effect to the modification. In all States where there is any limitation of an educational or property nature upon the franchise, it would seem to become necessary, in census-taking, to require the separate enumeration of all male citizens twenty-one years of age, and the finding out, in the case of each such citizen, whether or not he is excluded from the exercise of the ballot by the limitation fixed in the



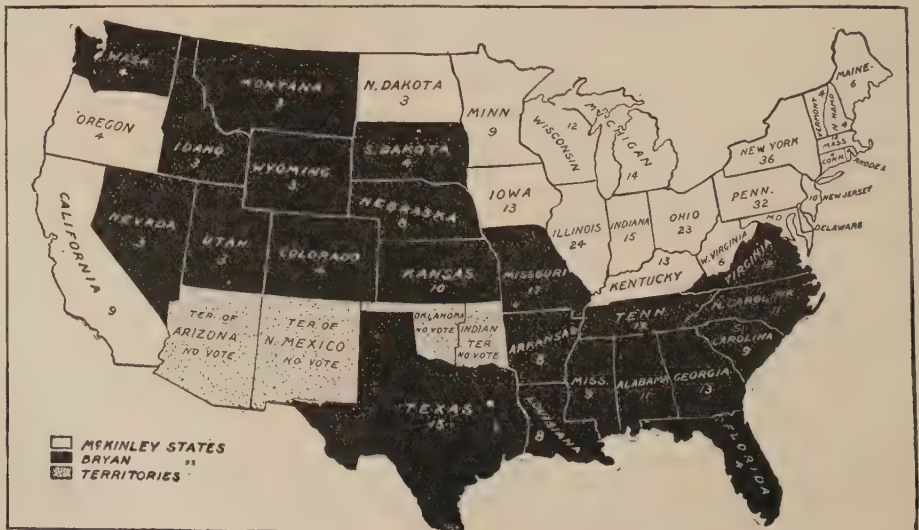
A GEOGRAPHICAL VIEW OF THE ELECTION RESULTS IN 1900.

law of his State. Several of the Southern States have excluded something like one-half of their male citizens from the electorate. They have no moral right, under the plain intent of the Constitution, to expect to keep their full representation. It is perfectly well known that, when this disfranchising movement began, its leaders frankly faced the prospect of a reduction in representation, and seemed to expect it as a matter of course. That there would be great technical difficulties in ascertaining the facts and applying the principle, is obvious enough; but neither the North nor the South will do what is creditable in the highest sense if any disposition is shown to ignore all the bearings of the XIVth Amendment when the subject of reapportionment is under discussion in Congress.

It is
The President's
Party and the re-
South. ported,
on good au-
thority, that

President McKinley does not wish the matter stirred up, because he deprecates the sectional feeling that it might arouse. With all respect to the President, however, it may be said that he arouses a great deal more sectional feeling when he appoints negro postmasters in white Southern communities against the protest of the people who actually

send and receive letters than is likely to be aroused by a temperate and thorough discussion of the XIVth Amendment by the Constitutional lawyers of Congress. If, as is likely, however, what the President really deprecates is the making of a party issue out of this matter of Southern representation, his position is clearly both magnanimous and wise. The Republican party, now for a good while, has shown no disposition to solve Southern problems by federal interference. It has earned a right, in return, to ask the South to divest itself of those morbid and sensitive



A GEOGRAPHICAL VIEW OF THE ELECTION RESULTS IN 1896.

traditions which make it a region of one party. We print herewith two diagrams which show at a glance the States that chose McKinley and Bryan electors, respectively, in 1896 and in 1900. Again this year we have the "Solid South" for Bryan. It is true that the diagram shows a practically solid North on the McKinley side. But the real facts are of a sort that a diagram of this kind does not disclose. Every Northern State was the scene of healthy political activity, free and ample discussion, and equal rights at the polls. In much of the South, on the other hand, there was no actual contest.

*Sectionalism
at the
Polls.*

Yet it was not in the least true that the leading white men of the South, in their private convictions, were overwhelmingly of Mr. Bryan's way of thinking. A great many leading Democrats of the North, of whom Mr. Charles S. Fairchild, formerly Democratic secretary of the treasury, is a perfect type, supported Mr. McKinley this year without grudging or apology, and with warm appreciation of the President's loyal devotion to the welfare and advancement of the whole country. Temperamentally, there must be in the South plenty of successors of Henry Clay and the old Whig party. There is not a vestige of sectional ill-feeling in the make-up of Republicans like President McKinley and Governor Roosevelt. We do not for a moment claim that Republicans in the North are, man for man, one whit better than Democrats. But they are just as good; and numerically this year they showed themselves much stronger than Democrats. When Northern men meet Southern men socially and in business, their minds do not work in very different ways. How does it happen, then, that considerably more than one-half of the good white people of the North were ready to support Mr. McKinley this year, while so very few of the good white people of the South were willing to do it? What does this sectionalism mean?

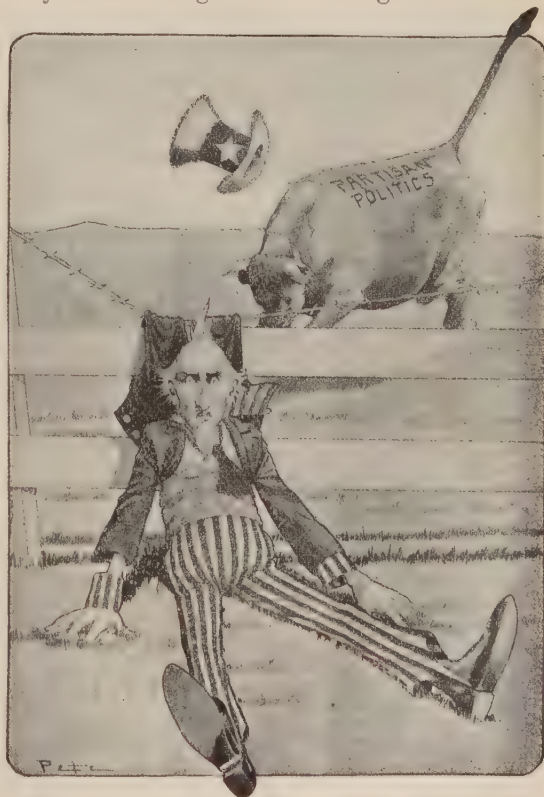
*Time for a
New Era in
Dixie Politics.*

This question is not asked because it is hard to answer. All who know the political history of the United States are familiar with the reasons why the solid white South has, up to this time, allied itself with the Democratic party of the North. The point we wish to make, however, is simply this: that such an alliance is no longer appropriate or reasonable. The words Republican and Democratic should be sufficiently divested of their traditional significance to allow men to divide in politics upon the living issues of the present day. The North is showing clearly that it does not propose, through the federal Government at Wash-

ington, to interfere with the working out of the suffrage question in the South. And if now the Republicans, as is evidently their disposition, should abstain from making a party question out of the XIVth Amendment, the far South ought to become national rather than sectional in politics. The time has come for a new era.

*What the
Election
Meant.*

President McKinley, it is true, was not elected by the votes of the extreme Southern States. But the general movement of the country which has ordained that he shall remain four years longer at his post was not keenly partisan in its nature or spirit. What the movement meant we have pointed out so repeatedly heretofore that now when the outcome perfectly sustains and justifies all the positions we have taken and the predictions we have ventured upon, there is not much need to point a moral. A few words may suffice. The country had decided in 1896 against free silver as a monetary standard. People may change the fashion of their clothes once or twice a year; but they cannot change all the street-grades of their



GEE WHIZ!

UNCLE SAMUEL: "That wuz a lively tussle I've had wid that critter. Thank goodness, I won't be bothered with him for another four years."—From *Wasp* (San Francisco).



Richard Yates (Ill.).



Winfield T. Durbin (Ind.).



Robert La Follette (Wis.).

THREE WESTERN REPUBLICAN GOVERNORS-ELECT.

town, or the prevailing style of its architecture, more frequently as a rule than once in a generation. It is bad to change a tariff policy too often—usually, the general character of a tariff law should hold for at least ten years. Infinitely more objectionable is the change—except at long intervals, or for most imperative reasons—of the monetary standard that measures all transactions. The fact that the people decided the silver question in 1896 was, of itself, reason enough why the Democrats should have dropped it in 1900. But, further than that, the business conditions of the country were such that the practical arguments for free silver that seemed to have some force in 1896 had lost their force in 1900. The mere theory of bimetallism was not practically involved. There was no sufficient practical reason why the great Democratic party, in its convention at Kansas City, should have declared again for the immediate free coinage of silver. Labeling something else the “paramount issue” could not atone for the mistake of forcing the silver question again upon the country at so inappropriate a time. As for “imperialism” and “militarism,” those issues, like that of the monetary standard, were not accepted by the country as, in any necessary sense, party questions. The war with Spain had been due to the action of Democrats no less than to that of Republicans, and there had been no distinction of party lines in the public sentiment which was responsible for each succeeding step. As the campaign proceeded, it was evident enough that the country did not expect or desire apologies for the policy of American expansion. The popularity of that policy stands revealed. Its completely national character is now beyond all question; for every one knows that the Democratic complexion of the “Solid South” was, in no sense, due to sympathy with the views of the Anti-imperialist League,

a powerful influence; and we must, henceforth, take an ever-increasing part in the complexities of diplomacy and international relationship.

In our “Record of Current Events,” on another page, will be found some tabulated statistics of the Presidential election of November 6. The Republicans were successful in twenty-eight States which have an aggregate of 292 votes in the electoral college. The Democrats were successful in seventeen States which have an aggregate of 155 votes in the electoral college. Those who would keep in mind the mechanism of our elections must remember that, in the legal sense, the Presidential election has not yet been held. Each of the 447 electors has a perfect right in law to vote for any citizen whom he may prefer. Custom that is stronger than law, however, makes it certain that all the Republican electors will, on December 5, vote for McKinley and Roosevelt, and that all the Democratic electors will vote for Bryan and Stevenson. Four years ago, Mr. Bryan had 176

or to the acceptance of Mr. Bryan's views on the position of the United States in the Orient. In short, this was not a year for party politics; nor was it a time when the country could possibly afford to repudiate either its financial decisions of four years ago, or its actions on the larger stage of the world's affairs subsequent to the Spanish War. We are in the Orient to stay, to exercise a useful as well as



AARON T. BLISS.

(Gov.-elect of Michigan.)



S. F. VAN SANT.

(Gov.-elect of Minnesota.)



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J. B. Orman, (Col.).



A. M. Dockery (Mo.).



John R. Rogers (Wash.).



Benton McMillin (Tenn.).

FOUR DEMOCRATIC GOVERNORS-ELECT, TWO WESTERN AND TWO SOUTHERN.

votes and Mr. McKinley 271. The Republican ticket again carried all the States that were Republican in 1896, except Kentucky. In addition to those States, and as an offset to the loss of Kentucky, the Republicans this year carried Mr. Bryan's own State of Nebraska, South Dakota, Kansas, Wyoming, Utah, and Washington.

The Result in Various States. The election in Kentucky was this year so much complicated with local issues, and there has since been so much dispute over the manner in which the Goebel election law affected the fairness of the returns, that no national significance whatever is to be attached to the result in that State. The Republican success in Nebraska, in spite of the complete fusion of Democrats, Populists, and Silver Republicans, and their warm, personal allegiance to Mr. Bryan, was a great moral victory, not so much for Mr. McKinley personally, as for the principle of sound money and the policy of American expansion. The reduction of Bryan's majority in Colorado to about the dimensions of the Republican majority in Connecticut or Indiana, in view of the fact that almost every man in Colorado voted for Bryan four years ago, was morally the greatest Republican triumph of all. The plurality in Kansas of 12,000 for Bryan in 1896 was changed last month to a McKinley plurality of 24,000. Wisconsin and Illinois, which throughout the campaign the Democrats were claiming on the strength of their supposed conquest of the German-American vote, each gave McKinley about 100,000 plurality.

Mr. Bryan's Heavy Undertaking. Mr. Bryan, under all the circumstances, made a very brilliant and remarkable campaign. He carried the great city of New York, and reduced Mr. McKinley's plurality in the Empire State from 268,000 in 1896 to 145,000. But his defeat, never-

theless, was complete and decisive. He was embarrassed by the multiplicity of his issues. He found himself the foremost champion on too many different fields. He could not abdicate his place as head and forefront of the great free silver movement, by virtue of which he had brought about the amalgamated support of three parties. Nor could he repudiate a position in which the Olneys, Schurzes, and Atkinsons of the anti-Imperialist movement, as well as the Kansas City Convention, had recognized him as the leader in a crusade that proposed to preserve the republic and avert the "empire." But for political purposes, an even greater question, if possible, than either of the others was that involved in the hue and cry against "trusts" and plutocratic tendencies in government. And here, again, Mr. Bryan found practically the whole work of saving the country thrown upon his one pair of sturdy shoulders. Single-handed, he fought for an income-tax. It was he, moreover, who was selected to champion the cause of the Boers; to denounce the alleged secret alliance of Mr. McKinley and Secretary Hay with Lord Salisbury; and to proclaim the grievances, if any could be found, of the Porto Ricans and the Cubans against this country. The load was too heavy for any candidate that ever lived. The only wonder is that Mr. Bryan carried it so well. This was not a political year, after all. Mr. Bryan made perhaps more out of the situation than any one else could have done. In times of prosperity it is natural that people should prefer not to ask searching questions or make experimental changes. Again, as four years ago, Mr. Bryan made a wonderful speaking campaign. He is still a young man and of unimpaired vigor. Let us hope that he will not, at his age, become a mere martyr—the Jefferson Davis, so to speak, of the lost cause of free silver. One might be tempted to say to Mr. Bryan, in the slang of the day, "Cheer up; the

worst is yet to come." There are always clouds on the horizon, and there will be no dearth of first-class causes to champion. Soon enough, too, there will come elections when the country is not under the spell of business conservatism.

Congressional Elections. So much attention is always attracted by the Presidential election that the general reader may be pardoned if, in a Presidential year, he has less in mind the importance of the Congressional and gubernatorial elections. The present House of Representatives has 186 Republicans and 171 opposition members—a Republican majority of 15. It is estimated that the next House will have 202 Republican members and 155 opposition members—a Republican majority of 47. In the Senate, as at present constituted, there is a Republican majority of about 16. In the Senate as it will be after the 4th of March it is estimated that the Republican strength will be materially enhanced.

The New Governors. Twenty-six of the forty-five States elected governors on November 6. In the East, the most conspicuous contest was in New York, where the Hon. B. B. Odell, Jr., was chosen over Mr. J. B. Stanchfield by a plurality that exceeded 100,000, although, as was expected, it fell a good deal behind that given to McKinley. Elsewhere we publish an interesting characterization of Mr. Odell as a Republican by Dr. Lyman Abbott. In Massachusetts, Governor Crane was reelected as a matter of course. In Indiana, the Hon. W. T. Durbin was elected governor by a plurality a little less than that given for McKinley. In Michigan, the Hon. Aaron T. Bliss is chosen governor to succeed Mr. Pingree, his opponent having been Mr. Maybury, who succeeded Mr. Pingree as mayor of Detroit. In Minnesota the Hon. Samuel F. Van Sant was elected by a close

margin as against the Hon. John Lind, the present governor, who made a very strong fight. Mr. McKinley carried Minnesota by 70,000, while the governor-elect had a plurality over Lind of only 4,000. In Illinois, also, Mr. Alschuler, the Democratic candidate for governor, had great popular strength, and the governor-elect, Hon. Richard Yates, fell more than 30,000 behind the Republican vote for President. In Nebraska, curiously enough, Mr. Bryan fared much worse than the State ticket with which he was associated. The Republican governor-elect, Charles H. Dietrich, came through with a plurality not more than a quarter, perhaps, of that given to Mr. McKinley; and the Fusionists also seem to have come very close to a control of the new legislature, which will elect two United States Senators. In the State of Washington, the present Democratic governor, Rogers, was reelected, while the State went for McKinley. Kentucky declares that Governor Beckham is reelected, although the Republicans affirm that their candidate, Mr. Yerkes, actually polled the larger number of votes, and that he has been counted out. Some interesting senatorial struggles are in prospect; but of these we shall have enough in future months. The minor parties made no great showing in this year's election, and apparently had little or nothing to do with turning the scale in any of the forty-five States. Next month it may be possible to say approximately how many votes were cast for Mr. Woolley the Prohibitionist candidate, Mr. Baker the Populist, and Mr. Debs the Socialist.

The President's Cabinet. There has been much rumor of impending changes in the President's cabinet. This has been due not in slightest degree to any lack of harmony or any pressure either of party sentiment or of public opinion, but solely to the fact that for private



J. K. Toole (Dem.),
Montana.



W. S. Jennings (Dem.),
Florida.



Frank White (Rep.),
North Dakota.

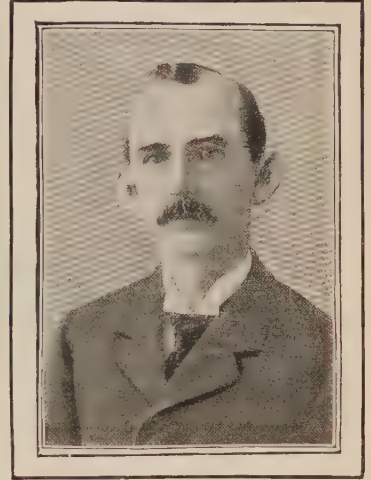


John Hunn (Rep.),
Delaware.

FOUR GOVERNORS-ELECT, TWO DEMOCRATIC AND TWO REPUBLICAN.

reasons various members have expressed a desire to lay down their public duties. Mr. Hay, secretary of state, who has shown great capacity and won wide fame in connection with the diplomacy about China, is said to have felt the strain upon his health. If he should retire, it is supposed that the portfolio of State would be tendered to Mr. Root, now secretary of war. Mr. Root has had even more arduous duties than Mr. Hay, and undoubtedly he too would like to seek relief in private life. Attorney-General Griggs has definitely decided to leave the cabinet at the end of the present term on March 4. It is believed that Mr. Gage will consent to stay at his post and help readjust the revenue system at a time when war taxes are producing a surplus. Secretary Long, it is now reported, may also be persuaded to forego his preferences and remain at the head of the Navy Department. It would be a distinct loss to have Mr. Wilson leave the Department of Agriculture. It is well known that Mr. Charles Emory Smith desires to lay down the postmaster-generalship and resume his

chief executive of the country and his group of official advisers. He is as far on the one hand from making the cabinet ministers his mere clerks or subordinates as he is on the other hand from throwing upon them the burden of responsibility that belongs to the President himself. We have not had the experience of a reelected administration for nearly thirty years. The country will find it rather pleasant than



W. MURRAY CRANE.

(Gov.-elect of Massachusetts.)

otherwise to find things going steadily on with the same cabinet and the same executive organization throughout the country, and without the customary clean sweep of ambassadors, ministers, and consular officers abroad. There are times, of course, when changes are wholesome and beneficial; but there are other times when the

avoidance of change is of much profit and advantage to all but office-seekers.

In his forthcoming message to Congress the President will deal at some length with the Nicaragua Canal question. Undoubtedly it is his laudable ambition to see work actually begun on a trans-Isthmian canal before he retires from the White House in 1905. Doubtless, also, he will recommend some reduction of war taxes and a readjustment of the revenues. The question of shipping subsidies is expected to come up again for consideration this winter. There will be an effort made to fix the congressional apportionment under the new census; and since, apparently, the question of negro disfranchisement is to be waived, the business ought not to be hard to manage. The



CHESTER B. JORDAN.

(Gov.-elect of New Hampshire.)



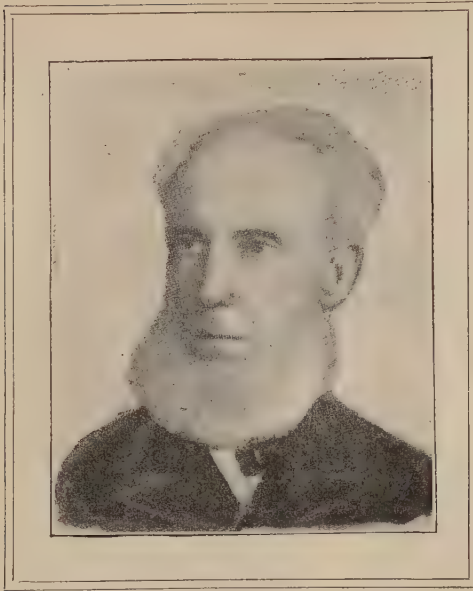
GEORGE P. MCLEAN.

(Gov.-elect of Connecticut.)

editorial functions in Philadelphia; but it is reported that he will accept as law the President's wish to have him stay in the cabinet. It

has not been reported, so far as we are aware, that Mr. Hitchcock, the secretary of the interior, has intended to retire. The President's specific invitation to all members of the cabinet to remain at their posts will make it unnecessary for them to tender their resignations, as a matter of form, at the end of the present term. We have, perhaps, never had a President who maintained, as perfectly as does President McKinley, the appropriate relationship that should exist between the

Questions for
Congress
this Month.



SENOR LLORENTE.

(Temporary President and Temporary Secretary of the Cuban Constitutional Convention at Havana.)



SENOR VILLUENDAS.

Cuban situation will have close attention, and there will be revived discussion of the purchase of the Danish West Indies. The army bill, as we have remarked on a previous page, will absolutely demand immediate attention. There will be some highly interesting matters concerning the development of the navy involved in the discussion of the naval appropriation bill.

The Nicaragua Canal. As respects the trans-Isthmian ship canal, the full report of the Walker Commission is going to be available for the guidance of Congress. Probably the commission will take the ground that it would be practicable to build the Panama Canal, but that for the purposes of the United States the Nicaragua route would be preferable. American sentiment, so far as it has now been formed, is clearly in favor of the Nicaragua route. The public is also in favor of the ownership of the canal by the United States Government and its construction out of the national treasury. Let us hope that the opinion will prevail that it is neither dignified nor safe for the sovereign government of the United States to construct a great public work like this canal upon alien soil. Whatever the initial difficulties may be, the one simple and clear solution of all questions involved in the future control of the canal lies in the acquisition by our Government of full sovereignty over such a strip of land as may be needed for canal purposes. We have made some annexa-

tions of territory under President McKinley's administration; but none that could be compared in importance with the annexation of the requisite strip of territory in Central America. Sooner or later, such annexation is bound to come; and it will be much better to accomplish it in advance of the construction of a costly canal than to bring it about by force at some future period. To succeed in such a piece of negotiation would count for more, in the estimation of future generations of Americans, than any other of the diplomatic achievements of Mr. McKinley.

Cuba's Convention. We publish elsewhere a frank and pertinent article on the Cuban constitutional convention from the pen of Mr. Walter Wellman, of Washington, whose opportunities for information are exceptional. The Havana convention, which held its opening session on November 5, bids fair to have a very protracted existence. There will be plenty of opportunity, therefore, to pass deliberate judgment upon it. Its early sessions were somewhat stormy, by reason of serious charges of fraud in the election of certain members. The convention has first to formulate a constitution for Cuba; and, second, to enter into a special agreement with the United States as to the relations that are to exist between the two countries. The oldest delegate, Señor Llorente, was elected temporary president, and the youngest, Señor Villuendas, temporary secretary. One of the

first acts of the convention was to congratulate Governor-General Wood and telegraph expressions of good-will to President McKinley. There are some able men in the convention, and its work will have great interest.

Yellow Fever and Our Sanitary Supremacy. The existence of a considerable amount of yellow fever in Havana last month gives fresh and timely warning to the people of the United States of the proximity of Cuba to our own coast, and of the necessity that there should be maintained, at all cost, some close and well-established relationship. Our Southern States have suffered untold losses and miseries for generations past from yellow fever and other epidemic diseases that have come to us from Cuba, and that no quarantine regulations have availed to exclude. The United States Government should henceforth be the supreme sanitary authority, so far as yellow fever and cholera are concerned, not alone for our own States on the Atlantic seaboard and the Gulf of Mexico, but also for the island of Cuba. Experience has shown that our own States, separately and individually, are not competent to



ROBERT W. WILCOX.
(Hawaiian Delegate-elect to Washington.)

manage yellow fever as a concern of local sovereignty; and if Florida is not competent, certainly Cuba is not. The sanitary reform of the city and port of Havana should be carried through under the auspices of the government of the United States; and in the agreement that is to be made touching the future relations between Cuba and this country there must be no barrier erected against the effectiveness with which the United States may reduce Cuba to a condition of complete freedom and immunity from yellow fever.

Race Lines in Hawaii.

An election was held in Hawaii, on November 6, in consummation of a very remarkable campaign. Three parties were active—namely, the Republican, Democratic, and Independent Native. This last party was successful; and the consequence is that Robert W. Wilcox, half white and half native Hawaiian, is elected Delegate to Congress by a small plurality over the Republican candidate, the Hon. Samuel Parker, a well-known gentleman of high ability. Wilcox, who has long been a disturbing element in Hawaiian politics, played in every manner upon the ignorance and prejudice of the natives, with the secret aid, it is said, of the ex-Queen Liliuokalani. He received 3,632 votes, as against 3,563 for Mr. Parker. The Democratic candidate was Prince David, who received 1,468 votes. The business men of Hawaii, it is said, will not avail themselves in any manner of the presence of Wilcox at Washington, as he is not trusted by them. Wilcox's Native party has also carried the Hawaiian legislature. It will be hard to govern Hawaii efficiently under the present law, which admits too many ignorant natives to the franchise.

Porto Rico's Election.

There was an election in Porto Rico in October, and a scholarly lawyer named Frederico Degetau, of San Juan, where he has been president of the Board of Education, was chosen as the first Delegate to Congress from that island. He is admirably qualified, having been prominent in the affairs of Porto Rico for a long time. The new delegate represents the Porto Rican party that is in sympathy with President McKinley and the United States. Education is making great progress in the island, and crop conditions and industry generally are improving. It is agreeable to note the fact that we have so soon been able to terminate the military régime in Porto Rico. About the middle of December, the Supreme Court at Washington proposes to take up all the cases that involve the constitutionality of the tariff between the United States and Porto Rico; and also, for that matter, the tariff between this country and the Philippines. Our trade with Porto Rico is now about four times as large as it was before the war with Spain, and it has only begun to grow.

Liberal Victories in Canada and Newfoundland.

The elections for a new Dominion Parliament held on November 7 resulted in a very decisive victory for Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the present Liberal government. The Liberal majority is increased, and many of the principal Conservative leaders are excluded from Parliament by reason of their failure to carry their own constituencies. Among

these is Sir Charles Tupper, who has been active and prominent in Canadian politics for almost half a century. He has decided to retire permanently from public life. In a house of only a little more than two hundred members, the Liberals will have a majority of more than fifty. The great Province of Quebec went almost entirely for the Liberals, while Ontario gave about five-eighths of her 93 seats to the Conservatives. In England, the Conservative government organs were very generally pleased with the success of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who is regarded as ardently British, although a Frenchman and a Catholic, and who was also deemed an imperialist of the approved type. In Newfoundland, the most intense interest was developed in the election, the issues of which were explained in these pages last month. The defeat of the monopolist, Mr. Reid, and his political representative, Mr. Morine, was decisive, and Mr. Bond comes into control of the legislature and the government.

The Far-Eastern Imbroglio. It is evident that the Chinese negotiations are to be very tedious. The Chinese peace commission, of which Li Hung Chang is the prominent member, has professed great eagerness for a prompt settlement. It has begged the aggrieved powers to content themselves, in so far as they could, with money indemnities, and to recognize the great practical difficulty involved in beheading the very people now high in a government with which the European powers are supposed to be peaceably negotiating. The Czar was ill last month at Livadia. It was reported that he had a mild form of typhoid fever, but no reliance was to be placed upon the news as to his condition. It was plain, however, that his illness was interfering with the development of Russian policy in the far East. The announcement of the agreement between England and Germany led to much talk in the Russian press of a counter-movement in which the United States and Japan were to be associated with Russia and France. Strange as it may seem, Russia now shows a disposition to give Japan a free hand in Korea, in return for Japan's moral support of Russia's policy in Manchuria. Unquestionably, the Russian forces in that great region of Northern China have been pursuing a horrible career of devastation and slaughter. As for the Chinese Government, it has degraded Prince Tuan and some other prominent officials from their positions and emoluments, and condemned them to as severe punishment as it dares. Representatives of the powers at Peking have, with great deliberation, been putting the final touches upon the list of the demands which are to form the basis of the negotiations.

Affairs in Germany.

In Germany, Baron von Richtigofen has succeeded Count von Bülow as minister of foreign affairs. At the opening of the Reichstag, on November 14, the Emperor William made a pacific address, in which he declared that the outrages in China had united all nations. The periodical publications of Germany all show plainly that the Chinese question is the one absorbing theme of discussion. The Socialists, and some other large political bodies of Germany, condemn the government's aggressive Chinese policy in unsparing terms. Chancellor von Bülow defends it.

In France. As we were closing these pages for the press, the French nation was aroused to a high pitch of excitement over the

arrival at Marseilles of President Krüger, of the Transvaal, where an immense demonstration was prepared for him,—the English for the most part looking on without much show of irritation. It was well understood that the French Government, while permitting the outburst of sympathy for Mr. Krüger and the Boers, would not allow any expressions of hostility to England. Mr. Krüger's mission was announced to be that of a negotiator of peace on any terms except those of annexation. This, obviously, was a hopeless mission. The Paris Exposition, which opened on the 14th of last April, was closed on November 12, having been open 212 days. The World's Fair at Chicago, seven years ago, was open 178 days, and had about 27,500,000 visitors. It is reported that this year's exposition had more than 50,000,000 visitors. The Waldeck-Rousseau ministry, which the Nationalists had promised to upset as soon as the exposition was past, received a vote of confidence on November 8 by a majority of 79. The success of the exposition has stimulated the long-discussed project of removing the inner line of fortifications and adding to Paris the populous suburbs.

In England. A matter to be noted as of importance in England is the institution of the new system of municipal government

in London, under which the subdivisions of the metropolis, heretofore governed by vestries and district boards, have been erected into a series of separate municipalities, each having a mayor and municipal council, but all of them subject in certain large matters of common concern to the superior authority of the great London County Council. We have alluded on a previous page to Lord Salisbury's speech at the lord mayor's banquet on November 9, and to some of the ministerial changes by virtue of which several prominent young Tories,—several of them closely connected

with Lord Salisbury's own family, and all of them, with an exception or two, belonging to the titled aristocracy,—have received promotions from under-secretaryships to full cabinet posts. Everything is now pointing in England towards the reëntree into politics of Lord Rosebery as the chief of the newly organized Liberal party. The return of the C.I.Vs., London's crack regiment of volunteers, from an absence of some months in South Africa—where the regiment conducted itself without discredit and lost perhaps ten men—was the scene at the end of October of the most, overwhelming and unrestrained demonstrations of enthusiasm ever witnessed in London, making the rejoicing over the return of Wellington after the battle of Waterloo altogether a tame affair. The English people have never shown in any former period the unbalanced judgment and the tendency to hysterics that have prevailed since the war in South Africa began. It is Frenchmen nowadays who are phlegmatic and self-restrained, in comparison with their neighbors across the Channel.



QUEEN WILHELMINA OF HOLLAND AND HER PROSPECTIVE CONSORT ARRIVING AT THE HAGUE.



By courtesy of the proprietors of the *Woche*.

FREIHERR VON RICHTHOFEN.

(New German Minister for Foreign Affairs.)

*Obituary
Notes.*

In the obituary list of the month occur, among foreigners, the names of Prof. Max Müller and Prince Christian Victor, the Queen's grandson. We publish in this number a contributed appreciation of the life-work of Max Müller. We publish also a brief sketch of the late Marcus Daly, of Montana, who died in New York last month. Ex-Mayor William L. Strong, of New York, belonged to the highest type of the American business man. His name was a synonym for integrity in private affairs, and his public career was of credit to himself and usefulness to the city. Of Mr. Henry Villard, who completed the Northern Pacific Railroad in 1883 and was identified with other large enterprises, something more extended will be published in the next number of this REVIEW. His career was full of interest.



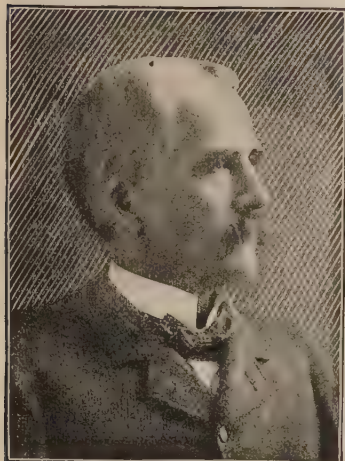
RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS.

(From October 21 to November 20, 1900.)

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—AMERICAN.

October 26.—Governor Roosevelt makes a campaign speech in New York City.

October 27.—A great "prosperity" parade is conducted under Republican auspices in Chicago....Mr. Bryan addresses several large gatherings in New York City.



HON. W. E. STANLEY.
(Re-elected governor of Kansas.)

"sound-money" parade in New York City.

November 5.—The Cuban Constitutional Convention organizes at Havana, with Señor Llorente, Justice of the Supreme Court, as president, and Señor Villuendas as secretary....The United States Supreme Court decides the case of the American Sugar Refining Company against Louisiana in favor of the State.

November 6.—Electors of President and Vice-President, Representatives in Congress, State and local officers are chosen in the United States.

The following table shows the number of votes in the Electoral College, and the approximate



HON. HEBER M. WELLS.
(Re-elected governor of Utah.)

November 2.—Governor Roosevelt ends his campaign tour at Owego, N. Y., having, in eight weeks, traveled 21,209 miles and made 673 speeches to audiences aggregating 3,000,000 persons, in 24 States.

November 3.—The Republicans hold a great

popular pluralities by States, as divided between the two leading candidates for President. As these estimates of popular pluralities are made in advance of the complete official canvass, the figures are not to be accepted as final; but it is believed that they correspond very closely with the actual results of the balloting in most, if not all, of the States:

McKINLEY.			BRYAN.		
	Electoral votes.	Estimated pluralities.		Electoral votes.	Estimated pluralities.
California.....	9	40,000	Alabama.....	11	40,000
Connecticut.....	6	28,400	Arkansas.....	8	60,000
Delaware.....	3	4,000	Colorado.....	4	30,000
Illinois.....	24	95,000	Florida.....	4	22,000
Indiana.....	15	28,000	Georgia.....	13	40,000
Iowa.....	13	80,000	Idaho.....	3	2,000
Kansas.....	10	24,000	Kentucky.....	13	8,000
Maine.....	6	27,000	Louisiana.....	8	30,000
Maryland.....	8	14,000	Mississippi.....	9	46,000
Massachusetts.....	15	82,000	Missouri.....	17	85,000
Michigan.....	14	98,000	Montana.....	3	10,000
Minnesota.....	9	70,000	Nevada.....	3	2,000
Nebraska.....	8	6,000	North Carolina.....	11	30,000
New Hampshire.....	4	22,000	South Carolina.....	9	50,000
New Jersey.....	10	53,000	Tennessee.....	12	25,000
New York.....	36	145,000	Texas.....	15	180,000
North Dakota.....	3	12,000	Virginia.....	12	30,000
Ohio.....	23	69,000			
Oregon.....	4	14,000	Totals.....	155	640,000
Pennsylvania.....	32	300,000			
Rhode Island.....	4	14,000			
South Dakota.....	4	14,000			
Utah.....	3	4,000			
Vermont.....	4	36,000			
Washington.....	4	5,000			
West Virginia.....	6	17,000			
Wisconsin.....	12	110,000			
Wyoming.....	3	4,000			
Totals.....	292	1,425,400			

Elections to the Fifty-seventh Congress result as follows: 202 Republicans, 155 Democrats and Populists.

The following State governors are chosen: Colorado, James B. Orman (Fusion); Connecticut, George P. McLean (Rep.); Delaware, John Hunn (Rep.); Florida, W. S. Jennings (Dem.); Idaho, Frank W. Hunt (Fusion); Illinois, Richard Yates (Rep.); Indiana, Winfield Durbin (Rep.); Kansas, W. E. Stanley (Rep.); Kentucky, J. C. W. Beckham (Dem.); Massachusetts, W. Murray Crane (Rep.); Michigan, Aaron T. Bliss (Rep.); Minnesota, Samuel F. Van Sant (Rep.); Missouri, A. M. Dockery (Dem.); Montana, Joseph K. Toole (Fusion); Nebraska, Charles H. Dietrich (Rep.); New Hampshire, Chester B. Jordan (Rep.); New York, Benjamin B. Odell, Jr. (Rep.); North Dakota, Frank White (Rep.); South Carolina, M. B. McSweeney (Dem.); South Dakota, Charles N. Herriod (Rep.); Tennessee, Benton McMillin (Dem.); Texas, Joseph D. Sayers (Dem.); Utah, Heber M. Wells (Rep.); Washington, John R. Rogers (Fusion); West Virginia, A. B. White (Rep.); Wisconsin, Robert M. La Follette (Rep.).

In Porto Rico, about 70,000 votes are cast out of a total registration of 125,000, the Federal party refraining from voting.

November 12.—President McKinley orders a discontinuance of the military department of Porto Rico and a reduction of the force in the island....The policy of the Citizens' Union in the New York City mayoralty contest of 1901 is announced.

November 15.—The Alabama Legislature unanimously reflects John T. Morgan to the United States Senate....Richard Croker orders a Tammany campaign against vice in New York City.

November 16.—A letter of Bishop Potter to Mayor Van Wyck, charging police complicity with vice in New York City, is made public, together with the mayor's instructions to the police commissioners and the district attorney.

November 20.—Republican members of the House Ways and Means Committee hold a meeting to consider the reduction of war taxes.



HON. M. B. M'SWEENEY.
(Gov.-elect of South Carolina.)

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT—FOREIGN.

October 21.—The Spanish cabinet resigns office.

October 22.—General Azcarraga forms a new Spanish cabinet....The Russian budget of 1899 passes the controller, with a surplus of 186,000,000 roubles....Ecuador arranges to pay its entire foreign debt.

October 24.—Baron von Richthofen succeeds Count von Bülow as German foreign secretary....Ex-Premier Shreiner, of Cape Colony, resigns from the Cape Parliament, owing to the hostility of Afrikaner extremists.

October 31.—Anti-tax riots take place in Roumania.

November 1.—Queen Victoria approves the appointment of Lord Salisbury as premier and lord privy seal, the Marquis of Lansdowne as foreign secretary, William St. John Brodrick as secretary for war, the Earl of Selborne as first lord of the admiralty, and C. T. Ritchie as home secretary, in the new British ministry.

November 3.—Stern measures are taken in Spain against the Carlist agitation....Several changes are made in the Norwegian ministry.

November 6.—The French Parliament reassembles.

November 7.—Queen Victoria approves additional appointments in the new British ministry....The Canadian general election results favorably to the present Liberal government; Sir Charles Tupper, leader of the Conservatives, is among those defeated for seats in Parliament; the Liberal majority in the House of Commons is estimated at 47.

November 8.—The Newfoundland elections are favorable to the Liberals, the party in power....The French Chamber of Deputies, by a vote of 329 to 222, adopts a resolution of confidence in the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry....The new lord mayor of London is inaugurated.

November 12.—The Dutch cabinet submits to the States-General a proposition to drain the Zuyder Zee, at an estimated cost of \$100,000,000....The reorganization of the British cabinet is completed.

November 14.—The German Reichstag reassembles.

November 20.—In the German Reichstag severe criticisms are passed on the Emperor William's utterances.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

October 26.—The Transvaal is formally proclaimed a part of the British empire.

October 29.—All the mouths of the Orinoco River are declared open to international navigation.

October 30.—The British military authorities take stern measures to suppress guerrilla warfare in South Africa.

October 31.—Fighting is reported between Austro-Hungarians and Montenegrins over a boundary dispute.

November 7.—A convention between the United States and Spain is signed at Washington, ceding the islands of Cagayan and Sibutu to the United States for \$100,000.

November 8.—Lord Roberts reports an engagement near Bothaville, in which 23 Boers are killed, 30

wounded, and a hundred taken prisoners, while 7 guns are captured by the British, who lose 3 officers and 4 men killed.

November 9.—Lord Salisbury expresses gratification at the result of the election in the United States.

November 10.—An Hispano-American Congress, in which many of the South American States are represented, meets at Madrid.

November 12.—The Paris Exposition is closed.

November 15.—The Hispano-American Congress at Madrid declares that acceptance of the decisions of the international tribunal of arbitration must have some guarantee other than an engagement of honor.



HON. A. B. WHITE.
(Gov.-elect of West Virginia.)

THE CRISIS IN CHINA.

October 22.—The rebellion against the present dynasty is proceeding in the southern provinces successfully.

October 23.—The allies occupy Pao-tung-fu without opposition.

October 24.—The death of Kang Yi is announced.

October 25.—Minister Conger is authorized to begin negotiations with the Chinese at once. Prince Ching and Li Hung Chang ask the foreign ministers to state explicitly what officials deserve punishment, and what degree of punishment they deserve.

October 29.—The diplomatic body at Peking hold a conference to consider the form which the negotiations should take.

November 1.—It is announced that all the interested

powers have signified their approval of the Anglo-German agreement as to China; the United States, France, and Russia make a reservation regarding the third clause.

November 10.—Russian troops capture an arsenal near Yang-Tsun, killing 200 Chinese.

November 16.—A Chinese imperial decree orders the life imprisonment of Prince Tuan and Prince Chwang for their part in the Boxer outrages.

November 19.—Chancellor von Bülow makes a statement to the Reichstag regarding German policy in China.

November 20.—The French minister of foreign affairs makes a statement on the policy of his government in China.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH.

October 21.—A second successful trial of Count Zepelin's airship is made at Friedrichshafen.

October 23.—Announcement is made of the defalcation of a note-teller of the First National Bank of New York City, in the sum of \$690,000.

October 25.—The 500th anniversary of the death of Chaucer is commemorated in London. The United



MR. CHARLES M. HAYS.

(The new president of the Southern Pacific Railway.)

Mine-Workers declare the Pennsylvania coal strike off at mines where the demands of the operatives have been granted....The funeral of John Sherman takes place at Mansfield, O.; President McKinley is one of the mourners.

October 28.—A great peace demonstration, organized by the Labor party of France, takes place in Paris.

October 29.—In the demonstration of welcome on the return of the City Imperial Volunteers to London from the South African War, four persons are killed and many injured....An earthquake at Caracas, Venezuela, causes the death of 15 persons and much damage to property....Several lives are lost, and a number of buildings wrecked, as the result of an explosion of chemicals in a



THE THEATER "MARTI," IN WHICH THE SESSIONS OF THE CUBAN CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION ARE HELD.

wholesale drug house in New York City....Seven persons are killed in a Northern Pacific train-wreck in Montana....Work is resumed in most of the anthracite coal-mines of Pennsylvania, the companies conceding the demands of the striking miners.

October 31.—The Free and the United Presbyterian churches of Scotland are formally united.

November 1.—Iron manufacturers in Great Britain reduce prices to meet American and German competition.

November 2.—An explosion in a coal-mine at Berryville, W. Va., kills 13 men.

November 3.—The Canadian troops returned from South Africa are welcomed at Ottawa.



THE LATE EX-MAYOR STRONG OF NEW YORK.

November 4.—At Lyons, France, a monument to the late President Carnot is unveiled.

November 10.—The steamer *City of Monticello* founders at the mouth of the Bay of Fundy; 31 lives are lost.

November 15.—The censorship on cable dispatches at Manila is removed....In the wrecking of a train 33 miles northeast of Bayonne, France, 13 persons are killed, including the Peruvian minister to France.

OBITUARY.

October 22.—John Sherman, 77 (see REVIEW OF REVIEWS for November, page 537)....Henry J. Horn, a Washington (D. C.) architect of wide reputation, 83.

October 24.—Dr. Moses C. White, of the Yale Medical School, 81....Rev. Dr. J. N. Craig, of Atlanta, Ga., secretary of the Home Mission Board of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church South, 69.

October 25.—Sims Reeves, the veteran English singer, 82.

October 28.—Prof. Max Müller, 77 (see page 703)....Ex-Judge James H. Brown, of West Virginia, 82.

October 29.—Prince Christian Victor, grandson of Queen Victoria, 33.

October 30.—Ex-Congressman James Buchanan, of New Jersey, 61....William Watson Niles, a prominent member of the New York bar, 78.

November 2.—Ex-Mayor William L. Strong, of New York City, 73.

November 7.—Gen. Joseph W. Burke, collector of the port of Mobile, 70.

November 9.—Gen. Frederick Elsworth Mather, sole survivor of the founders of "Skull and Bones" at Yale, 91.

November 10.—Rev. Dr. John Wesley Brown, rector of St. Thomas' Protestant Episcopal Church, of New York City, 63....Robert Graham Dun, head of the mercantile agency of R. G. Dun & Co., 74.

November 12.—Henry Villard, the railroad financier, 65....Marcus Daly, the Montana millionaire coppermine owner, 60 (see page 707)....Prof. William H. Rosenstengel, of the University of Wisconsin, 58.... Dr. Henry D. Noyes, a New York oculist and physician, 68.... Frank Jarvis Patten, inventor of the system of multiplex telegraphy now used by the Western Union Telegraph Company, 48....Thomas Arnold, son of Dr. Arnold, of Rugby, 77.

November 13.—Capt. John D. Hart, of Cuban filibustering fame, 41.

November 15.—Señor J. F. Canevero, Peruvian minister to France.

November 16.—Ex-Gov. George A. Ramsdell, of New Hampshire, 66....Rev. Alfred Pinney, a Baptist clergyman active in the antislavery agitation, 90.... William C. Ogden, a writer on mining and insurance law, 56.... Frederick W. Royce, a veteran telegraph operator and inventor, 61.

November 18.—Martin Irons, the famous labor leader, 68.

November 19.—Rear-Admiral Roger N. Stembel, U.S.N., retired, 90.



REGIONS DEVASTATED BY WAR, 1864-1900.

(Map sent to the Paris Exposition by the International Association of the Red Cross.)

November 20.—Charles H. Hoyt, theatrical manager and playwright, 39.



GENERAL CHRISTIAN DE WET.

(The Boer chieftain who has proved to be the ablest leader against the British.)

SOME CARTOONS OF THE DAY AFTER ELECTION.



THE EXPANSION ROOSTER.

From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco).



"THE FLAG IS STILL THERE."

From the *Inter Ocean* (Chicago).

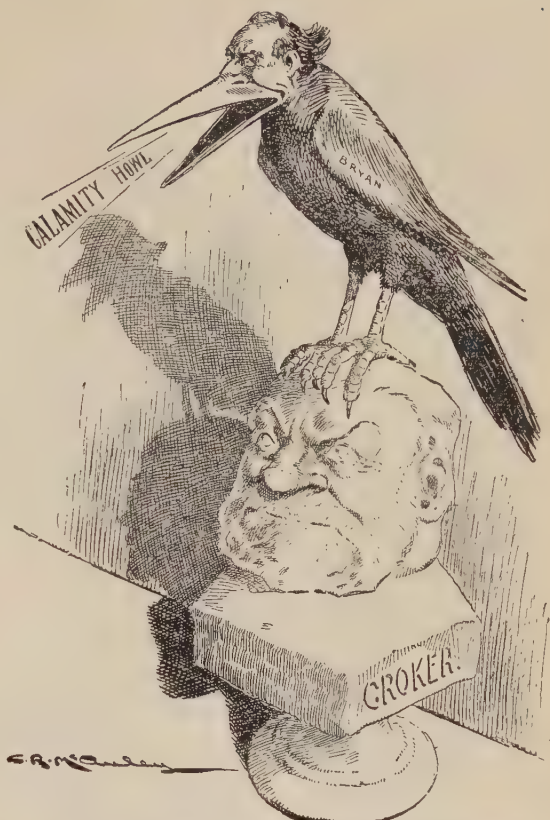


"AND THEY PASSED ON TO THE PLAIN CALLED DESOLATION."—From the *Times-Herald* (Chicago).



"Humpty Dumpty" of Tammany Hall
Went "Up Against It" and Had a Bad Fall;
All King Croker's Horses and King Croker's Men
Can't Get Humpty Bryan to the Top Again.

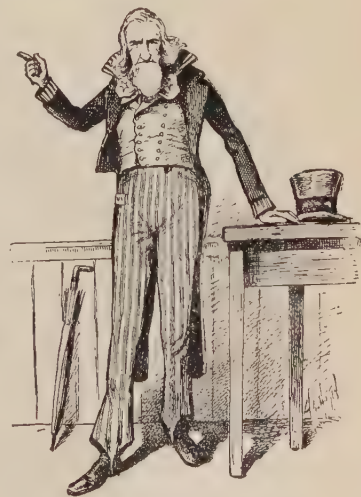
From the *Brooklyn Eagle* (New York).



TWO CROAKERS.—From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia).



A LANDSLIDE.—From the *Tribune* (New York).



UNCLE SAM TAKES THE STUMP.

"William McKinley," he says, "has been a good tenant, and I have therefore concluded to renew his lease of the White House for four years more."

From the *Times-Herald* (Chicago).



OUR NEXT VICE-PRESIDENT.
From the *Times* (Washington).



BRYAN: "Now to threshing those oats."
From the *Pioneer-Press* (St. Paul).

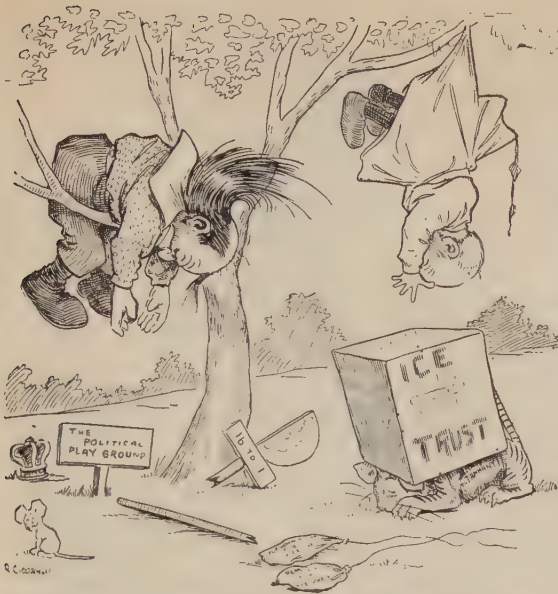
THE American cartoonists, almost without exception, were prepared on the morning after election to express, each in his own characteristic way, his view of the result. A number of those different expressions are reproduced in these pages. If space had permitted, we should have included a great many more. They are all of them humorous, and are, in the main, free from any spirit of malice. McKinley, Hanna, Roosevelt, Bryan, Aguinaldo, and Croker were the personages to whom the cartoonists more especially paid their re-



THE POLITICAL LOCHINVAR'S SUCCESSFUL HIDE.
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



'A SAD BUT GLORIOUS DAY FOR 'AG.'
From the *Pioneer-Press* (St. Paul).



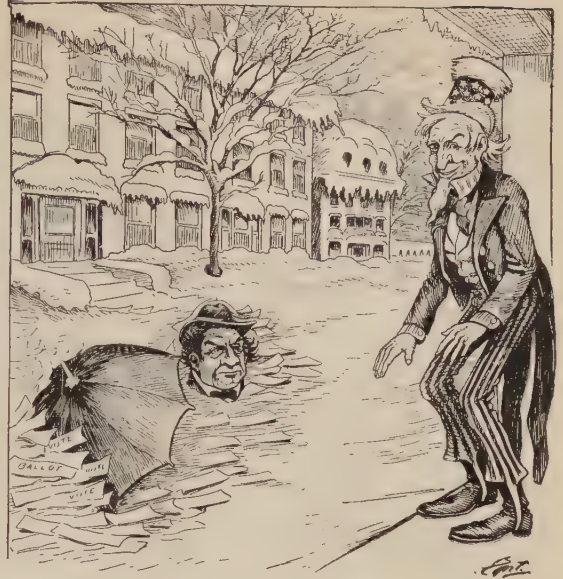
THE STORM HAS PASSED, AND SO ENDS THE SECOND BATTLE.
From the *Tribune* (Minneapolis).

spects. One of the most ingenious in our collection this month is that of Mr. McAuley, of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, who adapts an idea from Poe's "Raven." Mr. Bryan, however, has not yet croaked "Nevermore." He takes defeat like a man, and will not find time heavy on his hands. As for Aguinaldo, we have not had any really authentic news as to the way that gentleman has been affected.



THE END.

JUDGE: "Good-bye, Bryan! Sorry to see you go; for, while we have differed on politics, yet, as a man, I hold you in great esteem. Ta-ta!"—From *Judge* (New York).



THE MAN IN THE DRIFT.
UNCLE SAM: "So it was Bryan again? I thought so."
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis).



IN THE PROPERTY-ROOM OF THE POLITICAL THEATER.

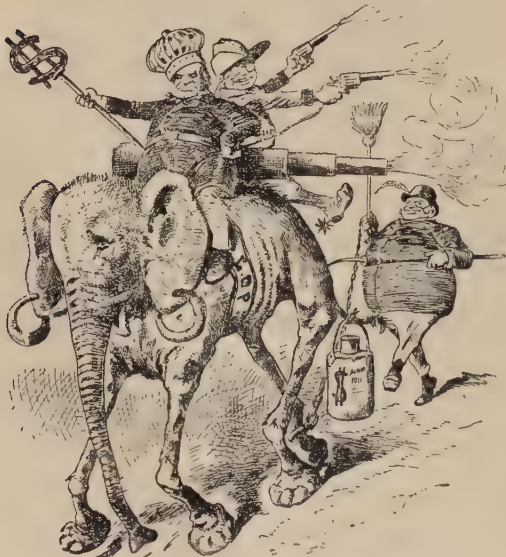
UNCLE SAM: "Thank goodness, the run of the great Presidential comic opera is closed! I'll store all this truck away down here. I may need some of it for our new grand spectacular production in 1904."

From the *Brooklyn Eagle* (New York).



THE EMPEROR ACCEPTS.—From the *Times* (Washington).

It was not to be expected that the cartoonists who had been indulging in their daily fling at Senator Hanna, chairman of the National Republican Committee, would forget him on the morning of Mr. McKinley's victory. Stewart, of the *Washington Times*, represents the President as receiving an imperial crown at the hands of Mr. Hanna; and Bush, of the *World*, represents the President as wearing his crown and riding the Republican elephant into another four years' period



G. O. P.: "Four—four—four years more."
From the *World* (New York).



NAPOLEON M'KINLEY AND THE HAND THAT GUIDES HIM IN THE PATH OF EMPIRE.—From the *World* (New York).

of imperial expansion, with John Bull prodding the elephant from behind. As for Davenport, of the *Journal*, his familiar figure of the Trust giant, whom he makes Mr. Hanna's constant companion, must, of course, be on hand to offer congratulations on a second term. As far as we can judge, the cartoonists have not merely enhanced Mr. Hanna's fame, but they have done more than anybody else to promote his development from a private business man into an effective speaker and a public man of very honorable standing and reputation.



"GOD REIGNS: THE REPUBLICAN PARTY STILL LIVES!"—
M. A. Hanna.—From the *Journal* (New York).

WILLIAM M'KINLEY: A CHRONOLOGY.

[Twenty-five different men have filled the office of President of the United States. Of these, only eight have been reelected for a second consecutive term, viz.: Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Lincoln, Grant, and McKinley. The career of William McKinley has not been accidental or meteoric. His sterling and steadfast qualities were recognized as marking him for high places of responsibility while he was yet a boy. His modest worth as a soldier was known to President Lincoln, and he was cherished as a younger brother by Hayes and Garfield, and esteemed by men like the Sherman brothers. The chronology which follows has been prepared by Mr. George T. Pettengill, of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS staff.—THE EDITOR.]



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THE PRESIDENT AT HIS DESK.

1843. January 29. William McKinley, son of William and Nancy (Allison) McKinley, is born at Niles, Trumbull County, Ohio, being the seventh of a family of nine children.

1852. The McKinley family removes to Poland, Mahoning County, Ohio, where William studies at Union Seminary until he is seventeen.

1859. Becomes a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Poland.

1860. Enters the junior class in Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., but poor health prevents the completion of the course. Subsequently teaches in a public school near Poland and later becomes a clerk in the Poland post-office.

1861. June 11. Enlists as a private in Company E of the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteer Infantry.

1862. April 15. Promoted to commissary sergeant while in the winter's camp at Fayetteville, W. Va.

1862. September 24. Promoted to second lieutenant, in recognition of services at the battle of Antietam.

Wins the highest esteem of the colonel of the regiment, Rutherford B. Hayes, and becomes a member of his staff.

1863. February 7. Promoted to first lieutenant.

1864. July 25. Promoted to captain for gallantry at the battle of Kernstown, near Winchester, Va.

1864. October 11. First vote for President cast, while on a march, for Abraham Lincoln.

1864. Shortly after the battle of Cedar Creek (October 19), Captain McKinley serves on the staffs of Gen. George Crook and Gen. Winfield S. Hancock.

1865. Assigned as acting assistant adjutant-general on the staff of Gen. Samuel S. Carroll, commanding the veteran reserve corps at Washington.

1865. March 13. Commissioned by President Lincoln as major by brevet in the volunteer United States army, "for gallant and meritorious services at the battles of Opequan, Cedar Creek, and Fisher's Hill."

1865. July 26. Mustered out of the army with his regiment, having never been absent from his command on sick leave during more than four years' service.

1865. Returns to Poland, and at once begins the study of law.

1866. Enters the Albany (N. Y.) Law School.

1867. Admitted to the bar at Warren, Ohio, in March. Accepting the advice of an elder sister teaching in Canton, Ohio, he begins the practice of law in Canton, and makes that place his home.

1869. Elected prosecuting attorney of Stark County on the Republican ticket, although the county had usually been Democratic.

1871. January 25. Marries Miss Ida Saxton, of Canton. (Two daughters born to Mr. and Mrs. McKinley,—Katie in 1871, and Ida in 1873,—are both lost in early childhood.)

1871. Fails of reelection as prosecuting attorney by 45 votes, and for the next five years devotes himself successfully to the practice of law, and becomes a leading member of the bar of Stark County.

1872. Though not a candidate, very active as a campaign speaker in the Grant-Greeley Presidential campaign.

1875. Especially active and conspicuous as a campaigner in the closely-contested State election in which Rutherford B. Hayes is elected governor.

1876. Elected member of the House of Representatives by 3,300 majority, his friend Hayes being elected to the Presidency.

1878. Reelected to Congress by 1,234 majority, his district in Ohio having been gerrymandered to his disadvantage by a Democratic legislature.

1880. Reelected to Congress by 3,571 majority. Appointed a member of the ways and means committee, to succeed President-elect Garfield.

1882. The Republicans suffer reverses throughout the

- country in the Congressional elections, and McKinley is reëlected by a majority of only 8.
1884. Prominent in opposition to the proposed "Morrison tariff" in Congress.
1884. As delegate-at-large to the Republican National Convention in Chicago, actively supports James G. Blaine for the Presidential nomination.
1884. Reëlected to Congress by a majority of 2,000, although his district had again been gerrymandered against him.
1886. Reëlected to Congress by a majority of 2,550.
1888. Leads the minority opposition in Congress against the "Mills tariff bill."
1888. Delegate-at-large to the national convention in Chicago that nominates Benjamin Harrison, and serves as chairman of the committee on resolutions. Many delegates wish McKinley to become the nominee, but he stands firm in his support of John Sherman.
1888. Elected to Congress for the seventh successive time, receiving a majority of 4,100 votes.
1889. At the organization of the Fifty-first Congress, is a candidate for Speaker of the House, but is defeated on the third ballot in the Republican caucus by Thomas B. Reed.
1890. Upon the death of William D. Kelley, in January, McKinley becomes chairman of the ways and means committee and leader of his party in the House. He introduces a bill "to simplify the laws in relation to the collection of the revenues," known as the "customs administration bill." He also introduces a general tariff bill. The bill becomes a law October 6.
1890. As a result of a gerrymandered Congressional district, and the reaction against the Republican party throughout the country caused by the protracted struggle over the tariff bill, McKinley is defeated in the election for Congress by 300 votes in counties that had previously gone Democratic by 3,000.
1891. November 3. Elected governor of Ohio by a plurality of 21,511, polling the largest vote that had ever been cast for governor in Ohio. His opponent is the Democratic governor, James E. Campbell.
1892. As delegate-at-large to the national convention at Minneapolis, and chairman of the convention, McKinley refuses to permit the consideration of his name, and supports the renomination of President Harrison. The roll-call results as follows: Harrison, 535; Blaine, 182; McKinley, 182; Reed, 4; Lincoln, 1.
1892. Death of William McKinley, Sr., in November.
1893. Unanimously renominated for governor of Ohio, and reëlected by a plurality of 80,995, this majority being the greatest ever recorded, with a single exception during the Civil War, for any candidate in the history of the State.
1896. June 18. At the Republican National Convention in St. Louis, McKinley is nominated for President on the first ballot, the result of the voting being as follows: McKinley, 661½; Reed, 84½; Quay, 60½; Morton, 58; Allison, 35½; Cameron, 1.
1896. November 3. Receives a popular vote in the Presidential election of 7,104,779, a plurality of 601,854 over his Democratic opponent, William J. Bryan. In the Electoral College, later, McKinley receives 271 votes against 176 for Bryan.
1897. March 4. Inaugurated President of the United States for the twenty-eighth quadrennial term.
1897. March 6. Issues proclamation for an extra session of Congress to assemble March 15. The President's Message dwells solely upon the need of a revision of the existing tariff law.
1897. May 17. In response to an appeal from the President, Congress appropriates \$50,000 for the relief of destitution in Cuba.
1897. July 24. The "Dingley tariff bill" receives the President's approval.
1897. December 12. Death of President McKinley's mother at Canton, Ohio.
1898. Both branches of Congress vote unanimously (the House on March 8 by a vote of 313 to 0, and the Senate by a vote of 76 to 0 on the following day) to place \$50,000,000 at the disposal of the President, to be used at his discretion "for the national defense."
1898. March 23. The President sends to the Spanish Government, through Minister Woodford, at Madrid, an ultimatum regarding the intolerable condition of affairs in Cuba.
1898. March 28. The report of the court of inquiry on the destruction of the *Maine* at Havana on February 15 is transmitted by the President to Congress.
1898. April 11. The President sends a message to Congress outlining the situation, declaring that intervention is necessary, and advising against the recognition of the Cuban Government.
1898. April 21. The Spanish Government sends Minister Woodford his passports, thus beginning the war.
1898. April 23. The President issues a call for 125,000 volunteers.
1898. April 24. Spain formally declares that war exists with the United States.
1898. April 25. In a message to Congress, the President recommends the passage of a joint resolution declaring that war exists with Spain. On the same day both branches of Congress pass such a declaration.
1898. May 25. The President issues a call for 75,000 additional volunteers.
1898. June 29. Yale University confers upon President McKinley the degree of LL.D.
1898. July 7. Joint resolution of Congress providing for the annexation of Hawaii receives the approval of the President.
1898. August 9. Spain formally accepts the President's terms of peace.
1898. August 12. The peace protocol is signed. An armistice is proclaimed, and the Cuban blockade raised.
1898. October 17. The President receives the degree of LL.D. from the University of Chicago.
1898. December 10. The Treaty of Peace between Spain and the United States is signed at Paris.
1900. March 14. The President signs the "Gold-Standard Act."
1900. June 21. The Republican National Convention at Philadelphia unanimously renominates William McKinley for the Presidency.
1900. June 21. The President's amnesty proclamation to the Filipinos is published in Manila.
1900. July 10. The United States Government makes public a statement of its policy as to affairs in China.
1900. September 10. Letter accepting the Presidential nomination and discussing the issues of the campaign is given to the public.
1900. November 6. In the Presidential election, William McKinley carries 28 States, which have an aggregate of 292 votes in the Electoral College, his Democratic opponent, William J. Bryan, carrying 17 States, having 155 electoral votes. His popular plurality is also larger than in the election of 1896.



WASHINGTON IN 1900.—FROM A DESIGN USED BY THE CENTENNIAL COMMITTEE.

A HUNDRED YEARS OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

BY ALBERT SHAW.

THE people of the United States ought to feel the keenest satisfaction in the circumstances under which, on December 12, there will be celebrated the centennial anniversary of the occupation by the Government of the United States of its permanent home in the District of Columbia. The more attentively one studies the work of the men who framed the federal union and laid the plans for its future development, the more profound is one's admiration for their breadth of view—for the largeness of their intellectual stature and their gifts and powers as statesmen in the true sense of the word.

The idea of creating a distinct federal district apart from the jurisdiction of any one State, whose development should belong to all the people of all the States, was an original idea, and a very valuable one. The Commonwealth of Australia, which is to enter upon its career of federal union on the first day of January, is proposing to follow the American plan, and to create a federal district and a capital city *ab initio*. The European countries have not developed a distinct center for national government, unless St. Petersburg should be excepted; but they have not had to meet the delicate adjustments of jurisdiction that are required under our federal system.

Quite apart from those questions of jurisdiction, however, it is permissible to raise the question whether the history of France might not have been considerably different if the seat of legislation and executive authority had been removed a hundred years ago from Paris to some point nearer the center of the country—for instance, to some site selected in Touraine, on the Loire. Imagine then that marvelous genius of Napoleon,—which showed itself as markedly in its demand for space and symmetry of architecture as for method and harmony in civil adminis-

tration,—applied, not to the problem of erecting a splendid new Paris on the site of a medieval city which already had incomparable beauties and charms of its own, but rather to the creation of a new city as the political center of the French world. It is only the student nowadays who knows what treasures of XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth century architecture were destroyed in cutting the new avenues that give Paris its modern aspect.

The comparison of Paris with Washington is by no means fanciful or arbitrary. For it is a fact that the laying out of our new federal city of Washington was not only contemporaneous with the making of the plans for the reconstruction of Paris streets, but the two projects were directly associated in the sense of having been initiated by the same French engineers. But, aside from the question of architecture, the political destinies of France would not have been unduly swayed at critical moments by the influence of Paris if the senators and deputies from the departments could have transacted public business at a capital perhaps two hundred miles from the metropolis that has always so completely absorbed them.

Similar remarks might not at first seem applicable to the conditions under which the United Kingdom and the British empire are governed in the very heart of the vast English metropolis. Yet what are the facts to-day? Nearly every member of the present British cabinet is a director in one or more speculative or commercial enterprises, having their offices in the financial district of London. The members of the House of Lords, all of whom have their London town-houses, are absorbed in social pursuits or otherwise bent upon their own interest and pleasure. The members of the House of Commons, in a

large majority of cases, are more or less wholly engulfed—as lawyers, business men, journalists, and otherwise—in the maelstrom of enterprise and opportunity at the core of the world's greatest center of business and population. On many a day the attendance in the House of Lords, which has a membership of 591, can be counted on the fingers of one's two hands; and so little is a full attendance expected even in the House of Commons—every member of which represents a voting constituency—that even in the new parliament houses it was not thought worth while to provide nearly so many seats as there are members.

In spite of the British air of respectability that lends its outward glamour to all official proceedings, the British Government is seriously compromised, in character and efficiency, by the powerful social and financial influences that center in the metropolis, and by the thousand and one opportunities and distractions that take the time and attention of officials and parliamentarians.

The American public men, on the other hand, who are sent to Washington to transact national business and to attend to the affairs of their constituents, are not lost in the mazes of a great city, nor absorbed in the pursuits of a financial and commercial metropolis. In London, the great occasion of the official year is the lord mayor's annual banquet, to which the prime minister

with the leading members of the cabinet go; and on that occasion the head of the government is expected to make weighty deliverances, as Lord Salisbury did on the ninth day of last month. But we in this country would regard it as detracting a little from the dignity of the nation if the federal government were located at New York, and the President of the United States should make his most important statements on national policy at a banquet provided by Tammany Hall's mayor. Yet the associated guilds of the old inner City of London are the Tammany of the British metropolis; and they play a very undue part in influencing public affairs and in controlling the destinies of the British empire.

George Washington was first inaugurated where the subtreasury now stands in Wall Street, New York City, and subsequently the federal government held forth in Philadelphia. But even in the earlier period of the Confederation, it was felt that local influences should be avoided, and that it would be well on many accounts to remove the federal offices and legislative halls to a separate district, with a capital city of new creation. The subject had much discussion in 1783, as a result of insults offered to Congress at Philadelphia by Revolutionary soldiers who became mutinous in their demands for pay. At that time Elbridge Gerry proposed two federal dis-



THE CONGRESSIONAL LIBRARY BUILDING ON THE CAPITOL HILL.



THE CAPITOL BUILDING, AS DEVELOPED BY SUCCESSIVE ADDITIONS FROM THE SECTION FINISHED IN 1800.

tricts, one on the Delaware and the other on the Potomac, with the idea of alternating between them. His plan was actually adopted by Congress, though soon afterwards repealed.

The final decision to have a separate national capital was made in the convention that drafted the federal Constitution in 1787. The ratification of this Constitution by the States carried with it an authority vested in Congress "to exercise legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of Government of the United States." This was in form permissive rather than mandatory; but the state of public opinion on the subject was well shown by the promptness with which, in the very first session of the first Congress elected under the Constitution, the subject was taken up and thoroughly discussed.

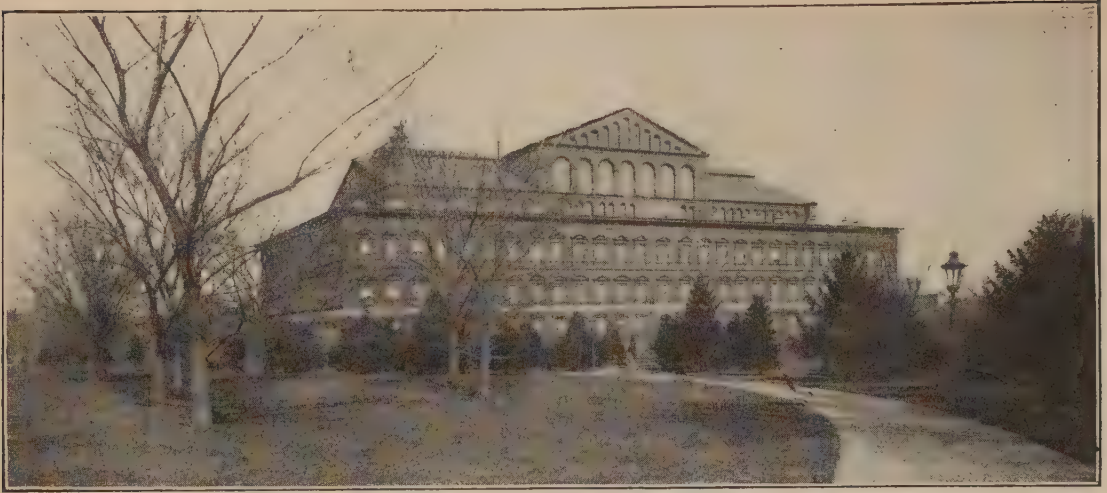
At length, by the act of July 16, 1790, it was provided that the seat of government should be and remain in Philadelphia from December, 1790, to December, 1800, when it should be removed "to a district and territory not exceeding ten miles square, located on the river Potomac, between the mouths of the eastern branch and the Conogochegue." Commissioners were appointed to fix the precise location and do the needful bargaining. It is well known, however,

that all the important decisions were made by President Washington himself, who directed with great interest and zeal the negotiations for purchasing the land and making the preliminary arrangements.

In those days, before railroads were built, and when interior means of communication were difficult, it was obviously desirable to fix a location which should be at once upon navigable water and yet as far inland as conditions would permit. The place chosen for the new city was at the head of tide-water on the Potomac, thus giving access



NEW NAVAL OBSERVATORY.



THE PENSION-OFFICE BUILDING, OPENED ON OCCASION OF CLEVELAND'S FIRST INAUGURATION.

for large ships to the sea, with opportunity for a navy yard, yet easily defensible against foreign navies by virtue of a hundred miles or more of winding river between the federal district and the sea. The situation was one both familiar and dear to the Father of his Country; for the southernmost point of the district as originally laid out was only about six miles in a direct line from Washington's home in Mount Vernon, while the town of Alexandria, where Washington attended church, and which was the principal trading point for Mount Vernon and the other neighboring plantations, fell inside the federal district lines.

By the proclamation of March 30, 1791, President Washington declared that the district had been finally located and secured. It was on both banks of the Potomac River,—about two-thirds on the Maryland side and the other third on the Virginia side,—and contained a hundred square miles. In shape it was a perfect square, so situated that its four corners pointed north, south, east, and west. On the Maryland side of the Potomac, towards the northwest boundary of the district, was Georgetown, founded by the grandfather of Daniel Boone; and on the Virginia side, at the extreme south angle, was the town of Alexandria. Each town at that time had several thousand inhabitants. With modern means of transit, Georgetown and Alexandria seem at no great distance from the heart of the capital city. But it must be remembered that most of the District of Columbia was rough hill and vale, woodland and marsh, when Maryland and Virginia made the cession, and that Georgetown was about five miles in one direction and Alexandria about six miles in the other from the hill chosen by the

engineers as the spot upon which to locate the national capitol.

Work was begun under difficulties, with varied and flagging interest on the part of the Congress sitting at Philadelphia. But Maryland and Virginia lent their credit, and so it came to pass that the White House was built as the home of the President, and a wing of the capitol was constructed for the use of Congress. Washington, from his nearby home at Mount Vernon, was able to witness the progress of the work. He had participated in the laying of the corner-stones of the Executive Mansion and Congressional Halls, but he did not survive to participate in the ceremonial proceedings which took place when President John Adams and his cabinet drove across country from Philadelphia, arriving in Washington in the autumn of the year 1800. He had died at Mount Vernon, on December 14, 1799.



MOUNT VERNON (AS IT APPEARED AT THE TIME OF WASHINGTON'S DEATH).

A brief special session of Congress was held at Washington in November, 1800, followed by the regular session in December. There are plenty of records describing the straggling village in the woods, as Washington was in its opening years; and there was, of course, the usual percentage of shortsighted people who could only see the inconvenience of it all, and who thought it folly to have abandoned the comfortable conditions of life in Philadelphia and gone to the backwoods. But with Washington and his contemporaries, large and permanent considerations generally prevailed over those that were merely temporary.

We have reason to be thankful that the federal district was chosen and the lines of the new capital city laid down while Washington was President, and while American public men were gifted with the sense of historic vision and proportion. A generation or two later, everything would have been done on a mean scale and in a shortsighted manner. This is illustrated by what actually happened in 1846. There arose a movement to secure the recession back to Virginia of that part of the federal district on the west side of the Potomac. Because it was not needed for federal purposes in the illustrious year of our Lord 1846, it seemed wholly impossible for the people then in control of our destinies to rise to the conception that it might be needed at some future time. The question was

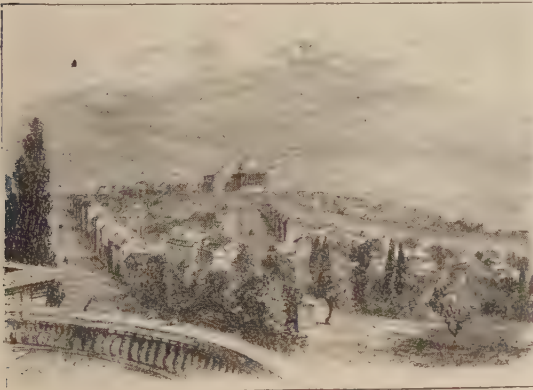


STATE, WAR, AND NAVY DEPARTMENTS BUILDING.

submitted to a vote of the inhabitants of that part of the district.

Nine hundred and eighty-five people went to the polls, 222 of them to sustain the views of George Washington and show their faith in the future, and 763 of them to vote that they preferred to be citizens of Alexandria County, Virginia, rather than of the federal district of Columbia. To be sure, it is not so strange that the inhabitants should have voted in that way as that Congress should have been so petty and supine as to have mutilated a federal possession that Washington and his colleagues had secured with such painstaking, and with such noble faith in the future both of the country and of its capital city. Naturally enough, some of the citizens of Alexandria were ambitious to participate in Virginia politics. The country had passed through a very exciting campaign when William Henry Harrison was elected in 1840, and a still more exciting one when James K. Polk defeated Henry Clay in 1844. Doubtless the men of Alexandria disliked the political limitations under which they had no direct part in the political activities of that boisterous period.

It cannot be said that up to the present moment the development of the city of Washington has been greatly hampered by the loss of Alexandria County. But the time will come when it will be perceived that President James K. Polk, who issued the proclamation of transfer on September 7, 1846, ought to have vetoed the whole proceeding. The United States Government maintains on the Virginia side of the river the military post of Fort Myer and the great national cemetery at Arlington. The rapid



THE CITY OF WASHINGTON.

(From a sketch in Andrew Jackson's Time.)



PATENT OFFICE AND INTERIOR DEPARTMENT BUILDING.

growth of public institutions in and about Washington, together with that of population, will soon make it evident that the territory on the west side of the river ought to be controlled and developed, as respects its street system and its various appointments, by the same enlightened and generous authority that has beautified what remains of the federal district, and made it a source of pleasure and pride to the whole nation.

The new city was fortunate both in its engineers and in its architects. Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant, a French engineer who had served in the Revolutionary War, had most to do with laying down the ground-plan of the new city, his system being very similar in principle to that which was worked out for the reconstruction of Paris. It superimposes upon the ordinary rectangular network of streets a series of great radial avenues, cutting diagonally across the checker-board system, and converging at a series of focal points.

While this system, as applied at Washington, possessed symmetry in a very high degree, it had to recognize for practical purposes the natural conditions of topography. Two highly important points were fixed at the beginning, and so wisely were they chosen that there can never be any occasion for regret. The most conspicuous of these was the site chosen for the great building that we call the Capitol. A rather curious coincidence seems to have authenticity. It is recorded that an English gentleman, whose name was Pope, about the year 1660, acquired an estate, including what is now Capitol Hill, and it pleased his fancy, his name being what it was, to call his estate Rome, and to sign himself "Pope of Rome." A little stream near by was designated the "Tiber," while the exact spot where the Capitol stands to-day was christened by him

"Capitoline Hill." All this was nearly a hundred and fifty years before the arrival of Congress, just a hundred years ago.

The other chief point originally fixed as an important focus was the White House, with its symmetrically disposed environs. The distance between these two points—each of which was chosen for topographical reasons—is about a mile and a half. Through the dense undergrowth of the swamp-land that intervened was blazed out what is now Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington's

finest thoroughfare, one of the world's great streets.

Where large projects are concerned that involve future generations, there is nothing that so certainly wins the esteem of posterity as broad plans that consider future needs. Some things in the way of reservations of ground for additional public buildings might have been done in the early days that were overlooked. But no fatal mistakes were made; and Washington has suffered more in those regards from the shortsightedness of men like James K. Polk and his contemporaries than from any negligence or error on the part of the men who first staked out the new city in the woods and swamps. It is no part of our intention in this article to present, in detail, either the historical development of Washington as a city or to set forth its present appointments, embellishments, and attractions. It has become the Mecca of all good Americans, and the just object of their pride. It represents great beauty, at a very reasonable cost, in its monuments of architecture and its ever-increasing treasures of statuary and art. It grows more attractive every year in its parks, gardens, shady streets, and open spaces, and in the delightful exhibition it presents of American taste and progress in domestic architecture.

The Capitol building continues to hold its pre-eminence as by far the noblest and stateliest structure in the Western Hemisphere, if not in the entire world. It has been built piecemeal, yet with constant gain rather than loss of symmetry and dignity. As we now celebrate a hundred years of its occupancy, it is agreeable to remember that the two little detached wings of very modest size shown in one of our illustrations (which answered early in the century, the one on the right for the House of Representatives and the one on the left for the Senate) still

exist, the old Virginia sandstone of their walls being covered with white paint to match the Massachusetts marble of which the vast wings now occupied by Congress were afterwards built. The plans were by Stephen Hallett, a famous student of the more famous architect, Nash, who developed them from sketches and designs by Dr. Thornton, then in charge of the Patent Office. Our illustration, to which reference has just been made, shows the Capitol, not as it was in 1800, but as it was in 1811. When Congress took possession, only the northern of these two wings—the one now occupied by the Supreme Court—was ready. The other wing, designed for the House of Representatives, was finished in 1811; and a wooden passageway was built to connect the two across the space that forms the basement of what is now the rotunda.

Such was the building prior to the War of 1812; and it had cost altogether about three-quarters of a million dollars. The British burned it in 1814, at the same time that they destroyed other buildings in Washington; but the heavy walls survived, and \$500,000 was promptly borrowed by the Government to put the building in repair. In 1818 the central structure was begun which fills the space between the two wings already described, and it was completed in 1827, with a low wooden dome covering the rotunda. In 1851, in connection with some repairs required on account of a fire in the library, the corner-stones were laid of the two great wings now occupied by the houses of Congress; and these were practically completed when

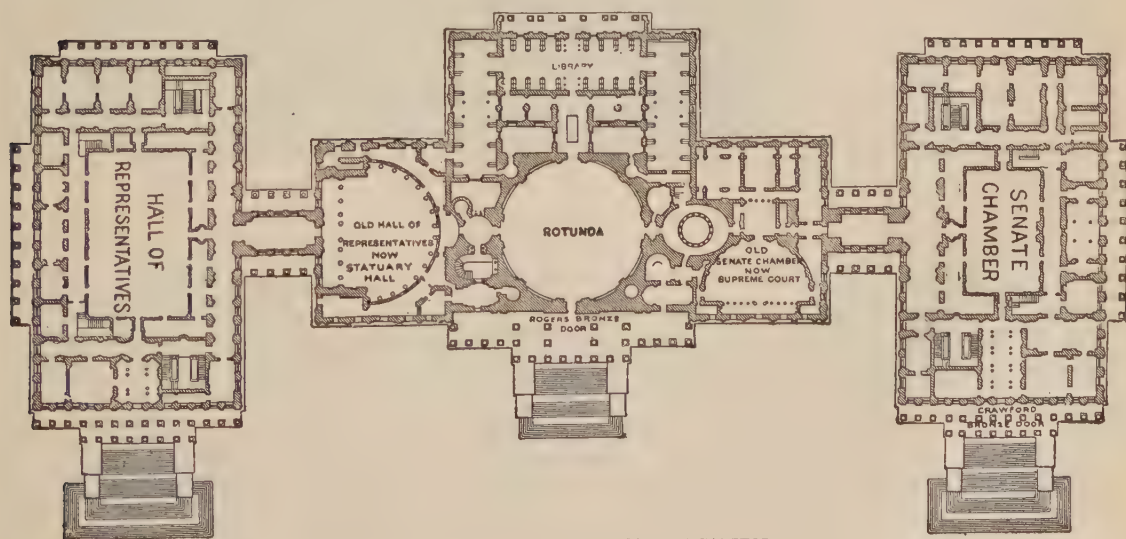


THE CAPITOL (AS IT APPEARED IN 1811.)

(The two wings, separated in 1811, survive in the modern building, as shown in the diagram below.)

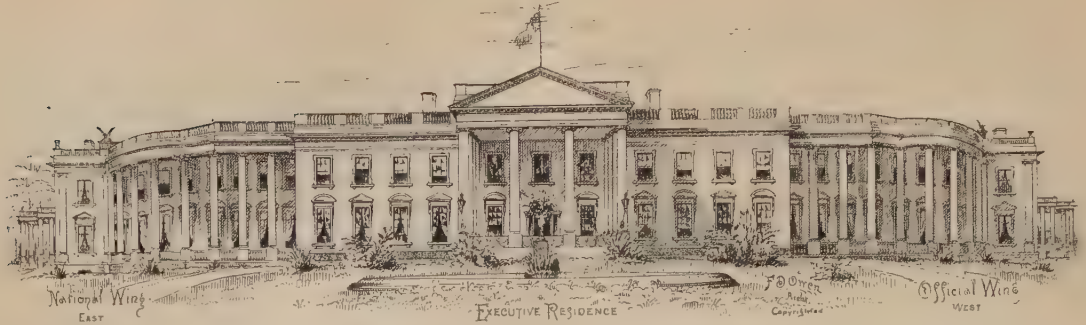
Lincoln was elected President in 1860. The famous iron dome that now surmounts the rotunda, and gives character to the Capitol as an architectural whole, was begun in 1856 and completed in 1865. The entire length of the Capitol building is a little more than 750 feet, and its greatest width is about 350 feet. The top of the dome is about 287 feet above the base-line of the east front. The total cost of the building has been about \$15,000,000. The latest important improvement has been the construction of a great monumental staircase as the main approach on the west side, with successive terraces of white marble. The building has a growing wealth of art in its statues of public men, its paintings in illustration of American history or scenery, and many other accessories of an architectural, artistic, and historical character.

It is pleasant to feel that this great building in itself enshrines the entire history of the fed-



PLAN OF THE MAIN FLOOR OF THE CAPITOL.

(The old Hall of Representatives—now Statuary Hall—and the old Senate Chamber—now the Supreme Court Room—correspond to the two detached wings shown in the old print at the top of the page.)



From a drawing loaned by the architect, Mr F. D. Owen.

NORTH VIEW OF THE WHITE HOUSE, SHOWING PROPOSED NEW WINGS. (SUGGESTED BY THE LATE MRS. HARRISON.)

eral district, and that it has been feasible to enlarge it, from time to time, rather than to demolish and supersede. Our more usual American plan is to tear down the old and build anew.

The Executive Mansion, commonly known as the White House, is another building, in use for a full century, that is to be kept and added to without detriment to its charms, but with enhancement of its beauty as well as its utility. It was an admirable piece of architecture of the Georgian or Colonial type, and eminently creditable to the men of Washington's day. It has happily escaped the ruthless hand of succeeding periods of monstrously bad taste in American architecture; and now we have come back again to the point where we are able to appreciate its quiet dignity and charm. Much talk of its enlargement has now resulted in definite steps, an appropriation having been made by Congress. More space for the President's executive offices, as well as for his private uses, is imperatively needed. As a part of the programme for the celebration on December 12, Col. Theodore A. Bingham, of the United States Army Engineers, who is the officer in charge of public buildings and grounds in the District of Columbia, will give a brief address on the history of the Executive Mansion, and will also exhibit a model and drawings, as authorized by Congress, of the proposed enlargement.

Two important public improvements have had much discussion apropos of the centenary of the District of Columbia, one being a so-called Centennial Avenue, to pass through the broad, park-like grounds known as the Mall, in which are

situated the Smithsonian Institution, the National Museum, and the Department of Agriculture, and to connect the Capitol with the great Washington Monument and the Potomac bank. This plan awaits the report that Congress has asked Gen. John M. Wilson, Chief of Engineers of the



THE WHITE HOUSE AS IT IS TO-DAY.—NORTH VIEW.

United States Army, to make to it this month on the proper treatment of the Mall as a whole. It is expected that the work will be carried out as soon as the final details of the project are settled. The other proposal is that of a noble memorial bridge across the Potomac. Certainly, if the District had not been shorn of its thirty-four square miles west of the Potomac, there would before this time have been suitable bridge connections. The design of Mr. E. P. Casey, as architect, associated with Mr. W. H. Burr, as bridge engineer, has been selected in an official competition. It now rests with Congress to proceed, at this auspicious moment, when the country is prosperous and the centenary of the District



From a drawing loaned by the architect.

PROPOSED NEW MEMORIAL BRIDGE ACROSS THE POTOMAC.

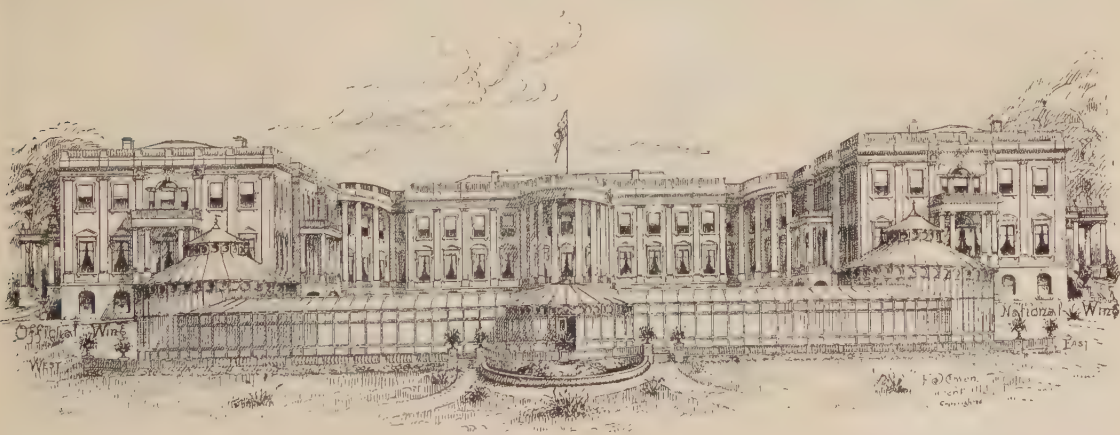
(Designed by Mr. Edward Pearce Casey, associated with Mr. W. H. Burr as bridge engineer.)

coincides with the opening of the twentieth century, to appropriate the necessary funds and carry out this beautiful project.

For the most part, the great buildings at Washington that from time to time have been constructed to accommodate the executive departments have been wisely enough built to justify themselves to posterity. Thus, the Government's architectural problem consists principally in providing additional space, from time to time, as the departments grow and their business becomes differentiated. Among the most recent in the series is the noble library building, on a site which adjoins the Capitol grounds—a structure that now vies with the Capitol as the show building of Washington. Another is the new Government printing-office—a huge affair, and a model

of its kind. The new work that will be anticipated with most interest will be the extension of the White House. The day will come, perhaps in the early future, when the art treasures of the Government will so accumulate as to justify the building of a great national gallery. When that time comes, if not before, the National Museum, with its priceless collections of American archaeology, will need a much better building than it now possesses; and the Agricultural Department, also, will have claims that cannot be ignored.

Apart from the great buildings pertaining to the business of the national Government, the city of Washington has some other new structures worthy of mention, among which are the Post-Office building on Pennsylvania Avenue, the Corcoran Art Gallery, and the Public Library, now



SUGGESTIONS OF MRS. HARRISON FOR THE EXTENSION OF THE WHITE HOUSE.—SOUTH VIEW (SEE OPPOSITE PAGE).



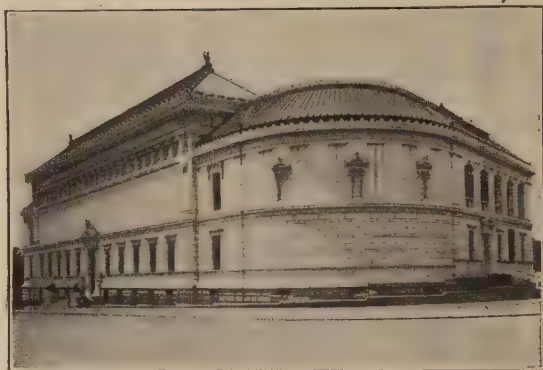
NEW GENERAL POST-OFFICE.

in process of erection, toward which Mr. Andrew Carnegie has given several hundred thousand dollars.

The development of the District of Columbia as an educational center has of recent years been surprisingly rapid. The subject is one that requires, and will have in the early future, a separate presentation in this REVIEW. The universities, colleges, professional schools, and institutions for special and general culture in the vicinity of the great libraries and scientific collections of the national Government are all worthy of encouragement. The intimate contact of the educational world can only be of benefit to the predominant official element at Washington. This particular kind of evolution is just what the men who founded the District of Columbia would most have desired. Washington himself had faith in the association of university work with governmental life, and actually left some money to accumulate towards the establishment of a higher institution of learning.

The District of Columbia

is not governed by the people who happen to live in it, but by the people of the United States as a whole; that is to say, it is dealt with strictly as a federal possession, under the authority of Congress and the President. The President appoints three commissioners,—two civilians and one high officer of the engineer corps of the army,—who on confirmation by the Senate act as Commissioners of the District of Columbia and manage its affairs. One of these, who is appointed as president of the board, is virtually the mayor of Washington, with a good deal more discretion and power, however, than that which is ordinarily exercised



NEW CORCORAN ART GALLERY.

by the mayor of a city. The present incumbent of this office of high honor and trust is the Hon. Henry B. F. Macfarland, whose articles from time to time in this REVIEW have made his name familiar to our readers. He was appointed by



BUREAU OF ENGRAVING AND PRINTING.



THE NATIONAL MUSEUM.

President McKinley last spring. By virtue of his office, Mr. Macfarland has taken the leadership in the work of preparation for the centennial this month (succeeding in this work his predecessor, the Hon. John B. Wight), and is to make an address on the history of the District, as a part of the programme.

Presumably, the cost of a public work like the proposed memorial bridge would be defrayed entirely by the national treasury, but for all ordinary public improvements in the District of Columbia, as well, indeed, as all ordinary expenses of municipal and general administration in Washington, Congress appropriates just one-half, and the remaining 50 per cent. is provided by ordinary taxes levied upon the property-holders. The commissioners of the District make up their annual estimates, which are submitted for revision to the secretary of the treasury, and they are then transmitted to Congress and referred to the standing committees on the District of Columbia, Senator McMillan, of Michigan, being now chairman of the Sen-



THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT.

ate committee on the District, and Mr. Babcock, of Wisconsin, chairman of the House committee.

Washington had at one time, for a few years, an elaborate and ambitious municipal government; but in 1878 reversion was made to the simpler and more effective plan of centralizing all authority in the hands of commissioners. At that time the board of metropolitan police and the board of school trustees were abolished,



HON. HENRY B. F. MACFARLAND.

(Chairman of the Board of Commissioners, District of Columbia, and of the citizens' committee on the centennial celebration.)

as was also the board of health and other separate boards and commissions. The affairs of Washington are ably, honestly, and economically conducted, and the various branches of public work are supervised by men of special training and fitness.

The centennial celebration begins at 10 o'clock on the morning of Wednesday, December 12, with a reception by the President of the United States to the governors of all the States, at which Colonel Bingham will explain briefly the enlargement of the Executive Mansion, Mr. Macfarland will speak of the history and development of the District, and ex-Governor Wolcott, of Massachusetts (it is expected), will make an address on the development of the nation. A

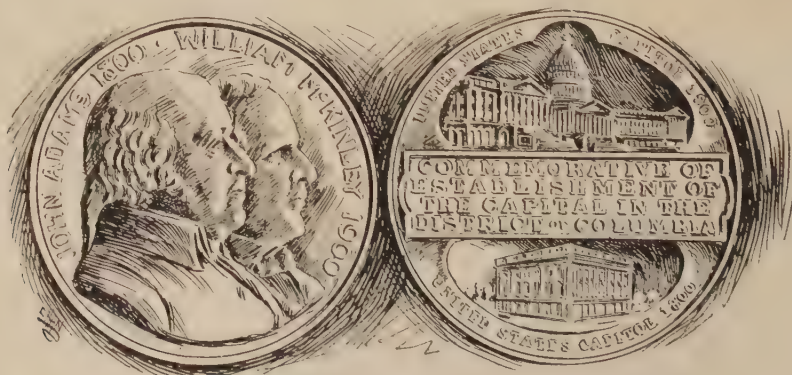


THE TREASURY BUILDING, OPENED IN 1841 AND EXTENDED TO PRESENT DIMENSIONS IN 1869.

(A temporary treasury building of two stories and 30 rooms had been made ready for the public business in 1800.)

military and naval procession, with General Miles as marshal, will then escort the President, cabinet, Supreme Court, governors, Senate and House, and the diplomatic corps, from the White House to the Capitol. The President will review the parade from the east front, and will then, with the other distinguished officials, be present at the commemorative exercises held jointly by the two houses of Congress in the Hall

of Representatives. Five brief addresses are to be made by—(1) Senator McComas, of Maryland; (2) Senator Daniel, of Virginia; (3 and 4) Representatives Payne, of New York and Richardson, of Tennessee, and (5) Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts. In the evening, a large reception is to be held in Corcoran Art Gallery in honor of the governors of the States and Territories. The occasion appeals strongly to patriotic sentiment.



MEDAL STRUCK TO COMMEMORATE THE CENTENARY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL AT WASHINGTON IN 1800.

GOVERNOR-ELECT ODELL, OF NEW YORK.

BY LYMAN ABBOTT.



HON. BENJAMIN B. ODELL, JR.

WE are all familiar with three classes of religious men : first, the ecclesiastical place-hunter, who uses the Church for his own personal ends ; second, the churchman who regards the Church, and generally his particular branch of the Church, as essential to the cause of religion, and, therefore, adheres to it, however serious he may regard its errors or its shortcomings ; third, the non-churchman, who may affiliate himself with some church as a convenient and advantageous method of coöperating with others in promoting the religious life, but who regards the Church always with secondary interest as a means to a higher end. To the first the Church is a means to a selfish end ; to the third, a means to an unselfish end ; to the second it is practically, though not, perhaps, avowedly, an end in itself.

The same classification is possible in politics.

There are politicians who go into politics for what they can personally make out of it ; politics is to them a trade. Others identify themselves with a party because they believe that the best interests of the community are identified with that party ; they, to use a significant phrase, "belong" to the party, much as a loyal citizen belongs to a state, and would as little think of leaving their party because it is in error or falls under evil influences as a citizen would think of deserting his country because it has adopted a policy which he thinks erroneous or even immoral. Still others regard party organizations as merely instruments to secure certain public results—to be followed and utilized when they contribute to the desired end, to be abandoned whenever they cease to do so. Mr. Croker's frank avowal justifies our referring to him as a type of the first class ; anti-expansionists like Mr. Hoar, and anti-Bryanites like Mr. Olney belong in the second class ; while anti-expansion Republicans who voted for Mr. Bryan, and Gold Democrats who voted for Mr. McKinley, are to be classified in the third.

Mr. Benjamin B. Odell, Jr., belongs in the second of these categories. He belongs to the Republican party ; is wholly devoted to it ; believes, it may be assumed, that the welfare of the community is safer in its hands, whatever platform it may adopt, than in the hands of any other party, whatever its platform ; in short, if the organization is not to him an end, it appears to him so essential a means to right ends in public life that the question of leaving it can hardly arise in any probable circumstances. If public report be correct, he left college without graduating, in order to take an active part in politics, and has been active in politics ever since, always as a Republican. We could almost as easily conceive Cardinal Gibbons withdrawing from the Roman Catholic Church, because some decision of the Apostolic See disappointed him, as Mr. Odell ceasing to be a Republican because Republican policies at any given time were, in his judgment, erroneous. He is very far from being an independent, or even an independent Republican.

But, on the other hand, we do not think he has ever been seriously charged with using his public opportunities for personal gain. Unfortunately, no man can be in public life in

America and not be a mark for slander ; but we are measurably sure that no slander affecting Mr. Odell's personal integrity has ever remained long enough attached to his name to affix a stigma upon it. The criticisms upon him mainly proceed from those who cannot comprehend the mind, or perhaps the morals, of one who regards an organization—political or ecclesiastical—as in the nature of an end, demanding loyalty of service under all conditions and circumstances.

Such I conceive to be the man whom the people of the State of New York have made their governor. And they must expect from him the kind of service, and only the kind of service, which a man of such a temperament can render. He belongs to no faction ; he is no man's man ; evidence is wholly wanting for the allegation, at times made in the heat of the campaign, that he is Mr. Platt's henchman. Loyalty to the Republican party involved loyalty to its recognized chief, but if the situation should ever arise in which it would be necessary to choose between the party and a faction in the party or a leader of a faction, Mr. Odell would have no difficulty in making loyalty to the party his choice. He may be depended on to guard the party from peril, both from within and from without, and to administer his office as governor for the purpose of securing the continued dominance of that party in the State, because he so thoroughly believes that the interest of the State is dependent upon its continuance. It is, however, true that such a man will take no risks that he can avoid. If influential men in the party oppose the State Constabulary bill, he will endeavor either to frame the bill so as to satisfy that opposition, or to lay it aside altogether. If a non-partisan nomination for mayor of New York City will promote the good feeling of city and State for the party, it will have his support ; if it will imperil the future of the party, he will not think that the advantage to the city will counterbalance the disadvantage to the State of any serious hazard to the party on which, in his judgment, the welfare of the State depends. If there are in the Republican party strong interests which the unconditional repeal of the Ramapo legislation will endanger, he will study to see if

some plan cannot be devised to content those who demand such a repeal without alienating those who would suffer from it. He will seek, by pacific measures, to unify his party, never by a factional triumph to conquer it ; will be more conciliatory than aggressive, more cautious than bold. He will be more ambitious to secure the united support of his party than the enthusiasm of any inorganic crowd. In short, his administration may be expected to resemble in spirit and method that of Mr. McKinley, whom in devotion to party organization he resembles.

A man of such temperament rarely gives the highest type of administration, but the public may justly expect from him an administration reasonably satisfactory. A careful student of public life in a private letter to me characterizes him truly as a man who has a vigorous will-power, a fine habit of hard work, excellent self-control, and an appreciation of the higher standards in political life. There is much real and important public work to be accomplished—the improvement of the New York City charter, the indorsement of the Tenement-house Commission recommendations, possibly the perfection, and certainly the just and impartial enforcement of, the Franchise-tax law, and some amendment of the Raines law which will rid the cities of those pest-holes of vice known as the "Raines-law hotels." That all will or can be accomplished on these and kindred subjects which moral and political reformers desire to see accomplished, we do not for a moment imagine. But that public sentiment within the Republican party which desires the best things, and similar public sentiment among such Independents as can be attached to the party if it does the best things, will, we believe, have Mr. Odell's support and encouragement. The fact that a man is a skillful politician is not, in itself, a reason for thinking that he cannot make a good governor. The fact that he is a strong partisan does not, of itself, unfit him for the duties of a chief executive ; if he is morally wise, it may make his administration all the more effective. We are not sure that Mr. Odell will attempt the greatest things ; but he will perhaps accomplish none the less because he is not the man to hazard a great failure by attempting a great achievement.



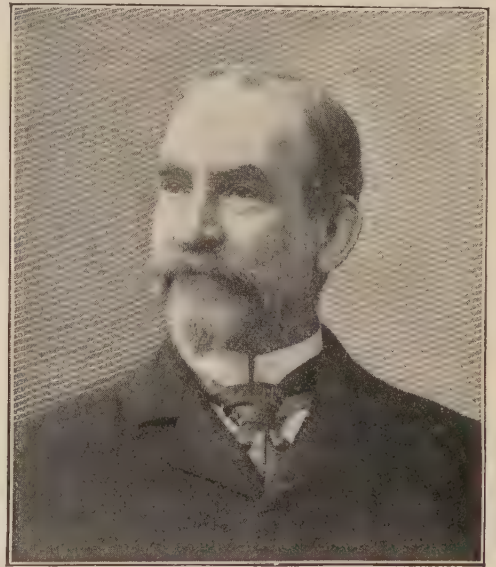
MAKING A WAY OUT OF THE SLUM

BY JACOB A. RIIS.

ONE stormy night in the winter of 1882, going across from my office to the police headquarters of New York City, I nearly stumbled over an odd couple that crouched on the steps. As the man shifted his seat to make way for me, the light from the green lamp fell on his face, and I knew it as one that had haunted the police-office for days with a mute appeal for help. Sometimes a woman was with him. They were Russian Jews, poor immigrants. No one understood or heeded them. Elbowed out of the crowd, they had taken refuge on the steps, where they sat silently watchful of the life that moved about them, but beyond a swift, keen scrutiny of all who came and went, having no share in it.

That night I heard their story. Between what little German they knew and such scraps of their harsh jargon as I had picked up, I found out that they were seeking their lost child—little Jette, who had strayed away from the Essex-Street tenement and disappeared as utterly as if the earth had swallowed her up. Indeed, I often thought of that in the weeks and months of weary search that followed. For there was absolutely no trace to be found of the child, though the tardy police machinery was set in motion and worked to the uttermost. It was not until two

years later, when we had long given up the quest, that little Jette was found by the merest accident in the turning over of the affairs of an orphan asylum. Some one had picked her up in the street and brought her in. She could not tell her name, and, with one given to her there, and garbed in the uniform of the place, she was so effectually lost in the crowd that the police alarm failed to identify her. In fact, her people had



EX-JUDGE MEYER S. ISAACS.

(President of the Baron de Hirsch Fund.)



PROF. H. L. SABSOVICH.

(Superintendent of Woodbine Colony and Dean of the Faculty of the Baron de Hirsch Agricultural School.)

no little trouble in "proving property," and but for the mother love that had refused to part with a little gingham slip her lost baby had worn, it might have proved impossible. It was the mate of the one which Jette had on when she was brought into the asylum, and which they had kept there. So the child was restored, and her humble home made happy.

That was my first meeting with the Russian Jew. In after-years my path crossed his often. I saw him herded with his fellows like cattle in the poorest tenements, slaving sullenly in the sweat-shop, or rising in anger against his tyrant in strikes that meant starvation as the price of his vengeance. And always I had a sense of groping in the memories of the past for a lost



A GROUP OF EMPLOYEES OF CLOTHING FACTORY AT WOODBINE.

key to something. The other day I met him once more. It was at sunset, upon a country road in southern New Jersey. I was returning with Superintendent Sabovich from an inspection of the Jewish colonies in that region. The cattle were lowing in the fields. The evening breathed peace. Down the sandy road came a creaking farm-wagon loaded with cedar posts for a vineyard hard by. Beside it walked a sunburned, bearded man with an axe on his shoulder, in earnest conversation with his boy, a strapping young fellow in overalls. The man walked as one who is tired after a hard day's work, but his back was straight and he held his head high. He greeted us with a frank nod, as one who meets an equal.

The superintendent looked after him with a smile. To me there came suddenly the vision of the couple under the lamp, friendless and shivering, waiting for a hearing, always waiting; and, as in a flash, I understood. I had found the key. The farmer there had it. It was the Jew who had found himself.

It is eighteen years since the first of the south Jersey colonies was started. There had been a sudden, unprecedented immigration of refugees from Russia, where Jew-baiting was then the orthodox pastime. They lay in heaps in Castle Garden, helpless and penniless, and their people in New York feared proscriptive measures. What to do with them became a burning question. To turn those starving multitudes loose on the labor market of the metropolis would make trouble of the gravest kind. The alternative of putting them back on the land, and so of making producers of them, suggested itself to the Emigrant-Aid Society. Land was offered cheap in south Jersey, and the experiment was made with some hundreds of families.

It was well meant; but the projectors experienced the not unfamiliar fact that cheap land is sometimes very dear land. They learned, too, that you cannot make farmers in a day out of men who have been denied access to the soil for generations. That was the set purpose of Russia, and the legacy of feudalism in Western Europe, which of necessity made the Jew a trader, a town-dweller. With such a history, a man is not logically a pioneer. The soil of south Jersey is sandy, has to be coaxed into bearing paying crops. The colonists had not the patient skill needed for the task. Neither had they the means. Above all, they lacked the market where to dispose of their crops when once raised. Discouragements beset them. Debts threatened to engulf them. The trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, entering the field eleven years later, in 1891, found of 300 families only two-thirds remaining on their farms. In 1897, when they went to their relief, there were 76 families left. The rest had gone back to the city and to the Ghetto. So far, the experiment had failed.

The Hirsch-Fund people had been watching it attentively. They were not discouraged. In the midst of the outcry that the Jew could not be made a farmer, they settled a tract of unbroken land in the northern part of Cape May County, within easy reach of the older colonies. They called their settlement Woodbine. Taught by the experience of the older colonists, they brought their market with them. They persuaded several manufacturing firms to remove their plants from the city to Woodbine, agreeing to furnish their employees with homes. Thus an industrial community was created to absorb the farmers' surplus products. The means they had in abundance in the large revenues of Baron de Hirsch's princely charity, which for all purposes

amounts to over \$6,000,000. There was still lacking necessary skill at husbandry, and this they set about supplying without long delay. In the second year of the colony, a barn built for horses was turned into a lecture-hall for the young men, and became the nucleus of the Hirsch Agricultural School, which to-day has nearly a hundred pupils. Woodbine, for which the site was cleared half a dozen years before in woods so dense that the children had to be corralled and kept under guard lest they should be lost, was a thriving community by the time the crisis came in the affairs of the older colonies.

The settlers were threatened with eviction. The Jewish Colonization Association, upon the recommendation of the Hirsch-Fund trustees, and with their coöperation, came to their rescue. It paid off the mortgages under which they groaned, brought out factories, and turned the tide that was setting back toward the cities. To-day the carpenter's hammer is heard again, after years of silence and decay, in Rosenhayn, Alliance, and Carmel. They are building new houses there. Nearly \$500,000 invested in the villages is paying a healthy interest, where three years ago general ruin was impending. As for Woodbine, Jewish industry has raised the town taxes upon its 5,300 acres of land from \$72 to \$1,800, and only the slow country ways keep it from becoming the county-seat, as it is already the county's center of industrial and mental activity.

It was to see for myself what the movement of which this is the brief historical outline was like that I had gone down from Philadelphia to Woodbine, some twenty-five miles from Atlantic City. I saw a straggling village, hedged in by stunted woods, with many freshly painted frame houses lining broad streets, some of them with gardens around in which jonquil and spiderwort were growing, and the peach and gooseberry budding into leaf; some of them standing in dreary, unfenced wastes, in which the clay was trodden hard between the stumps of last year's felling. In these lived the latest graduates from the slum. I had just come from the clothing-factory hard by the depot, in which a hundred of them or more were at work, and had compared the bright, clean rooms with the traditional sweat-shop of the city, wholly to the disadvantage of the latter. I had noticed the absence of the sullen looks that used to oppress me. Now as I walked along, stopping to chat with the women in the houses, it interested me to class the settlers as those of the first, the second, and the third year's stay and beyond. The signs were unmistakable. The first year was, apparently, taken up in contemplation of the house. The lot had no possibilities. In the

second, it was dug up. A few potato-vines were planted, perhaps a peach-tree. There were the preliminary signs of a fence. In the third, under the stimulus of a price offered by the management, a garden was evolved, with, necessarily, a fence. At this point the potato became suddenly an element. It had fed the family the winter before without other outlay than a little scratching of the ground. Its possibilities loomed large. The garden became a farm on a small scale. Its owner applied for more land and got it. That was the very purpose of the colony.

A woman, with a strong face and shrewd, brown eyes, rose from an onion-bed she had been weeding to open the gate.

"Come in," she said, "and be welcome." Upon a wall of the best room hung a picture of Michael Bakounine, the nihilist. I found it in these colonies everywhere side by side with Washington's, Lincoln's, and Baron de Hirsch's. Mrs. Breslow and her husband left home for



TYPICAL FARMING FAMILY.

cause. He was a carpenter. Nine months they starved in a Forsyth-Street tenement, paying \$15 a month for three rooms. This cottage is their own. They have paid for it (\$800) since they came out with the first settlers. The lot was given to them, but they bought the adjoining one to raise truck in.

"*Gott sei dank*," says the woman, with shining eyes, "we owe nothing and pay no rent, and are never more hungry."

Down the street a little way is the cottage of one who received the first prize for her garden last year. Fragrant box hedges in the plot. A

cow with crumpled horn stands munching corn-cobs at the barn. Four hens are sitting in as many barrels, eying the stranger with half-anxious, half-hostile looks. A topknot, tied by the leg to the fence, struggles madly to escape. The children bring dandelions and clover to soothe its captivity.

The shadows lengthen. The shop gives up its workers. There is no overtime here. A ten-hour day rules. Families gather upon porches—the mother with the sleeping babe at her breast, the grandfather smoking a peaceful pipe, while father and the boys take a turn tending the garden. Theirs is not Paradise. It is a little world full of hard work, but a world in which the work has ceased to be a curse. Ludlow Street, with its sweltering tenements, is but a few hours' journey away. For these, at all events, the problem of life has been solved.

Strolling over the outlying farms, we came to one with every mark of thrift and prosperity about it. The vineyard was pruned and trimmed, the fields ready for their crops, the outbuildings well kept, and the woodpile stout and trim. A girl with a long braid of black hair came from the house to greet us. An hour before, I had seen her sewing on buttons in the factory. She recognized me, and looked questioningly at the superintendent. When he spoke my name, she held out her hand with frank dignity, and bade me welcome on her father's farm. He was a clothing-cutter in New York, explained my guide as we went our way, but tired of the business and moved out upon the land. His 30-acre farm is to-day one of the finest in that neighborhood. The man is on the road to substantial wealth.

Labor or lumber—both, perhaps—must be cheaper even than land in south Jersey. This five-room cottage, one of half a hundred such, was sold to the tenant for \$500; the Hirsch Fund taking a first mortgage of \$300, the manufacturer, or the occupant, if able, paying the rest. The mortgage is paid off in monthly installments of \$3.75. Even if he had not a cent to start with, by paying less than one-half the rent for the Forsyth-Street flat of three cramped rooms, dark and stuffy, the tenant becomes the absolute owner of his home in a little over eight years. I looked in upon a score of them. The rooms were large by comparison, and airy; oil-painted, clean. The hopeless disorder, the discouragement of the slum, were nowhere. The children were stout and rosy. They played under the trees, safe from the shop till the school gives up its claim to them. Superintendent Sabovich sees to it that it is not too early. He is himself a school trustee, elected after a fight on the "Woodbine ticket" which gave notice to the



PUPILS OF AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL HOEING PEAS.

farmers of the town that the aliens of that settlement are getting naturalized to the point of demanding their rights. The opposition retaliated by nicknaming the leader of the victorious faction the "Czar of Woodbine." He in turn invited them to hear the lectures at the Agricultural School. His text went home.

"The American is wasteful of food, energies—of everything," he said. "We teach here that farming can be made to pay by saving expenses." They knew it to be true. The Woodbine farm products, its flowers and chickens, took the prizes at the county fair. Yet in practice they did not compete. The Woodbine milk was dearer than the neighboring farmer's. If in spite of that it was preferred because it was better, that was their lookout. The rest must come up to it then. So with the output of the henery, the apiary, the blacksmith-shop in the place. On that plan Woodbine has won the respect of the neighborhood. The good-will will follow, says its Czar, confidently.

He, too, was a nihilist, who dreamed with the young of his people for a better day. He has lived to see it dawn on a far-away shore. Concerning his task, he has no illusions. There is no higher education, no "frills," at Woodbine. Its scheme is intensely practical. It is to make, if possible, a Jewish yeomanry fit to take their place with the native tillers of the soil, as good citizens as they. With that end in view, everything is "for present purposes, with an eye on the future." The lad is taught dairying with

scientific precision, because on that road lies the profit in keeping cows. He is taught the commercial value of extreme cleanliness in handling milk and making butter. He learns the management of the poultry-yard, of bees, of pigeons, and of field crops. He works in the nursery, the greenhouse, and the blacksmith-shop. If he does not get to know the blacksmith's trade, he learns how to mend a broken farm-wagon and "save expense." So he shall be able to make farming pay, to keep his grip on the land. His native shrewdness will teach him the rest.

The vineyards were budding, and the robins sang joyously as we drove over the twenty-four-mile stretch through the colonies of Carmel, Rosenhayn, Alliance, and Brotmansville. Everywhere there were signs of reawakened thrift. Fields and gardens were being got ready for their crops; fence-corners were being cleaned, roofs repaired, and houses painted. In Rosenhayn they were building half a dozen new houses. A clothing-factory there that employs 70 hands brought out 24 families from New York and Philadelphia, for whom shelter had to be found. Some distance beyond the village we halted to inspect the 40-acre farm of a Jew who some years ago kept a street-stand in Philadelphia. He bought the land and went back to his stand to earn the money with which to run it. In three years, he moved his family out.

"I couldn't raise the children in the city," he explained. A son and two daughters now run the adjoining farm. Two boys were helping him look after a berry-patch that alone would "make expenses" this year. The wife minded the seven cows. The farm is free and clear save for \$400 lent by the Hirsch people to pay off an onerous mortgage. Some comment was made upon the light soil. The farmer pointed significantly to the barnyard.

"I make him good," he said. Across the road was a large house with a pretentious door-yard and evergreen hedges. A Gentile farmer with many acres lived in it. The lean fields promised but poor crops. The neighborhood knew that he never paid anything on his mortgage; claimed, in fact, that he could not.

"Ah!" said Mr. Sabsovich, emerging from a wrangle with his client about matters agricultural, "he has not

learned to 'make him good.' Come over to the school, and I will show you stock. You can't afford to keep poor cows. They cost too much."

The other shook his head energetically. "Them's the seven finest cows in the country," he yelled after us as we started. The superintendent laughed a little.

"You see what they are—stubborn; will have their way in an argument. But that fellow will be over to Woodbine before the week is out, to see what he can learn. He is not going to let me crow if he can help it. Not to be driven, they can be led, though it is not always easy. Suspicious, hard at driving a bargain as the Russian Jew is, I sometimes think I can see his better nature coming out already."

As we drove along, I thought so, too, more than once. From every farm and byway came men to have a word with the superintendent. For me they had a sidelong look, and a question, put in Hebrew. To the answer they often shook their heads, demanding another. After such a conference, I asked what it was about.

"You," said Mr. Sabsovich. "They are asking, 'Who is he?' I tell them that you are not a Jew. This is the answer they give: 'I don't care if he is a Jew. Is he a good man?'"

Over the supper-table that night, I caught the burning eyes of a young nihilist fixed upon me with a look I have not yet got over. I had been telling of my affection for the Princess Dagmar, whom I knew at Copenhagen in my youth. I meant it as something we had in common; she became Empress of Russia in after years. I forgot that it was by virtue of marrying Alexander



A VIEW OF THE AGRICULTURAL-SCHOOL FARM.



TYPE OF GIRL RESIDENT.

III. I heard afterward that he protested vehemently that I could not possibly be a good man. Well for me I did not tell him my opinion of the Czar himself! It was gleaned from Copenhagen, where they thought him the prince of good fellows.

At Carmel I found the hands in the clothing-factory making from \$10 to \$13 a week at human hours, and the population growing. Forty families had come from Philadelphia, where the authorities were helping the colonies by rigidly enforcing the sweat-shop ordinances. Inquiries I made as to the relative cost of living in the city and in the country brought out the following facts: A contractor with a family of eight paid shop-rent in Sheriff Street, New York, \$20 per month; for four rooms in a Monroe-Street tenement, \$15; household expenses, \$60. Here he pays shop-rent (whole house), \$6; dwelling on farm, \$4; household, \$35. This family enjoys greater comfort in the country for \$50 a month less. A working family of eight paid \$11 for three rooms in an Essex-Street tenement, \$35 for the household; here the rent is \$5, and the household expenses \$24—better living for \$17 less a month.

Near the village, a Jewish farmer who had tracked us from one of the other villages caught up with us to put before Mr. Sabsovich his request for more land. We halted to debate it in the road beside a seven-acre farm worked by a Lithuanian brickmaker. The old man in his peaked cap and sheepskin jacket was hoeing in the back-lot. His wife, crippled and half-blind, sat in the sunshine with a smile upon her wrin-

kled face, and listened to the birds. They came down together, when they heard our voices, to say that four of the seven acres were worked up. The other three would come. They had plenty and were happy. Only their boy, who should help, was gone.

It was the one note of disappointment I heard: the boys would not stay on the farm. To the aged it gave a new purpose, new zest in life. There was a place for them, whereas the tenement had none. The young could not be made to stay. It was the old story. I had heard it in New England in explanation of its abandoned farms: the work was too hard, was without a break. The good sense of the Jew recognizes the issue and meets it squarely. In Woodbine strenuous efforts were being made to develop the social life by every available means. No opportunity is allowed to pass that will "give the boy a chance." Here on the farms there



HUSBAND AND WIFE—TYPES OF THE EARLIER RUSSIAN IMMIGRATION.

were wiser fathers than the Lithuanian. Let one of them speak for himself.

His was one of a little settlement of fifteen families that had fought it out alone, being some distance from any of the villages. In the summer they farmed, and in the winter tailoring for the Philadelphia shops helped them out. Radetzky was a presser in the city ten years. There were nine in his house. "Seven to work on the farm," said the father, proudly, surveying the brown, muscular troop, "but the two little ones are good in summer at berry-picking." They



TYPICAL FAMILY GROUP AT WOODBINE.

had just then come in from the lima-bean field, where they had planted poles. Even the baby had helped.

"I put two beans in a hill instead of four. I tell you why," said the farmer; "I wait three days, and see if they come up. If they do not, I put down two more. Most of them come up, and I save two beans. A farmer has got to make money on saving expenses."

The sound of a piano interrupted him. "It is my daughter," he said.

"They help me, and I let them have in turn what young people want—piano, music-lessons, a good horse to drive. It pays. They are all here yet. In the beginning we starved together, had to eat corn with the cows, but the winter tailoring pulled us through. Now I want to give it up. I want to buy the next farm. With our 34 acres, it will make 60, and we can live like men, and let those that need the tailoring get it. I wouldn't exchange this farm for the best property in the city."

His two eldest sons nodded assent to his words.

Late that night, when we were returning to Woodbine, we came suddenly upon a crowd of boys filling the road. They wore the uniform of the Hirsch School. It was within ten minutes of closing-time, and they were half a mile from home. The superintendent pulled up and asked them where they were going. There was a brief silence, then the hesitating answer:

"It is a surprise party."

Mr. Sabsovich eyed the crowd sharply and thought a while.

"Oh," he said, remembering all at once, "it is Mr. Billings and his new wife. Go ahead, boys!"

To me, trying vainly to sleep in the village hotel in the midnight hour with a tin-pan serenade to the newly married teacher going on under the window, there came in a lull, with the challenge of the loudest boy, "Mr. Billings! If you don't come down, we will never go home," an appreciation of the Woodbine system of discipline which I had lacked till then. It was the Radetzky plan over again, of giving the boys a chance, to make them stay on the farm.

If it is difficult to make the boy stay, it is sometimes even harder to make the father go. Out of a hundred families picked on New York's East Side as in especial need of transplanting to the land, just seven consented when it came to the journey. They didn't relish the "society of the stumps." The Jews' colonies need many things before they can hope to rival the attraction of the city to the man whom the slum has robbed of all resources. They sum themselves up in the social life of which the tenement has



CLASS OF CHILDREN AT WOODBINE KINDERGARTEN.

such unsuspected stores in the closest of touch with one's fellows. The colonies need business opportunities to boom them, facilities for marketing produce in the cities, canning-factories, store cellars for the product of the vineyards—all of which time must supply. Though they have given to hundreds the chance of life, it cannot be said for them that they have demonstrated yet the Jews' ability to stand alone upon the land, backed as they are by the Hirsch-Fund millions. In fact, I have heard no such claim advanced. But it can at least be said that for these they have solved the problem of life and of the slum. And that is something!

Nor is it all. Because of its being a concerted movement, this of south Jersey, it has been, so to speak, easier to make out. But already, upon the experience gained there, 700 families, with some previous training and fitness for farming, have been settled upon New England farms and are generally doing well. More than \$2,000,000 worth of property in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and their sister States is owned by Jewish husbandmen. They are mostly dairy-farmers, poultrymen, sheep-breeders. The Russian Jew will not in this generation be fit for what might be called long-range farming. He needs crops that turn his money over quickly. With that in sight, he works hard and faithfully. The Yankee, as



SCENE IN NEW YORK'S GHETTO, FROM WHICH WOODBINE'S POPULATION HAS BEEN RECRUITED.

plus the energy that will not let him sit still and starve, make a way for him that opens it at the same time for others. In New York he *made* the needle industry, which he monopolized. He brought its product up from \$30,000,000 to \$300,000,000 a year, that he might live, and founded many a great fortune by his midnight toil. In New England, while peopling its abandoned farms, in self-defense he takes up on occasion abandoned manufacturing plants to make the work he wants. At Colchester, Conn., 120 Jewish families settled about the great rubber-works. The workings of a trust shut it down after 40 years' successful operation, causing loss of wages and much suffering to 1,500 hands. The Christian employees, who must have been in overwhelming majority, probably took it out in denouncing trusts. I didn't hear that they did much else, except go away, I suppose, in search of another job. The Jews did not go away. Perhaps they couldn't. They cast about for some concern to supply the place of the rubber-works. At last accounts I heard of them negotiating with a large woolen concern in Leeds to move its plant across the Atlantic to Colchester. How it came out, I do not know.

The attempt to colonize Jewish immigrants had two objects: to relieve the man and to drain the Ghetto. In this last it failed. In 18 years 1,200 families have been moved out. In the five months from October to March last, 12,000 came to stay in New York City. The number of immigrant Jews during those months was 15,233, of whom only 3,881 went farther. The population of the Ghetto reaches already 250,000. It was like trying to bail out the ocean. Within a year the projectors of Woodbine have taken the bull squarely by the horns with a proposition to reverse the programme en-



RESIDENCE OF A PROSPEROUS FARMER.

a rule, welcomes him. He has the sagacity to see that his coming will improve economic conditions, now none too good. As shrewd traders, the two are well-matched. The public school brings the children together on equal terms, leveling out any roughness that might remain.

If the showing that the Jewish population of New England has increased in 17 years from 9,000 to 74,000 gives anybody pause, it is not at least without its compensation. The very need of the immigrant to which objection is made,

tirely. Instead of arguing with unwilling employees to take the step they dread, they are trying to persuade manufacturers to move out of the city, depending upon the workers to follow their work. To that end they have formed an alliance with various reputable suburban land companies in Jersey, on Staten Island, and elsewhere, and offer to build homes for the families thus weaned from the tenements. Their plan, under which the operatives are able to become owners of their homes, at little more than one-half the outlay for rent in the tenement, includes a cash payment of 10 per cent. The Hirsch Fund takes a mortgage for 60 per cent. of the purchase price at 4 per cent., the builder the remainder at 5 per cent. Thus the owner of a \$1,100 cottage, with five rooms and bath, paying off the builder's mortgage in 10 years, would be at a monthly outlay of \$8, including taxes and insurance. At \$10 a month he might have a six-room cottage, and at \$12.50, the rent which he would ordinarily pay for a dark, three-room flat in Essex Street, a little mansion with seven rooms and bath. Farming does not enter into this scheme. It aims only at restoring the home.

Mr. Arthur Reichow, the agricultural agent of the Hirsch Fund, is the projector and champion of it as the salvation from the tenement. His argument is briefly that the clothing industry makes the Ghetto by lending itself most easily to tenement manufacture. The Ghetto, with its crowds and unhealthy competition, makes the sweat-shop in turn, with all the bad conditions that disturb the trade. To move the crowds out is at once to kill the Ghetto and the sweat-shops, and to restore the industry to healthy ways.

The argument is correct. The economic gains by such an exodus are equally clear, provided the philanthropy that starts it will maintain a careful watch to prevent the old slum conditions being reproduced in the new places, and unscrupulous employers from taking advantage of the isolation of their workers. With this chance removed, strikes are not so readily fomented by home-owners. The manufacturer secures steady labor, the worker a steady job. The young are removed from the contamination of the tenement. The practical question is whether the manufacturer can be persuaded to go. Mr. Reichow thinks he can, with proper inducements at the start, and that speedily the advantage of rents that are as nothing to what he had to pay in the city, together with the freedom from labor annoyances and from the reproach of sweat-shop-made goods, will so outbalance the convenience of having the shop close at hand that subsidies will no longer be needed. One can but hope and pray that he may be right and that the doubts that will arise may prove groundless.

The matter may yet be put before the community in the form of a distinct programme, for which its support will be asked. It need not, of course, be confined to the Jews in its working. Only, the machinery and the means for starting these out are at hand in the Hirsch Fund. When, say, 10 per cent. of those now in the Ghetto have been removed, argue the enthusiasts, a rut will have been made for so much of the immigration to follow to the new places, and to that extent it will have been diverted from the cities. To that extent, then, a real "way out" of the slum will have been found.



BATTALION DRILL OF PUPILS OF THE AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL.

THE OLD AGE OF NEW ENGLAND AUTHORS.

BY HEZEKIAH BUTTERWORTH.

SAID a venerable author, whose old age is a second youth, to me recently :

"A literary life, without dissipations or selfish competitions and ambitions, tends to extreme old age. It is not difficult to explain why this is so. Nothing brings contentment like creative work, and a life for influence and contentment is true life."

"This is true of English authors," I replied.

"Herbert Spencer is eighty, and Ruskin, though no longer active, is the same age. [Ruskin has since died.] Gladstone made one of his most notable speeches after he was 80 years of age. Among female writers, I recall that Charlotte Mary Yonge is in the last years of the seventies. I wonder if this longevity be true of New England writers?"

"It certainly is," said my friend.

"To what do you attribute the long tide of years?" I asked.

He answered, briefly: "Cheerfulness."

I felt a new inspiration in what my friend had said, and I was interested to inquire if many New England and New York authors had lived to extreme age, and if so how much *cheerfulness* had to do with the life stream; and I began to make a study of the faces of some of those whose lives had brought a second spring-tide.

An "Authors' Club" has recently been formed in Boston, of which Julia Ward Howe is the president. Among those who have been active in its meetings are a number who are long past 70 years of age—as Colonel Higginson, Edward Everett Hale, Mr. Trowbridge, Mrs. Livermore, Edna D. Cheney, and others. The most active members, like Elbridge Brooks and certain other book-writing editors, are past 50 years of age, while Mrs. Howe is in her eighty-second year.

The past of Boston literature reveals a like remarkable record. Richard Henry Dana, the author of "The Old Man's Funeral," and one of the founders of the *North American Review*—the

Nestor of Boston authors of the present generation—was born in 1787. He was a literary companion of John Quincy Adams. He was a notable figure in Boston in the middle of the century, with his patriarchal beard and white hair. He died in 1879, at the age of 92 years. His life was a still, deep, silent current. He was an invalid for the first fifty years of his life, but became entirely well as he passed toward old age, and retained his intellectual vigor until past 91 years. An edition of his poems appeared when he was 65 years of age. He lived much at Cape Ann, and loved the salt sea air.

John Pierpont, who was born in 1785, and died in 1866, past 80 years of age, had a like life, and one that brought a like serenity. His "Napoleon at Rest," and "Passing Away," were poems familiar to most people of the last generation.

I well recall how popular were once two New England ballads, the music of which was by Bernard Covert. One was entitled "The Lake of the Dismal Swamp" (words by Moore), and the other "The Sword of Bunker Hill." On taking up my residence in Boston, I was introduced to Mr. Covert, and he called on me and sang to me two ballads. His voice was firm and clear. Imagine my surprise when, after his singing these songs, he said: "My friend, those are old memories; I am now 91 years of age!"

If the founder of the *North American Review* lived to enjoy literary memories beyond 90 years, the same might be said of several of the authors who made the great name and influence of the *Atlantic Monthly*. The serene author of "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table" wrote "Over the Teacups" when past 80 years. Prof. Jefferson Sawyer, the controversialist of Tufts College, has but recently died, in the sunset shadow of 90 years; and Dr. Bartol, of West Church



EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D.



MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE.

fame, who still lingers in the twilight rays of 90 winters, was engaged in most active enterprises long after three score and ten. Charles Eliot Norton, who was born in 1827, still holds his place as our foremost literary critic.

Longfellow beautifully says, in "Morituri Salutamus"—a poem written very late in his



EX-SENATOR JAMES W. BRADBURY, OF MAINE.

own life, and one that has the ripeness and mellowness that characterized his last poems :

" Ah, nothing is too late
Till the tired heart shall cease to palpitate.
Cato learned Greek at eighty ; Sophocles
Wrote his grand ' Ædipus,' and Simonides
Bore off all the prize of verse from his compeers,
When each had numbered more than fourscore years ;
And Theophrastus, at fourscore and ten,
Had but begun his ' Character of Men' ;
Chaucer, at Woodstock with the nightingales,
At sixty wrote the Canterbury Tales ;
Goethe at Weimar, toiling to the last,
Completed ' Faust ' when eighty years were past.
These are indeed exceptions ; but they show
How far the gulf-stream of our youth may flow
Into the arctic regions of our lives,
Where little else than life itself survives."

It is not my purpose, however, to dwell on the authors who have recently completed their work, but to give some pen-stroke pictures of those who are now working beyond the Scriptural bound of " threescore and ten."

To see what these people are now doing is to read a moral lesson from a living page of life, and to present a view of the literary life at once

alluring and inspiring. The living New England authors, as a rule, are not rich in money ; they are better than that—rich in years, in ripe and valuable experiences, in the blood that makes the spring come again, with farewell skies, birds and flowers. The author of work that will live, make men, and prepare the world for better influences, ought not, perhaps, to be worth more than \$20,000. In this commercial age, not many living New England authors are worth more than this out of their own earnings. Some of them have had to live in country towns, on garden-farms, that they might do true work. It is sensational writing that makes money. A man, as a rule, does not become very rich who writes for the reviews that which will feed the hunger of the brain and heart.

Among the men in the seventies who are yet very active in Boston's literary life is Mr. Malloy, the interpreter of Emerson. He worked his way to philosophical scholarship from humble conditions of early life. He became an intimate, personal friend of Emerson, and is one of his ablest interpreters. Strange as it may seem in a philosopher, he is the master of a refined and genial humor, and that gift never more sparkled in his picturesque and melodious sentences, as they flow from the platform of the Metaphysical Club and other clubs, than now. He is the literary humorist of New England. He goes to old wells and brings up sparkling, new wine. His face has no wrinkles of old age ; it is wonderfully beautiful ; it has in it the spring-time glow of the aftermath, and recalls the face of A. B. Alcott, who himself lived to be nearly 90.

It is not often that one has nearly fifty years of retirement after a very active public life ; but Senator James Ware Bradbury, once an editor, and engaged in literary work in connection with the Maine Historical Society, was born in 1803, and declined reelection as United States Senator nearly fifty years ago. He delivered an address on " The Schools of 1825 " before an educational society at Augusta, Maine, two years ago, when more than 95 years of age. We do not know of any living man in New England who has continued his literary work so late in life. The late Hon. Neal Dow made a public address in New York City on his ninetieth birthday.

Edward Everett Hale was born April 3, 1822. No man in New England is found more frequently on the New England platform as the voice of current and historic events. He is in public life almost daily, and figures in the principal social events of Boston. He has written some fifty books ; and, at the age of 78 years, there seems to be no abatement of his physical or mental force.



ELIZABETH CADY STANTON.



JULIA WARD HOWE.

I have seldom heard a more thrilling oration than one recently given in Boston by ex-Governor Boutwell, also an octogenarian. The fire of forty was in it—a Cato-like spirit and force. Senator Hoar, in the declining seventies, has a like record.

Another octogenarian, with a face transfigured by long beneficence of thought and life, is Hon. Henry S. Washburn, the author of "The Vacant Chair," and the once famous missionary hymn, "The Burial of Mrs. Judson." He published a volume of poems when 82 years of age—a book full of the true song spirit, of mellifluous meters, the fire of patriotism, and the true touch of home. He is far into the eighties now, and to look into his face is to receive a benediction. He watched long by the chair of his invalid wife, whom he has made the subject of truly beautiful verse. He was once the poet of Baptist occasions, and belonged to the class of religious authors represented by Dr. Samuel F. Smith, who died at the age of 87, falling at his post as he was going out to preach.

From the coterie of beautiful old faces with the new spring in them, Samuel May last year disappeared at the age of 90. He was buried from James Freeman Clarke's old church. The light of Heaven seemed to fall into his last years, and he looked like a dead prophet as he lay amid banks of flowers in the church.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton, born in 1815, is not a New England woman, but belongs to the type and cult of which we write, and is deep in New England councils of thought, social life, and advancement. She has so lived that the stream of life runs as far out as has been kept clear, and waters the hazels that bloom in the fall.

The venerable Bishop Clark, the "war Bishop" of Rhode Island, administered until recently the duties of his office, though under certain limitations, in the serene twilight of a life of nearly 90 years. So lived on Dr. Cyrus Hamlin,

the missionary, until August, 1900, passing away at 89.

Dr. Edwards A. Park, of Andover, who has just died, was engaged, when past 90 years, in writing a history of the times of Jonathan Edwards in New England.

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, one of the most accomplished women in America, the immortal author of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," was born in 1819, and has passed her eighty-first year. She is still active on the platform and in literary work, serving on important committees of philanthropy, local, national, and international. She wrote, in Washington, the "Battle Hymn of the Republic"—a song destined to live like the prophetess Deborah's—when the city was beleaguered in November, 1861, or thirty-nine years ago. She has been called to read it in public for nearly forty years, and still favors Boston audiences by reciting it at entertainments given for charity and on patriotic occasions.

Susan B. Anthony, who has labored with Mrs. Howe for the higher education and better employment of women, was born in 1820. She



THE LATE DR. EDWARDS A. PARK.

began public life by teaching at \$1.50 per week, and was awakened by her own small salary to the too small valuation of woman's work.

The most active lecturers and historical writers in Boston, except Mr. Fiske, are over 70 years of age. Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, who lives at Melrose, near Boston, is 78. She was born in Boston, December 19, 1821. Until the recent death of her husband, she was almost daily on the platform, and is still full of activity and the spirit of the age.

Thomas W. Higginson, who represents a life of continued activity, was born at Cambridge, Mass., December 22, 1823, and is, therefore, of about the same age as Mrs. Livermore.

William R. Alger, one of the most learned men of the times, who began his studies while working at the loom, still teaches rhetoric and oratory, though in the serene seventies.

Horace E. Scudder is one of the middle-aged public men, like Dr. Lorimer; Miss Edna Dean Proctor and Mrs. Louise Chandler Moulton, were in the active currents of the early sixties. It is common to meet at Boston clubs Mr. John Thomas Codman, who was at Brook Farm, Mrs. Cheney, who was an intimate friend of Margaret Fuller, and Mr. John Hutchinson, of old temperance memories.

The great age attained by the writers for young people in New England is remarkable. Samuel G. Goodrich ("Peter Parley") died young, according to these standards, at the age of 67, having published 160 books, with a circulation of some 7,000,000 volumes. Jacob Abbott died at the age of 76, having produced 200 volumes. William T. Adams ("Oliver Optic") lived to the age of 75. More than 1,000,000 copies of his books were sold. John T. Trowbridge lives in Cambridge, in the serenities past 70 years, looking like a man of 60, and engaging in public service at will. He has a charming home and lovely family. The Rev. William M. Thayer, whose tide of life ran almost to the eightieth mile-stone of years, was looked upon as the Nestor of young people's writers.

We may well speak here of a most beautiful and ideal life that is verging on 90 years, and that, perhaps, was never more useful than now. We refer to the author of the "Elm Island" series of books, Rev. Elijah Kellogg, the author of "Spartacus," a declamation familiar to the boys of three generations. He lives in Harps-

well, Maine, and there writes, preaches, and manages a farm. Harpswell is a summer resort, and the boarders among the firs of the salt sea-breezes love, on summer Sabbaths, to attend the church of the venerable author-preacher. Though almost a nonagenarian, he preaches or conducts services twice on the Sabbath. His books still live.

His life began near the beginning of the century, and it promises to see the century's end. He was born on the rude coast, and became a sailor before the mast. He fell under religious convictions, was converted, and began a Christian work for seamen at the Boston Bethel. He was graduated from Bowdoin and Andover. His life bespoke great usefulness, and he was



THOMAS WENTWORTH
HIGGINSON.

offered a city pulpit at the then large salary of \$2,000 a year. But his heart was in his native town. He went there, and began public life in the new meeting-house at a salary perhaps less than one-fourth of that which had been previously offered him in the city. Here has been the scene of his labors. He wrote his books here, and although they did not

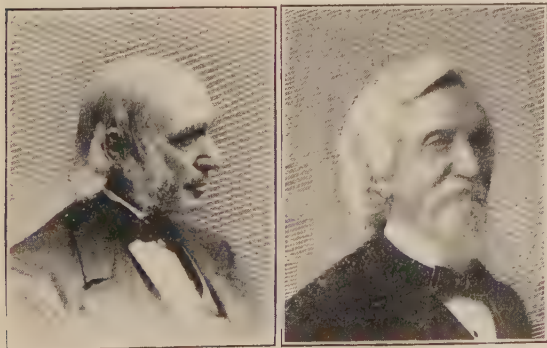
make him rich, they gave him influence and brought him contentment and happiness.

That the admired young author of "Spartacus" should choose a country parish, where he could have a free use of the pen, instead of a popular city church, seems remarkable. But every man knows his own inward calling. And Elijah Kellogg made his country-parish life felt in all of the other parishes of America. So he did not preach to a scattered population and till his farm in vain. Such holy and rustic occupations made his books for him, and gave his literary work life and power; and to gain right influence is more than any other thing.

Mrs. Lydia Maria Child, the editor of "Juvenile Miscellany," lived to be almost 80 years of age. She retired to Wayland, Mass., in her last years for a quiet life. Juvenile periodicals had their beginning in her work.

Nathaniel Willis, the first editor of the *Youth's Companion*, lived beyond 90 years. William Matthews, author of "Getting On in the World," still lives in Boston, and does active work and mingles in social life at a very advanced age.

Until recently Father Locke, who sang his



A. BRONSON ALCOTT.

JOHN TOWNSEND TROWBRIDGE.



Photo by Pach Brothers.

PROF. CHARLES ELIOT NORTON.

thrilling campaign song to Lincoln, was a figure in patriotic assemblies.

What is the secret of these long lives, of the serene and useful years that in many of these lives followed the age of seventy? Did the friend whom I have quoted adequately answer the question?

Mrs. Julia Ward Howe recently gave a lecture at the New England Conservatory of Music on "A Plea for Cheerfulness." She took in part this view. James T. Fields, after his retirement from active work, used to give a reminiscent lecture on the same subject with like conclusions.

The moralist will say that these writers were temperate, governed in all things by moral principle, and sought to fulfill a calling rather than to make money or gain fame. This is true. But we repeat: Most of these literary people, and probably all of them, felt that they must live for influence, and that they were doing that which God had called them to do, and they *found their happiness in their work*. True happiness tends to long life, and such contentment comes from things that money cannot buy.

For the sake of doing good work with her pen, Lydia Maria Child went to her garden in Wayland, and Elijah Kellogg to his farm in Maine. Others sought philanthropies; others, to gain useful information and right views of life, traveled. It has been my pleasure to meet many of these writers, and I never knew one who did not seek to be guided by his conscience, and who was not happy in seeking to put right ideals into other lives. The activities of a right purpose tend to long life; and the hopeful worker

in some field of God is sometimes blessed with twenty-one serene years beyond threescore and ten, and often with ten useful years beyond the natural limit.

Of such men whose youth is renewed, and who are "satisfied with long life," after the Psalmist's promise, it may be noted that youth gave the suggestions of their work, but old age the completion of it. The period between 60 and 67 has been especially prolific in this re-touching of old ideals, maturing long thought, and producing the right harvest. This was Emerson's period of clear-visioned work. Emerson waited thirteen years for his "Nature" to reach a sale of 500 copies. He lived simply that he might do perfect work, but the public influence of his work came very late in life.

Nearly all of these authors who have found the years beyond seventy to be the best of their lives have been very social in their habits, and have shared their lives largely with others. Nearly all of them have been engaged in beneficent enterprises, which have fixed their minds upon purposes which lift life over petty things and selfish frictions. The antislavery cause absorbed the attention of some of them for many years; various means of educating and helping the poor, as notably in the cases of Edward Everett Hale, Julia Ward Howe, and Mrs. Livermore, have been lifelong purposes with others.

Benevolent purposes enrich authorship, and tend to add to life the ten or twenty harvest bright years. The heart-happiness of doing good makes the life-stream deep, smooth, and long.

Titian wrought the true soul-lines at 90 years, and such lives as Mary Somerville and James Martineau ripen slowly and bring forth the magic touch or the immortal thought in years beyond threescore and ten.

To the young literary worker, willing to live for a high purpose, the examples of the New England writers lingering in the honor of beneficent influence have their lessons. Kepler said that he would rather be the author of the books that he had written than to possess the duchy of Saxony. He found his compensation in himself; so do all who live for soul purposes.

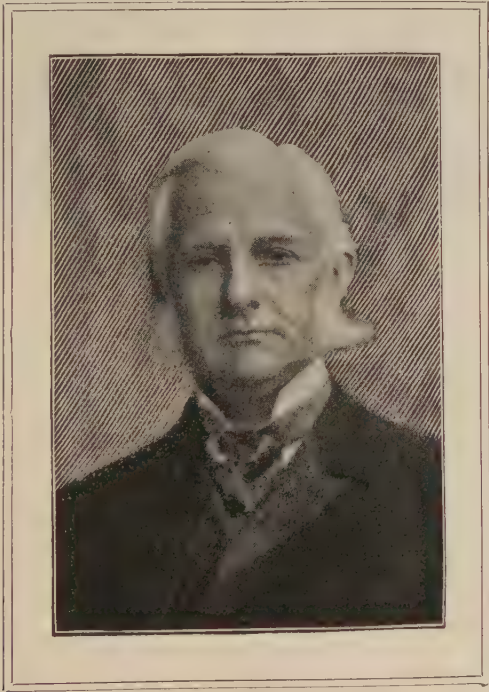
Purpose is success, if it be rightly aimed; and a benevolent purpose brings a contentment of heart that causes life to flower late and bear winter fruit: it fosters the best life that can be led. Let one look in upon the Boston "Authors' Club" and see one of the happiest illustrations of this most wholesome truth. They who live in their true purpose of life live long and well, and their Indian summer of the seasons represents their most useful years. Literary work is a growth; it comprehends the whole of life.

AN ESTIMATE OF MAX MÜLLER (1823-1900).

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON.

(Bengal Civil Service, retired.)

[Friedrich Maximilian Müller, generally called Max Müller, was born at Dessau, Germany, December 6, 1823. He was educated at the Universities of Leipzig and Berlin, and the Collège de France. In 1846 he went to England, in 1849 brought out the first volume of the "Rig Veda," and in 1850 settled at Oxford, where he became Taylorian professor of modern languages in 1854. He was made curator of the Bodleian Library in 1856. In 1868 he became professor of comparative philology at Oxford. His chief works are: "A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature" (1859), "Lectures on the Science of Language" (1861-64), "Handbooks for the Study of Sanskrit" (1865-70), "Chips from a German Workshop" (1868-75), "Lectures on the Science of Religion" (1870), "On the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religions of India" (1878), and "Auld Lang Syne" (1898-99). He edited the "Rig Veda," in 6 volumes, and the "Sacred Books of the East," in 50 volumes. The degree of LL.D. was conferred on him by the Universities of Edinburgh, Cambridge, Bologna, Dublin, and Budapest. He was a member of the Institute of France and of many distinguished orders. Prof. Max Müller died at Oxford, on October 28, 1900.]



THE LATE PROF. MAX MÜLLER.

MAX MÜLLER always asserted that he was an evolutionist before Darwin, and that the growth, maturity, and decay of languages showed much more perfectly the laws of development than does the fragmentary record of the geologist. A thousand links between these two great pioneers are evident. Not less closely is Max Müller's work bound up with Gladstone's. There is the most intimate relation between the ideal of united Italy or the Panslavism which brought the resurrection of the Balkan States—both causes dear to

Gladstone's heart—and the teaching of kinship through kindred speech, the evangel of the great philologist. But Max Müller's direct influence on politics by no means stopped with the Italians and Slavs;—he used the Crimean War as the text of an eloquent sermon on the brotherhood of races; and, most of all, he worked for the good of the Indian empire, by infusing into the minds of her future administrators a respect for her ancient tongues and a living interest for the obscure idioms of a hundred furtive and backward peoples, who hide in the jungles and among the hills of that land of marvels, and who owe it chiefly to him that they are recognized as members of the great human family, as part and parcel of articulate man. Wherever, throughout the wide confines of the British empire, a man is to be found who has won his way into the hearts of some remote and isolated tribe,—in the woods or ravines of the mountains, in tropical morasses, or in the myriad islands of the sunny seas, by using the talisman of speech, by learning the tongue of lowly savages,—it will, almost infallibly, be found that his impulse came from Max Müller. This is, most of all, true of India—hundreds of whose rulers and magistrates were trained in his school of thought, using his very text-books even. But it is not less true of the remote regions of the Pacific, of the Australian bush, of the wildernesses of Northern Canada, of Guiana and the Amazon—wherever the most adventurous race has penetrated. Here are two books: one, a comparative dictionary of the Polynesian languages; the other, a grammar of the Santals of the Vindhya hills; both are dedicated to Max Müller, and they are only types of scores of others which show how broad, human, and benign has been the influence of the great scholar who has died.

With the workers whose names we have already mentioned, Max Müller stands for the immense and splendid broadening of our consciousness and human feeling, which corresponds to those victories over space and time that make our age miraculous. All worked together for the signal uplifting of man; and Max Müller labored in those very regions of thought and feeling, of aspiration and imagination, of poetry, history and religion, which, under evil auspices leading to discord and hate, may, when touched with the sunlight of understanding, bind men's hearts together as nothing else can.

1849: THE "RIG VEDA."

Max Müller has himself so charmingly recorded the scenes of his early life,—from Dessau, "in an oasis of oak-trees, where the Elbe and the Mulde meet, a town then overflowing with music," to the class-rooms of Leipzig and Berlin, and later to Paris, to the Collège de France, where the great Burnouf was lecturing,—that no one need again tell the tale. For us the significance of his work begins in London, where, at the age of twenty-six, he published the first volume of his great edition of the "Rig Veda." This was in 1849; he had been gathering materials since his twenty-first year, supporting himself meanwhile by writing. There is something worthy of all admiration in the devotion which carried him through the first and heaviest stages of this herculean task; while still an unknown and struggling student, without means and without recognition. As he himself wrote, more than fifty years ago: "When I first entered on this undertaking, I saw but little chance that I should ever succeed in carrying it out, and my only hope of success was derived from the firm conviction that, in the present state of philological, historical, and philosophical research, no literary work was of greater importance and interest to the philologist, the historian, and the philosopher than the 'Veda,' the oldest literary monument of the Indo-European world." After the immense difficulties of research, of deciphering, of interpretation, the endless task of copying, transcribing, comparing had been completed, there remained the very formidable material problem of publication. Here was an author whose first work was in an unknown tongue, and so voluminous that tens of thousands of dollars would hardly represent the cost of printing it, while the sale could hardly be more than nominal. That Max Müller easily overcame this most formidable obstacle gives us the clew to one of his greatest qualities—his power of communicating to others his immense enthusiasm for abstract thought, his unselfish devotion, his vision of things to come. The Directors of



PROF. MAX MÜLLER.

(In costume as one of the eight foreign members of the French Institute.)

the East India Company willingly bore the burden, consenting in words which take us back to a by-gone age: "The court considers that the publication of so important and interesting a work as that to which your proposal refers is in a peculiar manner deserving of the patronage of the East India Company, connected as it is with the early religion, history, and language of the great body of their Indian subjects." The East India Company is gone, fallen forever in the gigantic struggle of the mutiny; its Court of Directors belong as much to history as the South-Sea House. But Max Müller's work remains. He himself held an even higher view of it than that which they expressed. The "Veda" was, in his eyes, for the whole Aryan world what Homer was to the Greeks, the Koran to the Arabs, Shakespeare to the speakers of English—the most venerable monument of our Western world. Two sentences will show the broad and human spirit in which he worked: "The 'Veda' would never have engaged the attention of a large class of scholars if this ancient literary relic had not been found to shed the most unexpected light on the darkest periods in the history of the most prominent nations of antiquity. . . . But no religion, no poetry, no law, no language, can resist the

wear and tear of thirty centuries; and in the 'Veda,' as in other works handed down to us from a very remote antiquity, the sharp edges of primitive thought, the delicate features of a young language, the fresh hue of unconscious poetry, have been washed away by the successive waves of tradition. . . . We must not despair even where their words seem meaningless and their ideas barren or wild. What seems at first childish may, at a happier moment, disclose a sublime simplicity; and even in helpless expressions we may recognize aspirations after some high and noble idea. When the scholar has done his work, the poet and philosopher must take it up and finish it." None will deny to the editor of the "Rig Veda" and analyst of Panini the title of scholar, nor to the translator of Kant and expounder of Shankara that of philosopher. That Max Müller was withal a poet, hundreds of wonderfully eloquent passages in his works will show—phrases like this from "Auld Lang Syne": "the infinite blue of the sky, the varied verdure of the trees, the silver sparkle of the sea."

1861: THE "SCIENCE OF LANGUAGE."

The tide of fame which his "Rig Veda" brought him, in his twenty-sixth year, carried him into port in Oxford—a safe harbor, which sheltered him from the storms and hurricanes of fate till his life's end. His work on the "Veda" was spread over a full quarter-century; but his boundless moral energy was already busy exploring new fields. His "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature" was properly a by-product of the "Veda;" so that we may consider the famous essays on the "Science of Language," delivered at the Royal Institution in London in 1861, as his next great independent work. This was the age of Faraday, Lyell, and Hooker. When Max Müller published the first volume of his "Veda," ten years were still to run before the "Origin of Species" saw the light. The flavor of that epoch is well reflected in a letter which Max Müller wrote me from Dessau, his birthplace, when he had returned thither for a season in his seventieth year: "I have often before protested against crediting Darwin with discoveries which were made long before his time. Surely, the antiquity of the world and of man was worked out by Lyell with far greater knowledge than by Darwin. And as to the theory of evolution, it was established by the Science of Language long before Darwin, and finds its best illustration, not in the broken chain, with its many missing links, of the animal kingdom, but in the continuous growth of language. Whether Natural Science borrowed from us or not, certain it is that the priority in the use of nearly all the forms of

thought of the Evolutionary School belongs to the students of the Science of Language. This cannot be inculcated often enough."

To this pre-Darwinian period the lectures at the Royal Institution belong. With all the skill of a practised orator, Max Müller said:

If I venture to address an audience accustomed to listen, in this place, to the wonderful tales of the natural historian, the chemist, and geologist, and wont to see the novel results of inductive reasoning invested by native eloquence with all the charm of poetry and romance, it is because, though mistrusting myself, I cannot mistrust my subject. The study of words may be tedious to the schoolboy, as breaking stones is to the wayside laborer; but to the thoughtful eye of the geologist these stones are full of interest—he sees miracles on the highroad, and reads chronicles in every ditch. Language, too, has marvels of her own, which she unveils to the inquiring glance of the patient student. There are chronicles below her surface; there are sermons in every word.

We cannot tell, as yet, what language is. It may be a production of nature, a work of human art, or a divine gift. If it be a product of nature, it is her last and crowning production, which she reserved for man alone. If it be a work of human art, it would seem to lift the human artist almost to the level of a divine creator. If it be the gift of God, it is God's greatest gift; for through it God spake to man and man speaks to God in worship, prayer, and meditation.

This sufficiently illustrates the power of his rich genius to touch with emotion, to enkindle with enthusiasm, whatever theme he undertook. He had, above all, the gift of contagion, of personal and moral magnetism, which came not only from his faith in his subject, but far more from the warmth and fervor of his imagination, from the riches of a profoundly poetical nature. There is something in this peroration which recalls the moral earnestness and elevation of Gladstone, and establishes another link between these two great minds.

1876: "THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST."

These eloquent studies of language were but the prelude to a larger undertaking, which finally took form in "The Sacred Books of the East." By his studies in the "Veda," the "Avesta," the Pali and Sanskrit texts of Buddhism, Max Müller was well qualified to penetrate the dark places of Oriental thought; his philosophical sense, always keen, had been whetted by his work on Kant's great critique. His long years of research into the relationships and growth of language had trained him to see the same mind working throughout all history, the same human heart clothing in words its hopes, its fears, its aspirations. He was profoundly convinced of the brotherhood of all the races of man—a kinship, not of animals, but of living souls.

We can see in all this the preparation for his third and greatest undertaking—a task so great that many years have yet to run before its fruits are fully ripe; before the minds of the majority are ripe enough to comprehend its purpose. Briefly, he aimed to show the kinship of all the religions of the world; and to this high purpose the last twenty-five years of his splendidly productive life were vowed. As he wrote in 1876: "To watch, in 'The Sacred Books of the East,' the dawn of the religious consciousness of man must always remain one of the most inspiring and hallowing sights in the whole history of the world; and he whose heart cannot quiver with the first quivering rays of human thought and human faith, as revealed in these ancient documents, is, in his own way, as unfit for these studies as, from another side, the man who shrinks from copying and collating ancient manuscripts, or toiling through volumes of tedious commentary. What we want here, as everywhere else, is the truth, and the whole truth; and if the whole truth must be told, it is that, however radiant the dawn of religious thought, it is not without its dark clouds, its chilling colds, its noxious vapors. Whoever does not know these, or would hide them from his own sight and the sight of others, does not know, and can never understand, the real toil and travail of the human heart in its first religious aspirations; and, not knowing its toil and travail, can never know the intensity of its triumphs and joys."

A whole period of his work, a whole series of books and lectures, flowed from the purpose here expressed. Foremost stands the great monument of learning and devotion, the famous series which he calls "The Sacred Books of the East," whose work, as we have said, is only beginning. There were, too, special studies of different religions, the best of which are his Vedanta studies, which show him as ardent an idealist, as firm a believer in man's divine nature and immortality, as any Indian seer of them all. Here stand forth preëminent his gifts of moral enthusiasm and of eloquent expounding; and the immense work his undertaking has already achieved can only be realized by comparing the wide and urbane religious feeling of the present day with the harsh and narrow dogmatism of a past generation. Tolerance, sympathy, insight into the thoughts of others, were ever his watchwords; and these qualities are of most priceless value in the field of religion, where their defect works most lasting and irremediable harm.

For his work in widening our religious sense, as he had before widened our sense of human feeling, of kinship with races alien in speech and foreign in habit of thought; for the immense

impetus he gave to the onward movement of the moral world,—we must esteem Max Müller as one of the greatest synthetic minds in history—a creator, and even more, a reconciler.

1898: "AULD LANG SYNE."

The spirit of his closing days, with their pathos and wistfulness, is well echoed in these words from "Auld Lang Syne;" the last sentence may stand as his epitaph: "Whether it is accurate, 'who can tell?' All I can say is, that the positive copy here published is as true and as exact as the rays of the evening sun of life, falling on the negative in my memory, could make it. Though I have suppressed whatever could possibly have given offense to any sensible person, however sensitive, I have not retouched the pictures of my friends and acquaintances; nor have I tried, as is now so much the fashion, to take out all the lines and wrinkles, so that nothing remains but the washed faces of angels. What I give here is but a small portion of the panorama of life that has passed before my eyes. Of myself, there is but little; for the spectator or interpreter in a panorama should remain unseen and in the dark. It is a pleasure to him, though often a sad pleasure, to see once more what he has seen before—to live the old time over again; to look once more at dear faces once so full of love and life; to feel the touch of a vanished hand; to hear a voice that is still.

"As we grow old, it is our fate to lose our friends; but the friends we have lost are often nearer to us than those who remain. Will they never be quite near to us again? Stars meet stars after thousands of years; and are we not of more value than many a star?"

Gladstone did much to humanize the policy of the world's most extensive empire; to reconcile was his dearest ambition, rather than to overrule. Bismarck molded together into one body, with a single heart, the fragments of a scattered people, showing us the vast power that lies in unity. Darwin, lovable and humble, broke down the barriers that cut us off from the lesser races of the world; broke down the barriers of time, and showed us the one Life surging forever through all living creatures. Max Müller, accomplishing a like task for the invisible world, threw down the partition-walls between peoples and tongues, making all the children of men once more akin in thought, as Darwin had shown them kindred in blood; and, lifting the mists from bygone ages, showed us the community of our speech, our thought and aspiration, with the word long hushed on lips of vanished races, of men whose name memory has ceased to whisper along the deserted corridors of time.

MARCUS DALY, EMPIRE-BUILDER.

BY SAMUEL E. MOFFETT.

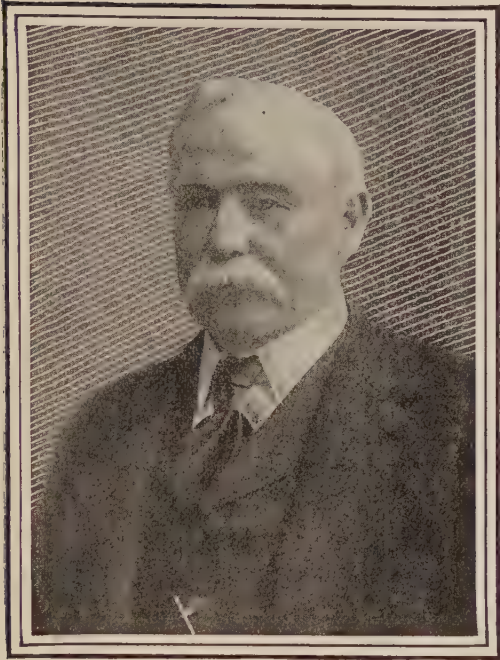


Photo by Davis & Sanford, New York.

THE LATE MARCUS DALY.

THE career of the late Marcus Daly gave emphatic evidence that "empire-building" was no new thing in this country. Daly was an empire-builder before Manila meant anything more to American ears than Singapore. And the enterprises he built up have added more to the wealth of the nation than the Philippines are likely to add in the next fifty years.

Daly's experience ought to encourage young men who think that fortune is too slow in coming; that the best part of life is past, and that there is really no use in hoping for anything more. Daly, like Cromwell, made no striking success until he was forty years old.

Before that time, he had been dependent upon his daily work for his living—latterly working for a good salary, but through all his earlier years doing hard drudgery for poor pay. But through it all he was irrepressible. He was like a steel spring, coiled up and ready to leap into action the instant the opportunity presented itself. Some men are lucky by accident. Daly's luck was inevitable. If you set up a pipe with a hole in its

side, a pebble, dropped in at the top and bounding from side to side, may happen to strike that hole and go through. That is the way luck comes to common men. If the pebble happened to fall at a little different angle, it would miss the hole and drop helplessly to the bottom. But fill the pipe with water, and if there is an opening anywhere, the universal pressure will find it. If there is even a weak spot, the water will probably make an opening. That was Marcus Daly.

The lucky man is not the one who has luck, for everybody has that, but the one who is watching for it, and is ready to nail it the instant it shows its head.

Nobody could have owed less to his start in life than Marcus Daly. Born of a poor Irish family, in such obscurity that it is not even certain whether his first appearance in the world was on this or the other side of the Atlantic; cast adrift on the wharves of San Francisco without a cent at the age of thirteen; digging potatoes to earn money enough to take him to the mines, and making himself a mining expert, without schooling, by dogged study of the rocks in which he was laboring,—he was a self-made man, if ever there was one. There were plenty of men swinging their picks at his side who had had better advantages than his; who had been taught something about geology and mineralogy, and who had even been capitalists in a small way. But they kept on swinging picks, while Daly studied, observed, pondered, planned, and finally became the master of his profession, and of the riches to which it was the key.

When Marcus Daly had a piece of work to do he did it "strenuously," as Governor Roosevelt would say. It made no difference whether it was for himself or for an employer—it was the work he looked at, not the person who was to receive its benefit. And, as a natural consequence, each duty so performed attracted attention and led to something better. The mining generalship he displayed in the service of the bonanza firm of Flood, O'Brien, Mackay & Fair gave him an opening with the Walker Brothers which led to his introduction to Montana. It was in their behalf that he undertook the exploration of the Alice mine, one of the most picturesque episodes in his history. Going to Butte as a working miner, he went to a cheap hotel, stayed a week, and then told the landlord

he could not pay his bill unless he got a job. The landlord secured work for him in two or three mines, one of which he found too damp for his lungs, and another unsafe; and finally, in desperation, induced the owners of the Alice to give him a chance to earn money enough to settle his account. Daly studied the property for three weeks while he worked, then left town, and six weeks later came back as superintendent of the mine, which was soon turning out bullion to the amount of nearly \$1,000,000 a year.

All this time he had been working for others; but he was now in a position to do something in a modest way for himself. Among other investments he was able to buy the Anaconda silver mine, for \$30,000. After working it for silver to a depth of 120 feet, he struck the richest copper deposit in the world, and his fortune was made. Thenceforward he could devote himself to horse-racing, political feuds, and any other gentlemanly amusement that he happened to fancy.

But even in his amusements he was still the industrial general. He watched every detail of his breeding-farms and his racing-stables with that microscopic eye with which Napoleon kept himself assured of the flawlessness of his artillery. He kept an account with every horse, charging against it every item of expense, and crediting it with every item of earnings; and he said that, if he had found that his stables did not pay, he would have sold them the next day.

It was this sleepless care for details that enabled Daly to scatter money with such lordly profusion when he thought it worth while. He had a number of objects on which he thought it worth while to be lavish—charities, luxuries for his family, public benefactions for Montana, “lifts” for old friends; but, above all, his vendetta with

W. A. Clark. That was the absorbing occupation of his later life. If Clark bought a newspaper, Daly bought another. If Clark began to build a palace, Daly anticipated him by buying one ready-built. If Clark tried to make one town the capital of Montana, Daly worked for its rival. If Clark backed one politician for office, Daly backed his opponent. If Clark was willing to spend millions to go to the Senate, Daly was willing to spend other millions to keep him out.

In one aspect, this may seem like an exhibition of petty spite, unworthy of an empire-builder. But I cannot help feeling that ill-will really played a very small part in this seemingly vindictive rivalry. No doubt the feud began in pique—a desire to “get even” for a business wrong. But it soon must have reached a stage in which, for each of the combatants, the personality of his opponent was swallowed up in the interest of the fight. It was a grim, Titanic game, in which a State was the chessboard, and men, parties, and cities were the pieces. For each it was the all-enveloping passion of his life, and personal enmities and moral scruples were alike swallowed up in the desire to win.

Marcus Daly had the virtues and the faults of a pioneer. He had to deal with nature and men in their roughest moods. He did many things that would have been unbecoming in a clergyman or even in a college professor; but he left mighty monuments behind him of thriving towns and swarming workmen with prosperous homes. He worked to build up, not to destroy; and when we remember how the Vikings and the Normans built empires in the past, their descendants may be thankful that the pioneer work of to-day is done by men whose methods are no rougher than Marcus Daly's.

THE CUBAN REPUBLIC—LIMITED.

BY WALTER WELLMAN.

THE island of Cuba is to become an independent republic; but it is to be a republic with limited powers and restricted outward relations. Nominally a sovereign state, actually Cuba is to be a self-governing colony under the ægis of the United States. When the Cuban of the near future stands upon the shore of his fertile isle and looks toward the palm-waving interior, he will be able to say: “This is a nation.” When he turns and looks outward on the rolling sea, he must say: “This is a dependency.”

It is idle to suppose that the administration at

Washington is without a policy as to the reconstruction of Cuba. It is not guilty of any such neglect in a matter of such vast importance. The administration has a policy, distinct, definite, worked out in harmonious detail. This policy it has had in hand for a long time, though for obvious reasons it has not cared to disclose it. During the Presidential campaign, a new Cuban problem could not have received fair and thoughtful consideration in this country; and in Cuba, where there is much of ignorance and more of passion, it has been found advisable to move with

extreme caution. If the Cubans believe they are themselves doing all that is being done; if they believe they are thorough masters of the situation, and yet proceed to do all that it is wished they should do,—so much the more credit to the skill and patience of the directing government and its agents in the island.

Now that the Cuban constitutional convention is in session, and it has been possible to learn something of its composition and spirit, members of the administration at Washington are hopeful of a happy outcome. It is believed that the American policy, which till now has been kept well in the background, will be adopted by the convention as its own. If this proves to be the case, then indeed will the people of Cuba have cause for thankfulness; for they will secure all the advantages of nationality along with the perfect security which is to be found under the powerful wing of the great republic. The Cubans will gain full control of their domestic affairs, without interference by the United States, save that they are voluntarily to restrict their power to contract debt. Under the new *régime* Cubans will be justified in looking upon their republic as a nation; for self-government, in the fullest sense, is to be theirs. They may make all their domestic laws, set up their own governmental machinery, fix their tariffs, levy their taxes, order their expenditures, establish their courts, police their territory, without fear of interference or dictation from abroad.

But the foreign relations of the republic of Cuba are to be conducted at Washington, not at Havana. Cuba will have no ministers abroad, but will speak through the State Department and the diplomatic establishment of the United States. Foreign governments having business with Cuba will address the Secretary of State, Washington, and he will communicate with the island government at Havana. Inwardly Cuba is to be a sovereign nation; internationally it is to be an American State. In other words, the republic of Cuba is to be to the United States almost precisely what the Dominion of Canada is to Great Britain, save that Cuba will choose a president, and not have a nominal governor-general appointed by the paramount power.

Great responsibility rests upon the constitutional convention now in session at Havana. It is to create a new state. If it acts wisely, it may lay the foundations of an enduring government. If it acts in rational and practical spirit, all problems may be solved to the satisfaction of all concerned. If, on the other hand, it attempts the impossible; if it sets a mere sentiment above everything else; if it refuses to recognize conditions as they are, and tries to

create others which by no manner of means can be,—its labors will be in vain. No more interesting process than this creation of a new state, under the tutelage of an enlightened and generous but still practical and not altogether altruistic power, has taken place on the American continent in our generation.

It is impossible to write satisfactorily of the present phases of the Cuban problem, unless one writes with perfect frankness. Euphemisms are useless. No one should be shocked by the truth; and, before rushing to conclusions and condemnations, every one should pause long enough to consider all the conditions. Because Cuba is not to be set up as a sovereign international state, because it is not to have full control of its foreign relations,—the treaty-making power, the war-making power,—its fortifications, its army and navy, it by no means follows that the American pledge to Cuba is to be broken. A great many men agree with former Secretary of State Olney, that the pledge of Cuban independence which the Congress of the United States gave at the outbreak of the war for Cuba's separation from Spain ought not to have been given. No doubt it was given hastily, in a moment of access of sentimentality. No doubt, moreover, it was unnecessary, and could have been withheld without loss of self-respect or the respect of other nations. But the pledge was given, and there can be no question that it must be redeemed.

But there does arise the inevitable question, How is this pledge to be kept? What would constitute an honorable, and at the same time, a prudent and permanent redemption of it? In both Cuba and the United States a large number of people, probably a great majority of all, think absolute independence the only way out—the setting up of a sovereign international power. A minority in both countries, and among them the President of the United States and his official advisers, believe the best thing for Cuba and the best thing for the United States is a keeping of that pledge in a practical and not in a sentimental sense.

With patience and skill, the United States has gone about its task of preparing the Cuban people for self-government. After the close of the war in 1898, no time was lost by the intervening power in starting the Cubans upon the road to nationality. Many Cubans were employed in the executive departments, supplanting citizens of the United States as rapidly as was thought prudent. Elections were held in the various municipalities throughout the island, and these local governments were turned wholly over to the people through their chosen representatives. Before anything could be done in the way of setting

Cuba up as a republic, it was necessary to take a census; and this was promptly done. The census afforded information as to who and what were the people of Cuba—their racial origin, place of birth, educational acquirements, etc.; and, with this before him, Secretary of War Root sat down and prepared the qualifications of electors in the future republic. It is not often in the history of the world that an embryo nation, at the critical moment when its foundations are to be laid, is able to avail itself of the skill and wisdom of a highly trained and wholly disinterested statesman of a neighboring country.

Secretary Root's great desire was to give the future Cuban republic an electorate which should preserve it. Obviously, if he had wished to wreck the budding nation; to bring chaos and disorder within it, and make inevitable another and less unselfish intervention by the United States,—he could have done so by the simple and natural process of throwing the franchise open to all male inhabitants. In this way he could have worked the ruin of Cuba as a self-governing entity. That would surely, and probably without much delay, have thrown the island into the lap of the United States. Mr. Root might easily have made the mistake of going to the opposite extreme of arranging an electoral scheme which would have shut out most of the Cubans, and placed the sovereign power within the hands of the wealthy and educated—the Spanish traders and the Cuban professional classes. He adopted, instead, a happy mean. Any Cuban (or any Spaniard who has renounced allegiance to Spain) may vote provided he is twenty-one years old, has resided in the municipality thirty days immediately preceding registration, and possesses any one of the following additional qualifications:

(1) Ability to read and write; (2) ownership of real or personal property to the value of \$250, American gold; (3) service in the Cuban army prior to July 18, 1898, and honorable discharge therefrom, whether a native Cuban or not.

The man who prepared this plan of electoral franchise was determined that Cuba, as a state, should be a success if any saving merit lay in a wise foundation. He wanted neither a Haiti nor a San Domingo, with masses of ignorant and irresponsible electors dominating society, usually under the leadership of a military dictator; nor did he want a Costa Rica, in which a small number of persons, a class, make the state.

Having given the Cubans control of their local political affairs in the municipalities, and arranged a broader plan for founding a sovereign republican electorate, it was necessary to adopt means of teaching them the importance, the sacred

character, and the inviolability of the suffrage. The Spanish *régime* had naturally failed to teach them what an election is, or should be, according to the Anglo-Saxon standard. What acquaintance they had had with a system of voting had not increased their respect for it. Methods were crude; there never was any certainty that a majority of votes polled would be so returned; rules for discriminating between legal and non-legal voters were ill-defined, and applied at haphazard; and such a thing as punishment of an offender against the election law, whether mere voter or election official, was well-nigh unheard of. General Wood and his assistants have had to inculcate in the minds of Cubans an appreciation of the value of the franchise—a conception of the real dignity and power contained in the right to vote. They have also had to impress upon all concerned the certainty that punishment will overtake whomsoever offends against the sacredness of the ballot in any way. The laws establishing a registration and election system throughout the island, with penalties for violation thereof, are models of practicality, common-sense, and justice; and the recent elections for members of the constitutional convention were conducted in an orderly and, for the most part, honest way.

The American Government, through President McKinley, Secretary Root, and Governor Wood, has done everything an enlightened government could do to give the Cubans a good start toward successful nationhood, with complete local self-government. The future depends upon the Cubans themselves.

When the administration called a convention in Cuba to devise a constitution, and in that constitution to arrange future relations with the United States, it was proceeding in accordance with its well-defined plan. There was no careless use of words. One of the most important problems involved in the future of Cuba is this very matter of future connection with the country which occupies such a peculiar relation to it. For three-quarters of a century the United States has had a Cuban policy, definite and unchanging—a policy which it has taken the trouble to make known to all the world. It is that, if Cuba is ever to pass under the control of any other power than Spain, that power must be the United States. Now that this nation has intervened to release Cuba from Spanish rule, at great sacrifice on its part, the traditional policy is none the less operative, but rather more so. We cannot afford to adopt any course that would endanger that policy. This much we owe to ourselves as well as to Cuba. We owe it to the world, too, to so fix the status of the republic, colony, dependency,

or state of Cuba that there shall be no danger of misunderstanding and friction. The time to fix that status is now; and the place to fix it is in the organic act which is to elevate Cuba into a state. Upon this point the administration is clear-minded and determined; and, the Presidential elections being over, it is now free-handed to deal with the problem in a scientific manner.

It is the duty of the United States, not only through its expressed pledge, but in the very nature of its relations to Cuba, to give that island a stable government. A stable government means literally an enduring one; not alone one that is firm in the saddle at the moment we leave it, but one that has within itself all the elements of continuity. No greater injustice could the United States work upon the people of Cuba, to say nothing of wronging itself, than by setting up in that island a government which should start well, and then, through some inherent weakness, deteriorate and ultimately collapse.

For a considerable time, at least, it is apparent any self-government in Cuba must be more or less experimental. Success is probable, but not certain. The same obligation which rests upon the United States to set up a government will continue operative, and require us to guard and protect it, to interfere in case of aggravated domestic disquiet, and to stand as its sponsor before the world. The risks of domestic disturbances we can afford; for that misfortune would be a matter between the United States and Cuba alone—between guardian and ward. But the hazards of foreign complications, with all their dire possibilities, we cannot, in justice to either Cuba or ourselves, permit for one moment.

Were we to set up Cuba as an absolutely sovereign power, with control of its foreign relations, we might at any time be called upon either to abandon our traditional policy or go to war in its defense. If Cuba takes on the attributes of a sovereign power, she assumes all the responsibilities that go therewith. If she errs in her intercourse with a foreign country, she must pay the natural penalty. If demands be made upon her for grievances, real or fanciful, she must pay or fight. Rich, desirable, coveted, what chance would Cuba have among the land-hungry powers? Without army or navy, perhaps without competent statesmen (for government is a new and unstudied science among her people), how long would it take an aggressive European nation to find the pretext for a quarrel, and under that pretext to dispatch a fleet to Cuban waters? And if the United States were to intervene at that moment, we should be told that we had no voice in the matter; that we had once had Cuba under our jurisdiction, but had permitted her to

set up for herself, and had thus forfeited all our rights of guardianship; that, if we wanted Cuba under our wing, we should have kept her there and stood sponsor for her. This would be a good answer; and there is only one way in which we could get into the controversy, and that a most unpleasant and undesirable one. We have fought one war for Cuba's good, and do not care to fight another.

Certainly it would be most foolish for the United States to start Cuba upon any such road as that. It would be bad for Cuba and bad for ourselves. Nor would it be fair to the remainder of the world to set up a nominally sovereign nation which all powers must handle gingerly, no matter how well or how badly that nation behaved, through fear of getting into trouble with a guardian who stood ready to fight for his ward, but would not assert his power to keep that ward within the lines of proper conduct.

As it is inevitable that the United States must, for a long time, at least, stand between Cuba and the world, it is necessary that Cuba's foreign relations be managed by the government at Washington, as Canada's foreign relations are handled in London. What a good arrangement this would be for Cuba is shown by the simple fact that, without a dollar of cost to themselves, the people of Cuba will enjoy all the protection the great American navy can give them; and, in case of necessity, the army of the United States would back up the navy. But if the United States is to stand as guardian for Cuba, asserting its prestige and using its military powers for Cuba's good without cost to Cuba, direct or indirect, it is no more than fair that the United States should have in the island certain naval stations and fortresses, such as those at Havana, Santiago, and Cienfuegos.

In all things else it is proposed to leave Cuba to the Cubans. They are to set up their government and manage it in their own way. The United States asks no indemnity, no compensations. It leaves to Cubans the arrangement of their own tariff duties, asking no preferential rates for American commerce other than those which the Cubans are themselves willing to grant, and which presumably are dictated by their interests.

One other prudential suggestion the United States offers. This is that in the constitution a reasonable limitation shall be placed upon the bonded indebtedness which the Cuban republic may incur. It happens, most naturally, that at the present moment there is in the island a rather general extravagant notion of the ease with which every one may be made rich through the sale of bonds. The soldiers of the Cuban

army of liberation, even more numerous now than they were in the days of fighting, expect and demand generous pensions. Reasonable reward for their services they doubtless are entitled to, and should have; but if popular expectations in this direction are met, the Cuban republic will be bankrupt before it is out of swaddling-clothes, to say nothing of suggested bonds for interior improvements and other purposes. It is a part of the responsibility of the United States to see that the Cubans do not wreck the fiscal department of their government.

Secretary Root may be called the father of the new Cuba. In his hands the President placed the delicate and important task of devising and executing a plan which should be wholesome for the island and, at the same, just to the United States—which should keep the pledge of Congress and yet not turn Cuba over to experiment, disorder, and failure. It was and to some extent still is a complex problem, made more difficult by the existence of a passionate demand for absolute independence on the part of many Cubans, and by preconceived notions and strong prejudices on the part of many Americans. How strongly Mr. Root builded may be seen in the foregoing outline of his plan; how cautiously he has moved may be inferred from the fact that, though the American policy was framed a year ago, only now is its full significance becoming known in this country, while in Cuba it is as yet understood only by the leading men.

Upon General Wood has fallen the duty of leading the Cuban people, step by step, toward rational solution of the problem of their future. This task he has performed with the utmost skill and patience. He has told the members of the constitutional convention that they are wholly free to do as they please, but has endeavored to teach them to do that which is wise and strong. Gradually the extremists have been made to see that their dream of an absolutely independent and sovereign international state is impossible of realization, and that it ought not to be realized. The governor has made, and will make, no effort to control the convention or dictate to it. He advises and suggests, and leaves the remainder to the good sense of the delegates. So great is Secretary Root's interest in the work that he has just paid his second visit to the island. It was not on account of his health, but because of his keen desire to make a success of his nation-building enterprise, that the secretary undertook this second voyage. Striking example of the new era to which we have come at the close of the century is this collaboration of two intellectual and unselfish men—fine types of the American of

our day—in the task of molding and shaping a new state upon modern and scientific lines.

The latest reports from Havana are of a most encouraging character. It is dawning upon the leading men of the convention that it is better to be safe than sorry; and, besides, that the intervening power has rights and interests which must be respected. A great majority of the men of substance and character in Cuba want Cuba kept under the American wing as a happy compromise between the extremes of absolute independence on the one hand and formal annexation on the other. Foreign capitalists—Spaniards, Englishmen, Germans—are investing money in Cuban enterprises with full confidence that, in one way or another, the United States will perform its manifest duty of preserving order and guaranteeing good government in the island. Only American capitalists stand aloof, fearful that the pledge of Congress will have to be kept in the sentimental way which presages ruin.

What shall be done with the constitution when the convention agrees upon one? Everything depends upon whether the organic act does or does not contain the provisions called for by the administration's policy. First of all, the constitution will come to the President. If it does not meet with his approval, nothing can be done, and the convention will have to try again; or, a new convention be called. By force of circumstances, the President is the ruler of Cuba, and he will not withdraw till he is fully convinced a strong and enduring government is ready to take the reins of power. If, as is hoped and believed, the constitution proves to be acceptable to the President, he may order it submitted to a general election of the Cuban people for their ratification.

If the President of the United States approves the constitution, he will submit it to Congress for the ratification of that body. Congress having assented, the organic act of the new state will be officially proclaimed, parliamentary and presidential elections will be held in the island, and in due time the Cuban republic will take over the government from the hands of the President and his representatives. The new Cuba will be a nation, but not a sovereign power. It will not be a part of the United States; neither the American Constitution nor the American flag will extend over it, and no great constitutional question is to be raised as to its status. Cuba will not be a vassal state, because it neither pays nor can ever be asked to pay tribute, directly or indirectly. Inwardly, Cuba is to have the independence which her people have prayed and fought for. Outwardly, internationally, Cuba is to be a dependency of, and under the protection of, the great American power.

A TOWN AND COUNTRY CLUB.

BY LILLIAN W. BETTS.

AMONG the many experiments tried in New York to broaden the interests of the tenement-house family and increase its pleasures was a club, founded at the College Settlement, nine years ago.

When the club was formed there was scarcely a theory as to its purpose, and no settled scheme of work in the minds of its projectors. A year's study of the social conditions of the people of the locality revealed that a lack of common social interest was often the cause of the disintegration of the family—a condition alike deplorable and dangerous. It was for this reason that the workers at the College Settlement decided to establish a common social basis for the families of the neighborhood. The head resident of the College Settlement called with one of the outside workers, who was to have charge of this experiment, on twenty-two neighbors, inviting them to the settlement on a specified afternoon. Nearly all of these neighbors had children in some one of the clubs then established at the settlement. The twenty-two hostesses accepted the invitation, and on the specified date nine appeared. To these the purpose for which they were called together was outlined. It was a simple plan. A club was projected, and those present were asked to give their aid. This club was to combine education and social opportunity; dues to cover its running expenses were to be paid. The membership for one year would be limited to ten. It was for those present to decide whether they would join and support such a club. The vote was unanimous. The club was formed, but no constitution was considered; that was to grow. Officers were elected; dues were placed at ten cents per week. At the second meeting the name, "The Woman's Home Improvement Club," was suggested by one of the members.

At the beginning of its tenth year, three of the original members are still active workers in the club. It makes a fixed contribution to the settlement each month. This is not considered, in any sense, as rent; the club could not pay for the privileges the settlement provides. After the first year the club membership was increased by five annually, until its membership in its fifth year was limited to forty. It seems extravagant that the wives of working-men should pay \$5.20 a year for club dues; but the members have steadily resisted any suggestion of

reduction, insisting that they could and would pay that amount, because of benefits received and benefits the dues made it possible to confer. No attempt to control the club except by a majority vote was ever made. The status of the club, as absolutely self governing, was fixed at the beginning. The club was to rise or fall by the strength of the character developed. To the sorrow of those who started it, in its fourth year the club voted unanimously to leave the settlement and find another meeting-place. This was a most difficult matter, as the sum they offered for rent was so trivial. At this crisis in its history, a political organization offered the use of its rooms one afternoon in the week, to the club, free of expense. The fact that acceptance of this generous and courteous offer deprived the members of the political organization of the use of the rooms while the club occupied them, combined with the fact that all the husbands of the members were not of the same political faith, made it imperative that the club should have a house of its own. Generous friends made it possible to hire and furnish a small house in Goerck Street, near the East River. The second floor and attic were sublet. The use of the basement was given to a group of young women who established a lunch club for working-girls; the cooked food was delivered from the New England Kitchen. The club-house was used as a neighborhood center. The yard, of unusual size, sunny, and surrounded by a board fence except on one side, on which rose a flour-mill, whose proprietors won the gratitude of all by their generous treatment of this unprecedented social experiment,—became an outdoor assembly-room for evening receptions for the several clubs, a lecture-room, and a playground for children in the daytime as long as the weather permitted. All the work attempted was carried on by committees of the club, working under volunteers from the other end of society. Three months revealed that this was wholly impracticable. The volunteers did not keep their engagements; the members of the club were not trained to do the work. Some of the more intelligent frankly declared that the work at the club-house interfered with their home duties; others used the privileges of the house to increase their personal importance in the neighborhood, or used the house to revenge their

personal animosities by excluding from its privileges those who had incurred their displeasure or that of their children. The committee system was abolished, and the experiment of allowing uptown people to carry on work, without making it fit into any system or plan, was tried. These workers were to use the house certain days and hours. Three months revealed that the success of this method was wholly dependent, not on the genius, but on the sense of personal responsibility, of those who made the experiments. The second stage brought about such a state of chaos that a complete change of plan was the result. Friends again were consulted. A librarian was hired, and the library put under the control wholly of the New York Free Circulating Library. Trained directors were hired for the sewing-school, and the yard placed under a paid director who had been a nursemaid in a neighborhood kindergarten. Each department was paid for by some one person, and all was under the control and supervision of the president of the club. Each club using the house paid something toward the rent, the Woman's Home Improvement Club paying \$8.00 a month. Every effort was made to bring the club into close touch with each civic department. Children who were out of school; cases of contagious diseases concealed; of destitution, of neglected children, were reported. The motto of the club is, "A Helping Hand to All;" its working principle, "Be a Mother to Every Child who Needs You." All legislation to affect the home-life or working conditions of the people is discussed at the meetings. The question of foods is presented by experts. Doctors talk about the care of children. Discussions on every subject are encouraged, until the members today compare more than favorably with the members of any women's clubs in New York City. The Woman's Municipal League, the Woman's Auxiliary of the Civil-Service Reform Association, and the League for Political Education, all provide speakers and courses of addresses for the club. The library is used by perhaps one-third of the members. Magazines and papers are taken home for husbands and children. This is a brief outline of the organization and the programme of work of the Woman's Home Improvement Club for almost ten years.

POLITICAL LIFE.

After the house in Goerck Street was established, the Active Municipal League, composed largely of the husbands of the members of the Woman's Home Improvement Club, was organized. In a short time, it was evident that the league would die if a man of experience were

not found to guide it. There were Democrats and Republicans in the league, and jealousies developed at once. The club-house was in an assembly district having two strong machine organizations, with which some of the league members were affiliated, and to which some of the members were more or less indebted for positions under the city government. It will be seen at once that the man to cope with this situation must be a man of peculiar tact and ability. An appeal was made to the Citizen's Union, and a man was found. Several young men, under twenty-one, connected with other clubs meeting in the house, were made associate members of the league. The charter of Greater New York was selected as the subject of discussion, later followed by a study of the municipal departments and the city's finances. The spring brought the Citizen's Union into national prominence. It will be remembered that the Citizen's Union inaugurated an education campaign. Courses of illustrated lectures were delivered by thoroughly equipped members on the municipal departments that were historical, as well as politically educational. The Active Municipal League voted to place its rooms and the yard at the disposal of the Citizen's Union on its meeting nights. Here, before large audiences admitted by ticket, these lectures were delivered, resulting in arousing enthusiasm and interest in the Citizen's Union movement, and letting the light into the dark corners of the minds of many voters. At once the district leaders were aroused. The members of the league connected with the machine organizations kept their dues paid in the league, but did not attend the meetings. Nothing succeeds like success in the tenement-house districts. Had the Citizen's Union elected its candidate for mayor, the history of the Active Municipal League would have been different, and in time the political history of the assembly district in which it had its brief existence. The word had gone forth from the leaders, and two of the women in the Woman's Home Improvement Club created a division in the club, using other than the real cause for their disturbance. This, with the erection of the Neighborhood House a few blocks away, by Mrs. Alfred Corning Clark, in memory of her husband, made it seem wise to close the small club-house. The clubs of little boys and girls went to the Neighborhood House. The Woman's Home Improvement Club decided that, instead of disbanding, it would return to the College Settlement. By a unanimous vote the head resident of the College Settlement was elected president. Four months later, five of the members, without the knowledge or consent of the club, took out articles of incorporation

under the club-name, and with six other members left the settlement, taking the treasurer's book and the money in the treasury. It was decided to prosecute the treasurer; but the knowledge that the police courts on the East Side are often temples of injustice and insult when the defendant is under political protection, and that the act was due largely to ignorance and confusion of ideas, the club decided to drop the case after a warrant was secured. The securing of the articles of incorporation was due to the aid of one of the district leaders. This climax shows how impossible it is to withstand the influence of the standards imposed on the people by the political machines. The district leaders in themselves represent a labor trust. Many of the voters are dependent upon them for places that provide wages. Every place represents not only the voter employed, but the relatives and friends of the voter. He has but to plead what it will mean for him to lose his place to have his sympathetic neighbors rally to his support at the polls. Those not under the city's employ hope to be. It is rapidly becoming true that the city is the only employer providing regular wages at highest market rates. To get employment under the city, the influence of the machine is necessary. The district leader holds the destiny, not of men, but of families under his control. Herein lies the secret of his power; and that depends on the number of votes he can coerce or compel. The act of these women is a proof of the danger of giving the ballot to women. The franchise put in their control doubles the evil of every election, and puts into operation influences to be dreaded. It is but human for a woman to use every effort that will, in her belief, secure permanency if not advancement in the wage-earning power of the father of her children;—to urge her neighbors and friends to like effort. When organizations of women, untrained and uneducated to moral distinctions, become adjuncts of the machine organizations, not only is the democracy threatened, but its foundation-stones, the homes of the people. The voters who obey the machine do not weigh right and wrong.

"Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do and die,"

morally, if that death is necessary for the party's success, for the machine's supremacy. To redeem New York, a moral and education campaign must be waged 365 days in the year. The machine leaders in each assembly district neither slumber nor sleep. No act is too petty, no effort too small, that will rid the district of any influence that threatens their control, or even minimizes their personal prominence. The district is

personal property, and the leaders of opposing parties are a unit in this: that the silk-stocking party, as they sneeringly call'd the Citizen's Union, is a common enemy, to be routed by fair means or foul, but routed any way, unless it get into harness with one or the other of the machines.

SOCIAL LIFE.

When the Woman's Home Improvement Club was one year old, it decided to give an evening reception. The guests were the husbands of the members, the children who worked, and one special friend of each. The evening was such a success that it was decided to hold the meetings on the third Thursday of the month in the evening. These receptions have become a part of the club-life. Dancing is a feature. Frequently addresses have been given by leading men and women of the city. The subjects have dealt with the questions of the hour as well as ethical questions. No matter what the subject, the main purpose of the occasion is not lost sight of—that it is a social function for the members, their families, and friends. As at the weekly meetings, refreshments are served of cake and coffee. The family festival of Thanksgiving is, on the whole, the most interesting of the winter occasions. As far as possible, the festival is observed with all the accessories of its New England birth. Apples, popcorn, nuts, molasses candy, and gingerbread are provided. The open fireplace provides every facility for popping corn—a duty delegated to the children to their great joy. It was a revelation, in this changing section of the city, to find, at the first Thanksgiving party, that there were present four generations of one family, and two families with three generations present. The light fantastic toe was tripped by all—a great-grandfather carrying the youngest generation in his arms. Not only does the club present the opportunity for collective festivities, but it also gives the opportunity for individual birthday and wedding celebrations.

PHILANTHROPY.

It is impossible to avoid a knowledge of the distress inseparable from life in a tenement-house, and these club members feel the pressure of such knowledge. The surplus in the treasury of this club has always been called upon to meet cases of destitution known to the members. It has helped its own members by means of its treasury. Its best lessons have been learned through the effort it made, through committees of its members, to relieve distress. Poverty was seen from a different point of view when the members attempted to give relief. To discover

that laziness, incapability, thriftlessness, dissipation was at the root of a large part of the distress was a well-learned lesson in practical economics. The winter of 1893 witnessed much distress in New York. This club entered into active participation to reduce the suffering. There was placed at its disposal about \$400.00. It was decided that the members should carefully watch and prevent the eviction of any family known to them, for the non-payment of rent, or of any family, after investigation had proved that this method for escaping the payment of rent was not its practice. Work-tickets were bought and given out by the members. The training of one woman in laundry-work and scrubbing was undertaken, by the individual members, after other methods of training had failed. This woman taught far more than she learned. Here was laziness that even hunger could not drive to work; ignorance that could not be taught, because work was hated. Her work in economics has always borne fruit. That the rich are not always the oppressors of the poor was a demonstrated fact.

THE COUNTRY CLUB-HOUSE.

When the club was in the second summer of its existence, a friend offered the president the use of two small houses in a New Jersey town, less than one hour from New York. The houses were of three rooms each, very inconvenient. They stood on the back end of a lot. The alley through which they were approached had a barbed-wire fence on one side. These houses were scantily furnished. The plan for using the houses was a simple one. The members who could use the house gave the dates when they could go to the president. Adjustment was easily made where there were conflicting dates. One family was to occupy each house two weeks at a time, keeping house as independently as when in New York. A family trip-ticket was bought, the railroad authorities giving permission for its use by the members of the club. Each member, when she returned the ticket, paid for the number of rides she used. Each member left the house she used in order for the one who would follow her. The success attending this experiment led to the hiring and furnishing of a large house—an old homestead, surrounded by an apple orchard. This house is fully furnished for two families. It is so arranged as to provide two kitchens. The same simple rules control. Each member invites guests, as she would to her

own house. The larger house offered larger opportunities. Members who are intimate arrange dates to follow consecutively. Mrs. A. invites Mrs. B. to share her part of the house during her two weeks, and Mrs. B. asks Mrs. A. to remain during her two weeks. Thus these two families have each four weeks in the country instead of two. This exchange is common to nearly all the members of the club.

When the question of putting in a range and boiler was put to the club, they voted to pay the increased rent,—\$60.00 a year,—because of the increased bathing facilities. This money was raised by an entertainment given in the De Witt Memorial, through the courtesy of its trustees and pastor, Dr. Elsing. The members meet every expense except rent, cleaning in the spring, and replenishing furnishings. Coal is bought by the ton, and the members keep account of the number of scuttles they use, and pay for it at the close of the season. Only once was there a deficit in the coal account. As far as possible, the managing of the house is left to the club members. A member was privately notified, one fall, that she must either resign at once or find it inconvenient to use the club-house the next summer. She resigned. If the other members knew of the arbitrary act, it was never known by the president. Another member, the male member of whose family was objectionable, was told it would be wisest for her not to use the house again. She recognized the wisdom of acting on this advice. The sentiment of the club is wholly on the side of justice. That the reputation of the club depends on the character each family maintains in the club-house is recognized fully.

Some of the members can use the house only on holidays and Sundays. A closet opening from a hall contains all the dishes and other conveniences necessary for a picnic; it is known as a picnic closet. The large parlor is known as the club-room. This arrangement leaves the families in the house undisturbed in their own apartments, and gives all the members a sense of freedom and non-interference when using the club-house for a day.

The Woman's Home Improvement Club, like every other organization, has had experiences that prove its members human; but it has fully demonstrated the educational and social value of such an organization among the thrifty, independent working-men's families in a city offering few opportunities to this class of the community.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH.

SIR ROBERT HART ON THE CHINESE PROBLEM.

SIR ROBERT HART, who for forty-five years has been intimately connected with China, and for the latter part of that period has been recognized by everybody as the best authority upon all questions relating to the Chinese and their government, contributes a truly alarming article to the *Fortnightly Review*. Sir Robert Hart is not a literary man, and his essay manifestly proceeds from a pen more accustomed to framing official reports than to writing magazine articles. Notwithstanding its quaint division into some score sections, each under a separate letter of the alphabet, from A to Q, the article is better worth reading than anything that has been written by anybody during the whole of this crisis. Dr. Morrison's narrative of the incidents of the siege may surpass Sir Robert Hart's account of the same episode in contemporary history; but the importance of the article does not lie in its description of the siege—it is to be found in his diagnosis of the causes which brought about the siege, and his prediction as to the results which may confidently be anticipated in the future from the forces now at work in the Chinese empire. Briefly speaking, Sir Robert Hart's opinion is that no power on earth can prevent the sentiment which produced the Boxers dominating China and defying Europe. Never have the exponents of the "yellow danger" had so weighty a declaration in their favor from so eminent an authority.

EUROPE TO BLAME.

And what makes it all the worse to bear is that Sir Robert Hart is quite certain that Europeans have only themselves to blame for all that has happened. First of all, they treat the Chinese unjustly, and then prod them into adopting the very tactics which will end in their expulsion from China. He says:

"What has happened has been the logical effect of previous doings. Europe has not been ungenerous in her treatment of China—but, even so, has wounded her. A more tactful, reasonable, and consistent course might possibly have produced better results; but in no case could foreigners expect to maintain forever their extra-territorialized status and the various commercial stipulations China had conceded to force.

"Wên Hsiang, the celebrated prime minister of China during the minority of Tung Chih in

the early sixties, often said: 'You are all too anxious to awake us and start us on a new road, and you will do it—but you will all regret it; for, once awaking and started, we shall go fast and far—farther than you think—much farther than you want!' His words are very true."

THE BOXERS A VOLUNTEER MOVEMENT.

The Chinese were very slow to assimilate European ideas, but by persistent pressure Europeans succeeded in introducing into the Chinese mind that it would be a famous piece of statecraft to invent the Boxers. Sir Robert says:

"The teaching thus received began gradually to crystallize in the belief that a huge standing army on European lines would be wasteful and dangerous, and that a volunteer association (as suggested by the way all China ranged itself on the government side in the Franco-Chinese affair) covering the whole empire, offering an outlet for restless spirits and fostering a united and patriotic feeling, would be more reliable and effective; an idea which seemed to receive immediate confirmation from without in the stand a handful of burghers were making in the Transvaal—hence the Boxer Association, patriotic in origin, justifiable in its fundamental idea, and in point of fact the outcome of either foreign advice or the study of foreign methods."

The Boxer Association, therefore, in the opinion of this expert observer, corresponds very closely to the outburst of patriotic sentiment which forty years ago produced the British volunteer movement.

BUT POSSESSED OF—HYPNOTIC?—POWERS.

He mentions, however, that the Boxers either possess, or lay claim to possess, supernatural powers, to which England's volunteers never aspired. He says:

"Something akin to hypnotism or mesmerism seems connected with Boxer initiation and action; the members bow to the southeast, recite certain mystical sentences, and then, with closed eyes, fall on their backs. After this they arise, eyes glazed and staring, possessed of the strength and agility of maniacs, mount trees and walls, and wield swords and spears in a way they are unable to at other times; semi-initiation is said to render the body impervious to cut or thrust, while the fully initiated fear neither shot nor shell; the various subchiefs are of course fully initiated, but the supreme chief is described

as more gifted still: he sits in his hall, orders the doors to be opened, and while remaining there in the body is said to be elsewhere in spirit, directing, controlling, suggesting, and achieving. One of the best shots in a legation guard relates how he fired seven shots at one of the chiefs on the Northern Bridge, less than 200 yards off. The chief stood there contemptuously, pompously waving his swords, and as if thereby causing the bullets to pass him to right or left at will; he then calmly and proudly stalked away unhit, much to the astonishment of the sharpshooter. Though professing to know nothing beyond the domain of sense, the Chinaman is really an extravagant believer in the supernatural, and so he readily credits the Boxer with all the powers he claims."

PARTITION, CONVERSION, OR THE WHIRLWIND.

The Boxers being, therefore, the legitimate and inevitable outcome of the grafting of Western European ideas upon Chinese patriotic sentiment, we have to face the certainty of the fact that the movement in its essence will not die out, but will increase and spread until it assumes proportions which will defy us. Sir Robert Hart says:

"Twenty millions or more of Boxers, armed, drilled, disciplined, and animated by patriotic—if mistaken—motives will make residence in China impossible for foreigners; will take back from foreigners everything foreigners have taken from China; will pay off old grudges with interest, and will carry the Chinese flag and Chinese arms into many a place that even fancy will not suggest to-day—thus preparing for the future upheavals and disasters never even dreamed of. In fifty years' time there will be millions of Boxers in serried ranks and war's panoply at the call of the Chinese Government; there is not the slightest doubt of that! And if the Chinese Government continues to exist, it will encourage—and it will be quite right to encourage, uphold, and develop this national Chinese movement; it bodes no good for the rest of the world, but China will be acting within its right, and will carry through the national programme! Nothing but partition, a difficult and unlikely international settlement, or a miraculous spread of Christianity in its best form—a not impossible, but scarcely to be hoped for, religious triumph—will defer, will avert this result. Is either the one or the other within the limits of practical politics or practical propagandism? I fear not! And if not, what? Then the lawlessness of the present uprising must be condoned and the Manchu dynasty supported: to this end it will be made to 'lose face' as little as possible—but

trade in arms will not cease, and our sons and grandsons will reap the whirlwind."

As to the immediate question what should be done, he says:

MEANTIME, PATCHING UP.

"The first question now to be settled by the treaty powers is how to make peace,—for China is at war with all,—and what conditions to impose to safeguard the future, for the stipulations of the past have been set at defiance and obliterated. There would seem to be a choice between three courses—partition, change of dynasty, or patching up the Manchu rule."

Of these three courses he decides that the last is the only one open to us; and although he goes on to talk about compensation and punishment, the logic of his article points unmistakably to our accepting whatever terms we can get from the Chinese, and making the best of them, knowing that if we go farther we shall fare worse. It is to be hoped that the German Emperor will read Sir Robert Hart's article, and readjust his policy to the facts to which this supreme expert bears unimpeachable testimony.

A Significant Russian Declaration.

In immediate connection with Sir Robert Hart's paper, it is well to read the short article which Professor Martens has contributed to the *Monthly Review* on the subject of the Hague Conference and China. In this paper, Professor Martens, whose authority on international law cannot be disputed by any, declares himself in most unqualified fashion against any attempt to utilize the present crisis for the purpose of still farther increasing the domination of Europe over the Chinese. After setting forth the admitted facts as to the privileges which Europe has extracted by force from the Chinese, he continues:

"Therefore I maintain that the civilized powers, in settling their account with China, should not endeavor either to increase the privileges of their countrymen in China, or favor by the extension of new immunities the propagation of the Christian religion among the Chinese, or undermine the authority and the prestige of the Chinese Government, or increase in the hearts of the Chinese people their hatred and animosity against all foreigners.

"We cannot recognize any right whatever belonging to the Christian nations of imposing upon the Chinese an unscrupulous exploitation of their natural riches; we are unable to concede to Protestant and Catholic missionaries the right of propaganda at the expense of the strength of the Chinese state; we recognize absolutely no legal title justifying the systematic poisoning of

the Chinese by opium, the importation of which is imposed by force upon China; lastly, we express in all sincerity our conviction that the Chinese have the same right to insist that 'China should belong to Chinamen' as the Russians or English that their country should belong to them."

It would be difficult to put into shorter compass a policy more absolutely antagonistic to that which the German Emperor appears to be pursuing in China at the present moment.

PRINCE CHING AND LI HUNG CHANG, THE CHINESE PEACE NEGOTIATORS.

THE two Chinese peace negotiators, Prince Ching and Li Hung Chang, are the subjects of a brief notice by Herr von Brandt in the *Deutsche Revue* for November. Prince Ching, as a descendant in the fourth generation of the Emperor Laokwang, who died in 1850, could claim only the rank of a prince of the fourth class; for, according to the Chinese Blue-Book, "the members of the Imperial family of the present dynasty fall into four classes of princes—four of dukes and four of the nobility. The titles that have been granted are always reduced in degree in descending from father to son, or that the son of a nobleman of the fourth class of the Imperial family inherits no title whatever. Of course, titles higher than the one inherited may be granted for merit, or for other reasons. This was the case with Prince Ching." He was raised to the rank of a prince of the second class in 1884, and superseded in the same year the Prince Kung as president of the Tsungli-Yamen—a position he still holds. "Very industrious and conscientious, of agreeable manners and pleasant bearing, he yet lacks the quick perception and the energetic will that formerly showed the Prince Kung to be a real statesman, even according to European standards."

Better known, says Herr von Brandt, is, or should be, Li Hung Chang. For nearly fifty years he has been prominent in the affairs of his country, always on the side of law and order as against riot and unrest. During the Taiping Rebellion he organized a regiment of volunteers at his own cost; and later, as governor of Kiangsu, he operated with the "always-victorious" army commanded by Gordon. Subsequently, he subdued the Niefei rebels in Shantung. In 1868 he was appointed superintendent of commerce of the Southern ports, and two years later governor-general of Chili. As such, for twenty-five years he rigorously maintained order in that province, speedily quelling the Mongol uprising of 1891-92. In Tientsin, through which all foreign diplomats



LI HUNG CHANG.

had to pass on their way to Peking, he had many opportunities of coming into contact with Western personalities and ideas; and it is noteworthy that, whenever difficulties arose with other countries, it became his task to smooth them over—a task that required not only a knowledge of the foreign demands and interests, as well as a ready tact in dealing with the foreign diplomats, but even more courage and influence with his own government and its parties, which often had to be coerced into granting most unwelcome concessions. Thus it happened that, for more than a score of years, Li was the mediator between the conflicting interests of his country and the outside world, rendering equally great services to both parties. In 1876 he concluded the convention of Chefoo, by which the difficulties with England, arising from the attack on the mission of Yunnan, were settled. In 1884 he concluded the so-called Li-Fournier Convention, in which he endeavored to prevent the outbreak of hostilities between France and China on account of Anam, concluding two years later the Convention of Tientsin, which ended the hostilities. It

was due to him that Korea was opened up in 1882; he conducted the negotiations that led, in 1887 to the evacuation of Port Hamilton, and Russia's withdrawal from Korea. He concluded with Japan the Convention of Tientsin, by which the conflict between the two countries was staved off for about ten years. He tried his utmost to prevent the war with Japan in 1894, and finally not only undertook the difficult task of concluding with the victor the treaty of Simonoseki, but also fulfilled the still more difficult task of inducing his government to accept the treaty, by which it ceded to the enemy Formosa and the peninsula Leaotung. Called to Peking to the Tsungli-Yamen, he succumbed to the foolish attacks of the English, who forced from his position the only man possessing the courage and the power requisite to prevent a conflict with the foreign countries, because it was said that he had sold himself to Russia. Why Li finally was appointed governor of the two Kwangs needs a better explanation. Possibly he himself preferred and desired service in the provinces, and his government honored the wish of its old and tried servant; more probably Li not only had an intimation of the coming reaction, and thought it best to get out of its way; but the leaders of the reactionary party also endeavored to get out of their way the only man who could effectively have crossed their plans. But it is certain that, had Li been in Peking at the outbreak of the riots, he would have had to pay by his death, ostensibly for his reputed friendliness toward the foreigners; in reality, for his sensible treatment of foreign affairs."

A RUSSIAN AMONG CHINESE SECTARIES.

M. DELINES contributes to the first September number of the *Nouvelle Revue* an interesting article describing the experiences of a Russian engineer, M. Lobza, among an important Chinese sect called "The Protectors of the Persecuted."

The headquarters of the sect was at a town in Manchuria, called Nyn-Guta, and there M. Lobza made violent efforts to discover the points of difference which separated the sect from the official religion of Buddha. After being most politely put off by one of the principal men of the sect, M. Lobza turned his attention to a miserable temple on the outskirts of the town, the priest of which he knew to be connected with the heads of the sect. The task which the Russian had set himself was rendered unusually difficult because the governor of Nyn-Guta had ordered all his officials to enter into no relations with Russians, and never to reveal to them anything

of the private life of the people. M. Lobza visited the temple, and he told the priest of it that the architecture of the temples of Nyn-Guta had made a profound impression on him, owing to their originality; that he took a great interest in the religion of the Chinese, and, above all, in the belief of this particular sect, which he would be glad to have explained to him. The priest explained that the temple was dedicated to Poussa, the only divinity of the sect, members of which did not attend other places of worship. The sect were distinguished by their sobriety; they smoked neither opium nor tobacco, did not drink any Chinese brandy, and called one another brothers. The sect is spreading very widely through China; in each town the members elect a chief, who holds his office for life, and whose business it is to supervise the morality of his co-religionists. Membership of the sect is only obtained with the consent of all the members of the particular town, and the admission of a new adherent is celebrated with great pomp. In the prayers which the priest addresses to Poussa on behalf of each new member, it is remarkable that there is no petition that the convert should become a great trader, and this is held to prove that the sect despises riches. On admission, the new member changes his name by putting the syllable "lai" in the middle—a practice which enables members to recognize one another easily wherever they may be. Members of the sect are very benevolent, and assist one another in old age and trouble.

A MANDARIN'S VERSION.

So much M. Lobza learned from the priest. He also consulted an official of his acquaintance who belonged to the third, or blue-ribbon class. This gentleman received M. Lobza with great ceremony, and at first was extremely unwilling to speak about the sect; but when he found that M. Lobza already knew a good deal on the subject, he spoke more freely. He declared himself an opponent of the sect, the members of which he described as weak men, dissimulating their vices and their crimes under the mask of lofty doctrines. The society, he declared, was dangerous in the extreme; and he explained that, when a neophyte entered the sect, he was obliged to take an oath never to divulge its mysteries, under pain of being killed by his comrades. This appears to have proved to the Chinese official that the sect was altogether bad; he added that the Chinese authorities greatly disapproved of it, and forbade any one to belong to it. Ten years ago, he went on, the sect had instigated a revolt in Peking, and had attempted the life of the Emperor.

Naturally, the Russian was much puzzled by these two completely different stories. But one circumstance made him suspect the account given by the mandarin—namely, that he blamed the sect for their love of equality. “This wretched people,” he said, “consider the old man and the youth, the mandarin and the peasant, the rich man and the mendicant, as being equal, and having a right to the same honor.” M. Delines, however, does not entirely solve the question whether the priest or the mandarin is to be believed, though it is evident that he is, on the whole, inclined to accept the account given by the priest.

CONCERNING MISSIONS IN CHINA.

THE *Deutsche Revue* for October has an article by Herr von Brandt in further support of his assertions that the conduct of the missionaries in China is to some degree responsible for the recent troubles, and that the Protestant missionaries are more to blame than the Catholic. His criticism is based on a residence of eighteen years in China, and thirty-three years in Eastern Asia. He finds “much to prove that in China, American and English missionaries have meddled with the affairs of the country in a way detrimental not only to their legitimate activity, but also to the interests of all the foreigners, and have tried to gain political influence. There is no doubt about the fact that in the affair of Kan-Yu-Weis in Peking, in 1848, two missionaries, Messrs. G. Reid and T. Richards, took a prominent part; and since the Taiping Rebellion the Protestant missionaries have been regarded suspiciously by the Chinese Government.” In support of his statements Herr von Brandt cites a number of authorities, among them the work of Lord Curzon, —the present Viceroy of India,—“Problems of the Far East.”

Further causes for the unpopularity of the missionaries among the Chinese are their mode of living,—which, however plain, seems luxurious to the frugal natives,—and especially the increasing employment of unmarried women and young girls.” In a country like China,—which differs on the one hand materially from us in its views on the emancipation of women, and on the other hand shows an element almost of brutality in the character of its natives,—the spectacle of unmarried persons of both sexes living and working together, in public and in private, and of young women undertaking long journeys into the interior without suitable companions, must cause serious misunderstanding. “The pure-minded may depise such misunderstanding; but in many cases it has more to do with the anti-missionary

feeling in China than even the most bitter national enmity or any theologic differences.”

SHOULD MISSIONS BE CONFINED TO TREATY PORTS.

The social importance of Christianity Herr von Brandt rates very high; what he condemns is the false system, which finds a guarantee of success in the multiplying of missions and missionaries, and lays more stress on the quantity than the quality of its workers. “There is another point which shows the shortcomings of the present system—that, as soon as there is a persecution, the pastors feel compelled to leave their flocks. The pastor should remain with his flock, and share its good or ill fortunes; but, in order to do this, he should restrict his activity to places where he could be easily and permanently protected. Why not confine the missions to the treaty ports and immediate vicinity, and leave the evangelizing of the country to the Chinese converts? The foreign missions have either succeeded, within the sixty years of their activity, to train for such purposes a goodly number of natives, or (and this would be the most severe criticism on their activity) they have not obtained such results, and the immense sums spent in missionary work have been thrown away. Such a wise restriction would relieve the foreign powers of the necessity of standing sword in hand ready to protect the spiritual interests, and would thereby clear away a danger continually threatening their relations to China as well as the peace of the world. The missionary may answer, with the words of Jesus, “Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations.” But why should he not be reminded of these other injunctions: “But when they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another;” and again, “And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear you, when ye depart thence, shake off the dust of your feet for a testimony against them.”

Referring to the amount of blame to be attached to the Catholic and the Protestant missionaries respectively, Herr von Brandt concludes by saying that “it is not a question of dogmatic differences or quarrels between followers of the different confessions, but whether missionary activity shall be introduced again into China with fire and sword, and be protected in the future, and the Cross be raised on the ruins of burned and plundered cities; and to this I have, in the name of what we call our civilization and humanity, only one answer—a most emphatic No.”

For a good statement of the missionaries' side in this controversy, the reader is referred to the article in the September REVIEW OF REVIEWS (page 302), by the Rev. Dr. James S. Dennis.

THE CHINESE "MOTHER GOOSE."

IN the *Home Magazine* for November, Prof. Isaac T. Headland, of the Peking University, gives metrical versions of a number of Chinese nursery rhymes similar to the "Mother Goose" melodies of English-speaking children. He says:

"It is a mistake to suppose that Mother Goose, as we have it at the present time, is the product of that good old Boston lady whose mischievous son-in-law, Mr. Thomas Fleet, published the first two copper editions of that book 'at his printing-house in Pudding Lane.' Mother Goose is an omnipresent old lady. She is an Asiatic as well as a European or American."

Here is one of the rhymes that Professor Headland heard repeated by Chinese elders to children:

He climbed up the candlestick,
The little mousey brown,
To steal and eat tallow,
And he couldn't get down.
He called for his grandma,
But his grandma was in town,
So he doubled up into a wheel
And rolled himself down.

By way of comment on this rhyme, Professor Headland remarks:

"Now, I think that it must be admitted that there is more in this rhyme to commend it to the public than there is to 'Jack and Jill.' If, when that remarkable couple went for the pail of water, Master Jack had carried the water himself, he would have been entitled to some credit for gallantry; or, if in falling he had fallen in such a way as to prevent Miss Jill from 'tumbling,' or even in such a way as to break her fall and make it easier for her, there would have been some reason for the popularity of such a record. As it is, there is no reason except the fact that it is simple and rhythmic, and children like it. This rhyme, however, in the original, is equal to 'Jack and Jill' in rhyme; contains as good a story, exhibits a more scientific tumble, with a less tragic result, and contains as good a moral as that found in 'Jack Sprat.'

"That little rhyme is as popular all over North China as 'Jack and Jill' is throughout New York or New England. Ask any little Chinese child if he ever heard of 'The Little Mouse,' and he reels it off to you as readily as the American child does 'Jack and Jill.' Does he like it? It is a part of his life. You repeat it to him, giving one word incorrectly, and he will resent it as strenuously as your little boy or girl would resent it if you said:

'Jack and Jill
Went down the hill.'"

AN UNPRINTED "MOTHER-GOOSE" COLLECTION.

Some of the difficulties experienced by collectors of Chinese nursery rhymes are obvious enough. For example: "Chinese nursery rhymes have never been printed in the Chinese language; but, like our own Mother Goose before the year 1719, they are carried in the minds and hearts of the children. This brings to mind the first difficulty we experienced in collecting rhymes—the difficulty of getting the rhyme complete. Perhaps you cannot repeat the whole of the

'House that Jack built,'

though that has been printed many times, and you learned it all in your youth. The difficulty is multiplied tenfold in China, where they have never been printed, and where there have grown up various versions of them, modified from some original which the nurse had no doubt partly forgotten, but still was compelled to entertain the child. I have found not less than four different versions of the 'Mouse and the Candlestick.'"

Among the accretions to these ancient jingles some are objectionable on the score of vulgarity, but these objectionable passages can usually be cut off and discarded without injury to the original rhyme.

"It will be noticed that among the nursery rhymes of all countries many refer to insects, birds, animals, persons, parts of the body, certain actions, or trades, food, and children. Among the insects referred to in Chinese rhymes we have the cricket, cicada, spider, snail, firefly, lady-bug, and butterfly. Among the fowls we have the bat, crow, magpie, cock, duck, and goose. Among the animals we have the mouse, dog, cow, horse, mule, and donkey, with additional rhymes on the snake and the frog; and there are rhymes without number on places, things, and persons, men, women, and children.

"Those who hold that the Chinese do not love their children have never consulted their nursery lore. There is no language in the world, I venture to believe, which contains children's songs expressive of more keen and tender affection than some of those found among the nursery rhymes of China. This fact, more than any other, has stimulated us in collecting them. They have been prepared with the hope that they will present to the English-speaking people a phase of Chinese home life which they have never seen, and which I doubt if they are prepared to expect. So much has been written about the murder of girl children that a large proportion of our English and American friends look upon the Chinese as a nation of baby-haters. As a

sample of the rhymes expressive of affection, we need only give the following :

My baby is sleeping;
 My baby's asleep.
 My flower is resting,
 I'll give you a peep.
 How cunning he looks,
 As he rests on my arm,
 My flower's most charming
 Of all them that charm.

ANATOMICAL RHYMES.

The Chinese have also many nursery verses pertaining to the different parts of the body :

"They have rhymes to repeat when they take hold of the five fingers, and rhymes when they take hold of the toes; rhymes when they grab the knee, and expect the child to refrain from laughing, no matter how its knee is tickled; rhymes which correspond to our 'knock at the door, peep in,' etc., when the forehead represents the door, and the five senses represent other things—ending, of course, by tickling the child's neck; and there is no book in China, not even their sacred books, which is so universally known as their nursery rhymes. These are understood and repeated by the educated and the illiterate, the children of princes and the children of beggars; children in the cities and children in the country villages, and they produce like results in the minds and hearts of them all; the children laugh over them, look sober over them, or are sung to sleep by them."

THE VALUE OF MOUNTED INFANTRY.

"FOUR Legs Instead of Two" is the title of an article contributed to the November *Forum* by Mr. A. Maurice Low. The writer's main thesis is the necessity of mounting bodies of infantry, in order to secure the mobility now deemed so important in effective warfare.

To-day, time is the great factor, in fighting, as well as in so many other activities of modern life. The question of "getting there first," as General Miles puts it, is the all-important thing. The Boer War has shown that modern weapons give an overwhelming advantage to the defensive:

"Because a bayonet charge is obsolete; because works cannot be carried by storm as they used to be; because the picturesque and dashing cavalry charge will no longer afford a theme for the painter or poet,—it follows that the only way by which a position can be carried, unless the attacking force is in overwhelming numbers, is by a series of flanking movements; and the success of the flanking movement will depend upon the mobility of the assailant, who, while making

his attack on one or both flanks in force, must make a feint in front which must have all the appearance of an attack in force.

FOOT-SOLDIERING OUT OF DATE.

"The foot-soldier is an anachronism, as archaic as the man-at-arms with his halberd or the archer with his cloth-yard shaft. The modern foot-soldier is not only a fighting-machine,—he is also a beast of burden; and no man can be both with success. The American infantryman equipped for war is weighted down with rifle, bayonet, ammunition, clothing, shelter-tent, water-bottle, and haversack, in all some 60 pounds in weight. It is a common belief that a soldier is so strong and hardy that he does not feel his burden; that he can march 10 or 15 miles with 60 pounds about his body and not mind it; that like the well-trained athlete, who thrives under violent exercise, he enjoys having to transport all this paraphernalia. Now, as a matter of fact, that is the one thing of all others which the soldier despises. He doesn't mind the fighting; he can put up with heat or cold; and although he may growl when his rations are short, he accepts that as part of the day's work; but to turn himself into a porter, to be a coolie and the bearer of burdens, is the thing he abominates.

"There is nothing more depressing to the spirits, nothing more devitalizing, nothing which makes a greater drain on a man than a march. There is nothing picturesque, nothing exhilarating, nothing to break the horrible monotony of this seemingly interminable plodding through baking dust, or clogged mud, or chilling snow. All the color of war has gone. There are no bands to make men forget their fatigue, no waving plumes and fluttering flags to excite the imagination, no spectators to stimulate pride; there is no scenery even. War is now a monochrome; every one dresses the same, khaki loses its semblance of color and takes on the color of the dirt or mud of the country through which the army marches, and no man sees more than the man in front of him or the man on each side of him. Hour after hour this goes on; rifles become heavier, ammunition-belts chafe more gallingly, haversacks and water-bottles strike in a tender spot, shoes get filled with grit, which makes each step an agony. If after a long march men are thrown into action they have lost their vim and their power of resistance, and it is only by sheer nerve that they are able to stand up to the rack. Nine times out of ten infantry are sent into action with their nerves unstrung, simply because they have been broken down by the strain which has been put upon them. To get the best results out of men, they should go

into action in a perfect physical condition ; but they are generally weakened by the drain made upon them.

PUT EACH MAN ON A HORSE.

"The remedy for this—a remedy which will not only increase the actual physical strength of an army, but will also give it that mobility which is all-essential—is to give each man his own means of transport; that is, to mount him. The armies of the future will be armies of mounted infantry. It must be understood that I clearly differentiate between mounted infantry and cavalry. The infantry will still be infantry, although they are mounted ; and the sole object in mounting them will be to provide them with a means of transport, and will enable them to cover the ground more rapidly and relieve them of the necessity of being their own beasts of burden. Instead of carrying 60 pounds about their persons, this weight will be carried by their horses. Instead of making, say, ten miles a day with great fatigue, great bodily discomfort, great depression of spirits, they will be able to make from two to three times that distance, and at the end of a march they will be as fit as when they started. The mounted infantryman will not be a cavalryman in any sense of the word. He will be armed as he now is with a rifle ; he will be trained as he now is to fight on foot ; the infantry tactics will be the only tactics he knows ; but he will be conveyed instead of being a conveyer.

"A regiment of 1,000 men will march on their horses until such time as it becomes necessary to go into action. When the regiment deploys, one man in every five will be detailed to look after the horses. This is an initial loss of 20 per cent. of the fighting force of the regiment, and the regiment is thereby weakened to that extent. Nominally, its effectiveness is reduced ; in practice, however, I venture the assertion that a regiment of 800 men which has been brought to the scene of action mounted will be more than a match for 1,000 men who have marched one, two, or three days, or an equal number of weeks.

"It took the English four months to learn the lesson of mobility and to comprehend that men on foot were no match against men on horseback. When the lesson was learned the tide of defeat was turned into victory. General French's flying column of mounted men marched ninety miles under a tropical sun in a little over four days, fought two minor engagements, forced Cronje hastily to retire from Kimberley and later surrender, and so weakened Joubert in front of Ladysmith that Buller was able to raise the siege."

THE COUNT VON MOLTKE.

ON October 26, the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Moltke was celebrated throughout Germany. In consequence of this, *Nord und Süd* has a very interesting article on the great strategist, by Alfred Semeran. The writer mentions, as a curious fact, that Blücher and Moltke



COUNT VON MOLTKE.

had many points in common. Both were born in Mecklenburg ; both these men, who rendered such service to Germany, left home at an early age, and, finding no opening for their ambition in their own country, entered foreign service. Both, still as young men, reentered the Prussian army, Blücher leaving the Swedish and Moltke the Danish army, and then led that Prussian army from victory to victory. What Blücher began at the opening of the century Moltke triumphantly completed at its close. The one drove the French headlong over the Rhine, and the other wrestled from them the territory that had been forcibly taken 200 years previously, and, together with Bismarck, fulfilled the dream of years—namely, the union of the German empire. Blücher's strong arm and Moltke's keen brain both did their utmost for Germany's honor and power.

Moltke was the third son in a family of eight. His father was a lieutenant-general in the Danish army. He, with his elder brother, spent a rather joyless youth in Copenhagen. Writing of this time, he said that the only advantage he obtained from the rigid discipline and rigorous rules under which he lived was that he early learned to

bear every hardship. He entered the Prussian service, and in 1835 became a captain. From that year until 1839 he served the Porte, still remaining in the Prussian army. He was asked to prepare a report on the reorganization of the Turkish army. After that he drew up plans for the fortification of the Dardanelles and its banks; he then directed, together with Hafiz Pacha, the defenses of Varna. He had also to prepare a plan for the defense of Constantinople. In 1858 he was made chief of the general staff. It was in the campaign against Austria that he became known to fame as a great general; and, says Mr. Semeran, in the war against France he showed he was the greatest leader of his time, and by far the greatest strategist. He was not only a great leader, writer, and orator; he was also a great man, and all his triumphs never made him proud.

THE REVIVAL OF ITALY.

AFTER the dismal recital of Italian woes, culminating in Milan riots and anarchist regicide, it is most comforting to turn to Mr. Bolton King's roseate account, in the *Contemporary*, of the position in Italy. He announces "the signs of a great political and social and economic revival."

INDUSTRY BOUNDING AHEAD.

First he puts "the almost startling industrial expansion of the last two or three years." Here are a few of the facts:

"The exports for the present year promise to be one-third greater than the average for 1891-97, and the increase is almost entirely in manufactured produce. Already Italy exports nearly as much of this as she imports. Her textile industries are advancing by leaps and bounds. Silk is, of course, the most important of them. Three years ago the silk exports were worth £13,250,000; last year they were £17,250,000, and this year they promise to be over £20,000,000.

"The cotton industry, which for export purposes was hardly existent ten years ago, nearly doubled its exports between 1897 and 1899, and in the latter year they were worth nearly £2,500,000—no great amount, it is true, but enough to show the rapid growth of a young industry. The total output of the cotton-mills was estimated in 1897 at £12,000,000—or six times what it was in 1876.

"The production of steel, quite in its infancy twenty years ago, is now an important one. The number of workmen in iron or steel foundries has gone up from under 6,000 in 1881 to 77,000 in 1897, and in the latter year their output was worth £2,250,000.

"Italian industry has two great assets—its rivers and its artisans. The rivers supply an almost unlimited quantity of energy for generating electricity. At present it is hardly tapped; the amount of constant supply of energy is estimated at 40,000,000 horse-power."

But this enormous force is being rapidly utilized in North Italy in factories, in lighting to an extent unknown in England, in railways, and in agriculture. As a workman, "the Italian is proving himself to possess a quickness and adaptability of the highest quality."

COÖPERATION RAPIDLY ADVANCING.

As social counterpart to this industrial expansion, Mr. King adduces "the very remarkable diffusion of coöperation."

"The People's Banks in 1898 had a capital of £4,000,000 and deposits of £15,000,000, and did a business in loans and discounts of £33,000,000. There are between 300 and 400 productive coöperative societies, some of them doing a business of over £8,000, and possibly more. There are over 400 societies of masons and laborers, with an estimated membership of over 250,000 (though this is, perhaps, much exaggerated). . . . There are about 1,000 distributive coöperative societies. There are 400 coöperative creameries, which are revolutionizing the butter and cheese industry in parts of Piedmont and Venetia, as they have revolutionized it in Denmark and Ireland. Five years ago the savings-banks had £83,000,000 deposits, and probably they have now £100,000,000. The friendly societies number 1,000,000 members, and their funds—woefully small in proportion—probably exceed £2,000,000."

"THE COÖPERATIVE SAINT."

Mr. King thinks the most interesting form of coöperation is to be found in the Bergamo and Parma systems—each a network of societies for helping on the peasant; societies for loan, societies for advancing and recommending the best seed and manures, for securing the best breeds of cattle, for assisting emigration, for finding employment, for disseminating information, for cattle insurance, etc. In Parma, they have an industrial counterpart to a diocesan bishop:

"The center of the whole work is the traveling teacher of agriculture, paid partly by the savings-bank of Parma, partly by the provincial council, but left a very free hand, and therefore giving more useful and practical instruction than the French professors of agriculture, or, perhaps, than some of our own county council lecturers. The whole expense of the 'chair,' including the salary of the teacher and his assistant, is £400

a year. For this he gives lectures, visits farms, answers questions by correspondence, organizes fruit shows, manages 18 experimental and demonstration plots, conducts a school of pruning and grafting, introduces bulls and rams of improved stocks, organizes coöperative creameries, keeps guard against the vine disease, supervises the village banks, edits a monthly agricultural paper with 450 subscribers—and all for £160 a year. No wonder that among the peasants he goes by the name of *il Santa della Cooperazione*."

POLITICAL AWAKENING.

The political prospect appears to Mr. King not less promising. He observes with pleasure the rapid growth of the Extreme Left and its triumph at the polls. This, he says, means "the doom of political corruption, the impossibility of reaction; sooner or later the abandonment of the existing military system and its crushing taxation, the dawn of an earnest social policy." The popular parties have "attracted most of what is best in Italian thought." Not much is known of the new King as yet; but, says Mr. King, "what is known is mostly to his good." Republicanism has gone, and Socialism has become municipal.

PENSIONS FOR ITALIAN OPERATIVES.

IN our July number, under the title "Old-Age Pension Systems," we reviewed a very instructive article by Prof. Luigi Rava, of the University of Bologna, published a short time previously in *Nuova Antologia*. Professor Rava's paper was a summary of the present state of legislation in Europe, and in some European colonies, for providing working-people with an income in their old age. Among the systems reviewed was the Italian, and some details were given as to the organization and working of the institution through which pensions are to be provided for Italian operatives. We add here further particulars supplied by an article in *La Rassegna Nazionale* (Florence, October 16), having the title "The Provident Bank and the Savings-Banks."

It should be noted that the Provident National Bank, although largely aided by the Italian Government, "is not an institution of the state. It is a coöperative, self-governing savings-bank, founded for the purpose of mutual assurance. The state is a coöperator—a disinterested cooperator—in the bank, and completes with its aid the interest and sum of individual savings. The state is the creator of the institution, and is surety for its right conduct, and is implicitly pledged to liquidate the pensions after twenty-five years of participation," but not at any pre-

determined rate of increase. It seems rather hard to draw the line between a bank of that sort and "an institution of the state;" but the purpose of the writer in emphasizing the separation of the bank and the state probably was to dispel any fear that politics might get into the bank's management and the hands of state officials into its coffers.

There are two kinds of registry for subscribers—*mutual* and *reserved*. The sum to the credit of a subscriber in the mutual register is transferred, on his death, to the fund available for pensions to the mutual subscribers. In this form of registry the survivors profit by the installments paid by associates who do not live to draw their quotas of pension. In the *reserved* register, the aggregate of installments (without any quota of pension or interest) may be drawn out by the family of the deceased. The pensions available in this register are less, of course, than those in the mutual register. Professor Rava thought that, in the actual working of the plan formulated by law, the aid supplied by the state, as compared with the payments by the beneficiaries, would be in the proportion of 8 to 6 or 7. That is, somewhat more than half of a subscriber's pension would be paid by the government.

CALCULATED RESULTS.

Comparing Signor Manassei's tables in *La Rassegna Nazionale* with the calculations of Professor Rava, we notice that the estimated pension is somewhat smaller in the former than in the latter for the same age and payments, although the assumed rate of interest ($3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.) is the same in both. Professor Rava, for example, calculated that a subscriber in the mutual register who, beginning at the age of 25, paid half a lira (franc) a month would, at 60 years of age, be entitled to a pension of 62 lire per year, as the return on his deposits, and also 73 lire per year, as the government's contribution. The estimated total pension would be 135 lire. Signor Manassei's tables give, for the same time and sums, 117 lire. It is to be noted that pensions do not increase in proportion to the payments. The estimated pension, in Signor Manassei's table (mutual register), for 12 lire per year is 179 lire; while the double of the 117, previously quoted for 6 lire, would be 234—a difference of 55 lire. Again, the estimated pension for 18 lire per year, beginning at the same age as before, is 241 lire; but the treble of the pension for 6 lire is 351 lire—a difference of 110. Probably the differences are to be explained by a relative decrease in the government's contributions. Apparently the government gives most freely to those who need most, as shown by their saving least.

COÖPERATION OF COUNTRY BANKS.

In our previous notice of this institution, we said that "its pensions are not to be measured by the needs of American living and American expenses." In no other country of Europe can available government aid go farther towards satisfying necessary wants than in Italy. But participation in such aid is not compulsory in the Italian pension system, as it is in the German system; and it is yet uncertain that the working-people of Italy will spare enough of their small earnings to insure the success of the intended beneficence. When one earns but little, it is hard to lay aside even a little of that little for future needs. But those who approve the Italian Provident Bank seem to find encouragement in the outlook. The mutual-aid societies have turned over their funds to the national institution; and the provincial savings-banks, instead of regarding it as a rival to be circumvented, are coming to its help. The plan of these savings-banks seems to be to act as feeders to the national bank by transferring to it, with the consent of the depositors, a part of their deposits. The provincial savings-banks, no doubt, can do much towards making the scheme practical by offering their counters for the receipt of such deposits. The national bank could hardly afford to establish separate agencies throughout the provinces, and the absence of sufficient agencies would leave the bank without necessary tributaries. The Provident National Bank is, as yet, an experiment. If it proves to be a successful experiment, the results will be far-reaching.

THE REMAKING OF IRELAND.

THE economic regeneration of Ireland, which is being initiated on coöperative lines by Mr. Plunkett and the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, is the subject of a pleasing sketch in *Blackwood* by Mr. Stephen Gwynn. He tells what he saw during "a month in Ireland," notably in Donegal and Mayo. He describes the co-operative creamery at Killygordon.

MILK-AND-WATER REPRISALS.

Incidentally he mentions a difficulty characteristically Irish, which comes out in the following letter from a local creamery:

SIR,—There was a man sending in milk, and we suspected him of watering. We had the analysis taken, and it showed 25 per cent. of water. We told him he should be ashamed of himself, and he came to the committee, and he knocked down two members of the committee and blacked their eyes. Sir, what are we to do?

Happily, this is an exceptional case. Mr. Gwynn tells how the society has taught the peo-

ple to spray their potatoes on the first sign of disease; and, but for the spraying, there would not have been a stalk left in the potato-fields.

THE RURAL BANK.

The rural banks, as he finds them, have been remarkably successful. Here is a typical case:

"A man owning a couple of fields had sold a cow to pay his rent, and had no money with which to restock; but for the bank, the grass was going to waste. He borrowed £10, paid 18s. for a pair of 'suckers,' and £8 13s. for a pair of young beasts. The pigs he sold in four months for £4 10s. The heifers he sold in ten months for £20. He then repaid his loan—which, with interest at 6 per cent., made 10 guineas, and was left with £14 to the good."

Mr. Gwynn holds that these successes disprove the familiar charge that "the Irish have no capacity for business."

THE INITIATIVE OF THE PRIESTS.

It is interesting to know the part which Roman Catholic priests have played in this promising new departure. Mr. Gwynn says of the initiative in Mayo:

"Here, as everywhere else, the priest had addressed his people from the altar, and told them there was a gentleman that had things to say to them that they would do well to listen to, and the first work of the propaganda had been done outside the chapel—by a Catholic among Catholics for Ireland, with no taint or suspicion of any party purpose."

The society has, Mr. Gwynn claims, done for Irish agriculture what has been done in France, Denmark, Canada, and other countries by the state—at a cost to subscribers in nine years of \$75,000.

IRISH ARTISTIC SENSE.

There is reserved to the close of Mr. Gwynn's most cheering paper an account of the woolen industry in Donegal. He says:

"A member of the Congested Districts Board fell in with Mr. Morton, of the famous Darvel carpet-making firm, and heard of his factories at work in the remote parts of the Highlands. 'Why should not the same be done in the west of Ireland?' he asked; and Mr. Morton was willing to make the experiment, if a place could be found with railway and sea communication. Killybegs was pitched upon, and the work was started in a provisional way—the board guaranteeing a considerable sum if, at the expiration of two years, it seemed unprofitable to go on with it. But there was no want of workers with fingers that naturally took to the swift, deft

work, and the expiration of the two years found the firm completing a fine factory. It was only newly opened when I passed through, and I was lucky enough to meet Mr. Morton himself—an employer of artistic labor with all the instincts of an artist. What struck him most was, it seemed to me, the inborn artistic sense of the Irish peasants, their manifest pleasure in watching the pattern grow on the loom; and, next to that, the fact that the hills about the district were exactly fit to feed the right class of sheep and produce the right wool."

THE BEAUTIES OF A FACTORY.

A week later, he saw the factory in operation :
 "A prettier sight it would be hard to find. There was a great room, perhaps 200 feet by 150, lit like a studio, clear, clean, with pine-boarded walls. At the farther end were the looms, nine of them—with seven or eight girls sitting in a row before each; and beyond the looms were piled the great masses of rich-colored wool—reds, greens, blues, and browns; and on every loom rose the rich glow of the costly carpet. . . . But the beauty of the place lay in the human factor—the rows of young girls set there, bareheaded, against this gorgeous backing."

THE LIMITS OF MUNICIPAL TRADING IN ENGLAND.

THE birth of 28 London boroughs in a single day—November 1—ought to give a powerful impetus to every form of municipal interest, and to make the question of municipal trading, which has occupied a select committee of both houses of Parliament, and which the current number of the *Edinburgh Review* discusses at length, one of special public concern. The reviewer tries to find if a line can be drawn between those matters which can best be intrusted to municipalities and those which may safely be left to private enterprise. He considers that water and light are essentials which may be therefore municipalized, but that locomotion is not an essential. He touches on the question whether municipalized concerns should be run for cheapness or for profits applicable to the reduction of the rates. He quotes the view of the lord-provost of Glasgow that the second alternative is dangerous; the corporation of Glasgow applying the profits of each undertaking to that undertaking. The writer gravely doubts whether municipal dwellings do not work more harm than good. He accepts the definition of the lord-provost of Glasgow, that the functions of the municipality are rather functions of service than functions of trade.

A PENNY TELEPHONE.

In respect of the telephone, the writer seems inclined to nationalize and municipalize the system at the same time. He says:

"After repeated application, Glasgow has obtained a license from the postmaster-general, and is in a position to work an exchange over an area equal to that worked in Glasgow by the National Company." Only from the spread of this system and the subsequent introduction of the principle of competition can we look for such a perfection of telephonic facilities as will enable all classes of the public to communicate with each other as freely and as cheaply as they do by post. Already in Glasgow it is proposed to establish numerous call-offices, where for a penny any one will be able to communicate with the entire area. The extension of such a system to the United Kingdom is a task immeasurably less difficult than the establishment of the penny post, and if properly worked there is every prospect that it would be a source of actual profit to those who undertake it. But the position requires to be boldly handled; the interests of a body of monopolists cannot be allowed to override the advantage and convenience of the public at large; and the efforts of the central government should be supplemented by the energy and enterprise of local associations."

MUNICIPALIZATION STRIDING ON.

But the writer calls attention to "a far-reaching attempt by municipalities to invade the province of individual enterprise," and quotes the following instances:

"By an act of last year, power was given to a Midland corporation to provide Turkish baths. In a bill of the recent session power was sought, among other things, to provide apparatus for games and athletics, to be used presumably, but not necessarily, on recreation-grounds established by the authority. In another, power was sought to provide refrigerators and cold-ice stores for the preservation of marketable articles, and to sell ice. In another, it was proposed to provide bathing-tents. In another, tailoring was contemplated; saddlery in another. In several, power was asked for to construct and manage refreshment-rooms in parks. By many corporations the power of manufacturing as well as supplying electrical fittings was demanded, and in three cases efforts were made to acquire the privilege of providing entertainments and charging for admission."

The House of Lords, on Lord Morley's advice, has refused assent to bills authorizing the manufacture as well as the supply of electric and water fittings.

THE LORD-PROVOST OF GLASGOW'S RULE.

Among the dangers attending so wide an extension of municipal enterprise, the writer points out the difficulty of finding unpaid municipal councilors with time and ability equal to the new demands, and the peril of stunting individual enterprise. This is the position to which the writer leans :

"We believe, then, that it behooves Parliament to impose some carefully framed limit on the trading efforts of municipalities within the areas administered by them. It may be that Lord Crewe's committee may find some sounder basis for fixing that limit than was suggested to them by the lord-provost of Glasgow. But there is much wisdom in the definition he laid down, and he supported it with good sense fortified by long experience. He said that the municipalities might safely be intrusted with, but confined to, the supply of things which were in their nature suitable to a monopoly—which were articles of necessity, and which required control of the streets or portions of the public property of the municipality."

GOING BEYOND BOUNDS.

Where the municipality extends its enterprise outside its own boundaries,—as where it supplies water or light or locomotion to its neighbors,—a new difficulty arises. May it make a profit out of its neighbors' necessities? In the case of tramways, the question is becoming grave :

"Glasgow is already working 13 miles outside the city boundary, and expects soon to be working 34. Huddersfield obtained powers this year to establish spurs of its own system, extending in many directions into many areas. And unless some proper check can be established, we may expect ere long to see a large number of town councils in the position of a board of directors owning and controlling a network of tramways over a wide district, and comparable in difficulty and importance with many minor systems of railways. . . . Some check—such as insistence on joint management and a sharing of responsibility by all the authorities affected—will have to be devised, and the higher the authority devising it the better."

SIR HENRY FOWLER'S DICTUM.

The reviewer cites another outline of suggested limitation :

"Sir Henry Fowler, a friend of municipal administration if ever there was one . . . would limit it to such undertakings as are clearly for the common good and the general use of the whole community, and which it is for the public advantage to place under public control."

But he would not allow the general user to decide what came under this definition. The reviewer raises the question whether municipal employees should be allowed to retain their municipal franchise. He presses for the imposition by Parliament of "wise and temperate conditions" for the regulation of the whole matter.

WHAT COMPETITION COSTS US.

ONE of the prize essays of the *Cosmopolitan* series appears in the November number of that magazine, under the title, "What Communities Lose by the Competitive System." Mr. Jack London, the author, assumes that man became the foremost animal because of his gregarious instinct and his consciousness of it; and he argues that the various forms of combination or coöperation, which are the evolution of this gregarious instinct, must go on. Mr. London cites a hundred instances of the gigantic losses to the human community through the competitive system. Ten thousand acres of land under one executive utilizing the most improved methods of plowing, sowing, and harvesting will produce, he says, far greater returns at less expense than can an equal number of acres divided into a hundred plots, and worked individually by a hundred men. The latter prevailing system causes the whole community to suffer a distinct pecuniary loss.

For instance, Mr. London computes the cost of fences in the State of Indiana at \$200,000,000. "If placed in single file at the equator, they would encircle the globe fourteen times." Under an ideal system of coöperative farming these fences would be done away with, and the community would gain the amount of their cost and the land which they render untillable.

IS THE "DRUMMER" NEEDED?

Mr. London considers the success of the great department stores a striking proof of his theory. He carries his enmity to competition to the logical end, and deplores the loss of human effort by the work—unnecessary, as he thinks—of "drummers" and the expense of advertising. He estimates that there are 50,000 drummers, and places a conservative figure of \$5 per day per man to cover their expenses and earnings. Since the producer must sell his wares at a profit or else go out of business, the consumer must pay the actual cost of the article—whether it be the legitimate cost or not—plus the per cent. increment necessary for the continued existence of the producer's capital. Therefore, the community, being the consumer, must support these 50,000 \$5-a-day drummers; this aggregated forms a daily loss to the community of \$250,000, or an annual loss of

upwards of \$100,000,000. Mr. London holds that these drummers are not in any sense legitimate creators of wealth, and that the cost they add to the articles they sell is an unnecessary one. He goes on to point out analogous losses in household economics in the larger affairs of trade and commerce, causing the trade and commercial crises, and even in the esthetic side of human life. At present, he says, the artist exerts himself before a pitifully small audience. The general public has not time, in the fierce rush of competition, to pay attention to esthetic matters; and, so long as society flourishes by the antagonism of its communities, Mr. London thinks that art in its full, broad scope will have neither place nor significance. "The artist will not receive justice for his travail, nor the people compensation for their labor in the common drudgery of life."

"Variety is the essence of progress; its manifestation is the manifestation of individuality. Man advanced to his dominant position among the vertebrates because his 'apelike and probably arboreal ancestors' possessed variety to an unusual degree. And in turn, the races of man possessing the greatest variability advanced to the center of the world-stage, while those possessing the least retreated to the background or to oblivion."

THE UPSHOT OF THE PARIS EXPOSITION.

PROFESSOR PATRICK GEDDES, in the *Contemporary Review*, attempts a tremendous feat. The Paris Exposition is the epitome of the modern world; Mr. Geddes sets himself to epitomize this epitome in fifteen pages. We dare not venture on a third epitome—to extract, as it were, the cube root of this latest world-show.

THE GERM OF AN INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY.

We may, however, select two instances, with which he concludes, of its contribution to general progress. He says:

"A year ago, at the Dover and Boulogne meetings of the British and French associations, the long talked of International Association for the Advancement of Science . . . began to take form in large general committees, which soon became definitely constituted in London and Paris, and thence extended to America, Belgium, Switzerland, and later to Russia and Germany—in all countries with encouragingly large university and public support. Hospitably received by the exposition authorities, and headed by the leaders of French education, this first assembly of the association has continued throughout the summer, in its four languages, the work of

interpretation and guidance to the exposition in many of its departments. Even in these days of university extension it was something that the venerable rector of the Sorbonne should take his turn among younger teachers. Here, then, has been in actual operation in the exposition, throughout the greater part of its duration, a living germ, at least, of an international university—university in the antique sense, open to all who gladly learn and teach. Besides this interpretative function, beginnings have been made towards the record and the diffusion of some of the best features of the exposition, and the bringing of its manifold results, and its perhaps even richer suggestiveness, to bear upon the many points where these may be of use, here in education, there in science or art. As the links which are thus becoming established among the members of so many congresses and professions, of so many universities in all parts of the world, of so many regional scientific societies, develop into a network, new possibilities become apparent; and these, like the exposition itself, both as regards special advance and general culture. At the coming international exposition of Glasgow, which will open with next summer, the interpretative and critical functions will be easier, and the constructive ones more possible;—as regards future exhibitions, of course, increasingly so."

A MILLIONFOLD WITNESS TO INTERNATIONAL AMITY.

Most important of all,—“the essential matter,” in short,—Mr. Geddes takes to be “the general tone and temper of the exposition.” He says:

“That this, by far the vastest and the most representative gathering of men and of things, of all kindreds, kingdoms, nations, and languages, in the entire course of history, should have come and gone almost without accident, without disorder, without any evil fairy at the feast, is much; that it should have brought together some representation of well-nigh all the forces of material, intellectual, and even moral progress, is more; that it should have so multiplied personal relations, so strengthened general good-feeling and international amity, is most of all. That France and Germany, for central instance, should have had more amicable relations of every kind during the past six months than in the whole previous generation, is itself no small result—itsself, in the opinion of many best qualified to judge on both sides of the Vosges and Rhine, worth all the trouble and cost of making the exposition. . . . It is much that there should be henceforth in our generation these millionfold witnesses to the essential and organic unity, the true internationalism, of civilization and progress.”

THE BUILDING OF OUR NATIONAL CAPITAL.

IN the December *World's Work* is described "The Building of a Great Capital," in honor of the celebration, in December, of the Centennial of Washington City.

THE SITE SELECTED BY WASHINGTON.

"The site of the present city, covering the lower portion of the district, was selected by Washington in January, 1791; but it had been admired by him many years before. When a boy, he saw it while riding the country on horseback, and he spoke of it when as a young man he camped with Braddock on the hill where the Naval Observatory now stands.

"Washington, always more of a merchant and engineer than artist, had thoughts of a great commercial city there, with the navigable Potomac reaching to the sea to help it in the race for supremacy; and it was with more than his usual zeal and hopefulness that, in the early spring of 1791, Washington set about planning the future seat of government. The private owners of the land proved a source of vexation and of some delay. Many of these were the descendants of a little band of Scotch and Irish who had settled on the land a hundred years before, and had inherited from their fathers ability to drive a hard bargain.

OLD DAVID BURNS AND HIS FARM.

"Aged David Burns, a justice of the peace and a tobacco planter in a small way, proved the most stubborn and greedy of all. Even Washington was at first unable to do anything with "obstinate Mr. Burns," who did not want a capital at his front door, and did not care whether or not the seat of government came to the banks of the Potomac. Washington argued with him for several days, explaining to him the advantages he was resisting; to all which, so the tradition runs, Burns made reply:

"I suppose you think people here are going to take every grist that comes from you as pure grain; but what would you have been if you had not married the widow Custis?"

"Burns at last capitulated, and transferred his 600 acres, which he did not wish to see spoiled for a good farm to make a poor capital, on the same terms that had been made with the other owners of the site—the government to have one lot and the original owner one lot alternately, the latter being also paid \$125 per acre for such part of his land as might be taken for public use. Burns stipulated that the modest house in which he lived should not be interfered with in the laying out of the city; and since this condition was agreed to by Washington, Burns' cottage stood

until a few years ago, one of the historical curiosities of the capital."

THE DESIGNER OF THE CITY.

Washington chose Maj. Pierre Charles L'Enfant to lay out the plan. This skillful French military engineer, who had come to America in 1777, had the foresight to design a city on lines which would not be inadequate for the capital of an immense nation. The rather provincial taste of the American public men forced L'Enfant to lay the city out in squares, even Jefferson insisting on this unpleasantly rectangular scheme. But the engineer put in so many avenues running at acute angles that the monotonous effect was happily destroyed, and "the opportunity presented of making the capital the magnificent city it has since become."

THE DESIGNS FOR THE CAPITOL.

"For the Capitol, sixteen designs were submitted by as many architects; but all, after careful examination, were counted unworthy of serious consideration. Soon, however, Stephen L. Hallett, a French architect residing in New York, sent to the commissioners a sketch of a design which met with favor, and he was invited to perfect it. Hallett had not completed his labors when Dr. William Thornton, an Englishman who had lately taken up his residence in America, submitted a design to Washington and Jefferson which so pleased them that the President requested its adoption; suggesting that, as Thornton had no practical knowledge of architecture, the execution of his design be intrusted to Hallett.

"Thornton's design thereupon was accepted by the commissioners, and Hallett was appointed supervising architect, with a salary of \$400 per year. The corner-stone of what was to be the north wing of the Capitol was laid on September 18, 1792, when Washington delivered an oration and the Grand Master of the Maryland Free Masons an appropriate address. After the ceremony, to quote a contemporary account of the affair, 'the assemblage retired to an extensive booth, where they enjoyed a barbecue feast.'

THE NATIONAL CAPITAL IN 1799.

"When Washington last beheld the city which bears his name, shortly before his death, in 1799, it was a straggling settlement in the woods, almost wholly devoid of streets, with thirty or forty residences,—most of these small and uncomfortable,—and an unfinished capitol and President's house. Indeed, Washington long remained a sparsely built, unsightly city and a comfortless place of residence. For more than a generation its growth in population was

less than six hundred a year—a rate of increase that would now put to shame almost any village in the land; and so late as 1840 De Bacourt, the French minister, could write that Washington was ‘neither a city, nor a village, nor the country,’ but ‘a building-yard placed in a desolate spot, wherein living is unbearable.’

“All this was changed by the struggle for the Union, which doubled the population of Washington and brought in freedom and Northern enterprise; but, more important still, by a thousand moving and glorious associations, endeared the capital to the people of the whole country. Then came its remaking by Shepherd and his associates. Now it is a truly imperial city, and the judgment of Washington and the genius of L’Enfant have been vindicated.”

THE SOURCES OF THE JORDAN RIVER.

IN the *Biblical World* for November, the Rev. Dr. J. L. Leeper thus describes the region in which the Jordan River takes its rise:

“Our winding path led through a forest of oaks, over mossy, parklike verdure, and presently by rippling waters and over humming runlets underground. Soon rills became rivulets, and rivulets rushing torrents, spanned by bridges, broken by cascades, overhung by blooming oleaners and tall poplars, skirted by ruins, ancient and modern—the huts of the present and the palaces and castles of former generations suggesting a ‘Syrian Tivoli.’ This was Banias, the easternmost source of the Jordan River. It is just beyond the limits of Holy Ground, being about an hour from Tell-el-Kadi. For beauty of situation it is not equaled in Palestine, and for a tangled web of associations it is scarcely equaled in history, having been in turn sacred alike to Baalite, Jew, Greek, Roman, and Moslem.”

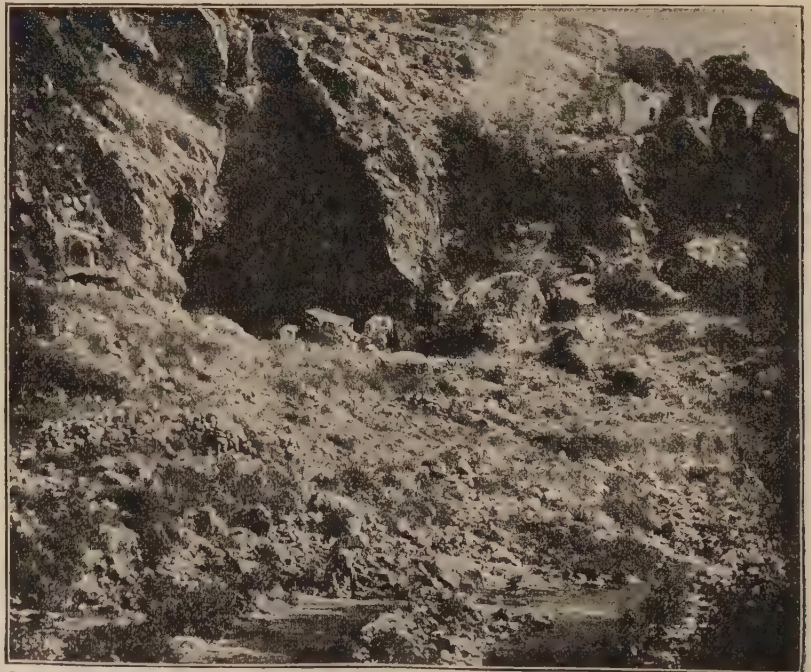
THE ROCKS AT BANIAS.

“The head of all is a limestone cliff, 80 feet in height, discolored by the iron water which seeps through it. In the face of the cliff is a deep cavern, to the right of which are

carved niches, the remnants of a rock-cut temple, which, though now empty, speak of images and idol worship. Over one is the inscription, ‘PANI TE KAI NUPHAS,’ dedicating the sanctuary to Pan and the nymphs. One recess is adorned with an arched and fluted roof, while several tablets with mutilated inscriptions appear in another. To the left (the right in the illustration) of the cavern and on the summit of the cliff is a Mohammedan shrine to the mysterious saint Sheikh Khudr, or St. George, which stands, it is claimed, over the substructure of the white-marbled temple which Herod the Great erected to the memory of Augustus.

“At the base of the cliff is a huge mass of *débris*, formed by masses of fallen rock, and doubtless also of portions of these temples, which excavation will alone reveal. The cave is still there, and was well filled with water. The stream may once have flowed directly from the cavern, but now it percolates through the *débris* a copious flood of sparkling water, and gathers in a reservoir below, reminding one of the river Rhone flowing out from under the glacier by that name.”

In the vicinity are to be found many traces of former grandeur—fragments of sculpture, broken columns, and even native huts in part constructed out of the masonry of antiquity. As Dr. Leeper says, this spot has been a quarry for sixty generations.

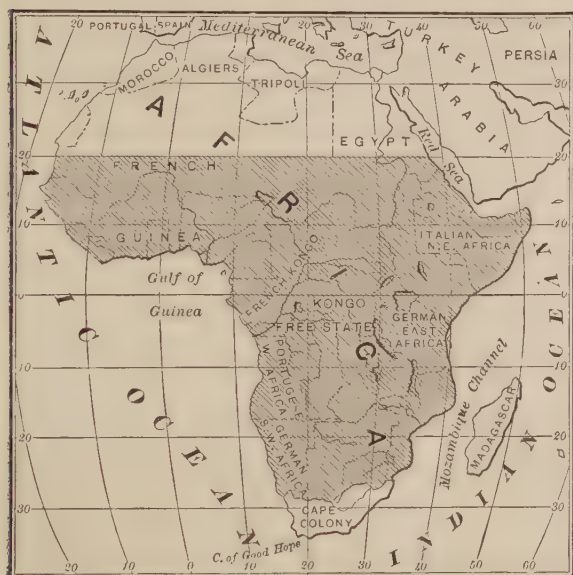


Courtesy of the University of Chicago Press.

THE SOURCE OF THE JORDAN AT BANIAS.

AFRICA AS A GAME-PRESERVE.

IN the *National Geographic Magazine* for November, Mr. John B. Torbert writes briefly on "Africa, the Largest Game-Preserve in the World." It will be news to many of our readers, perhaps, that on May 19 of the present year a convention was signed in London by the diplomatic representatives of Great Britain, Germany, Spain, Belgium, France, Italy, and Portugal for the protection of the wild animals, birds, and fishes of Africa. This convention, after ratification by the several powers, is to remain in force fifteen years. The European nations having colonial possessions in Africa have thus formed



THE AFRICAN GAME-PRESERVE AS FIXED BY TREATY.

(The shaded portion of the map shows the area over which the provisions of the convention of May 19 apply.)

themselves, as Mr. Torbert puts it, into a powerful game-protective association, with jurisdiction over the most extensive game-preserve in the world.

HOW THE ANIMALS ARE PROTECTED.

"The area over which the provisions of the convention are to apply includes all that portion of the Dark Continent extending from the twentieth parallel of north latitude to the southern line of the German possessions in southwestern Africa, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. Under the terms of the convention, the hunting and destruction of vultures, secretary-birds, owls, giraffes, gorillas, chimpanzees, mountain zebras, wild asses,

white-tailed gnus, elands, and the little Liberian hippopotamus is prohibited. The young of certain animals, including the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, zebra, antelope, gazelle, ibex, and chevrotain are protected, and also the same species when accompanied by their young. Particular emphasis is laid on the protection of young elephants, and all elephants' tusks weighing less than twenty pounds are to be confiscated by the government if the animal was killed after the convention went into effect. The eggs of the ostrich, among those of a large number of other birds, are to be protected; but those of the crocodile and of poisonous snakes and pythons are to be destroyed. A limited number of lions, leopards, hyenas, otters, baboons, and other harmful monkeys, large birds of prey, crocodiles, poisonous snakes, and pythons may be killed.

"The method of taking or killing game is regulated to the extent that the use of nets and pitfalls is forbidden, and dynamite and other explosives must not be used for taking fish. Only persons holding licenses issued by the local governments are allowed to hunt wild animals within the protective zone, and these are revocable where the provisions of the convention are in any way violated.

"Another provision of the convention is that the contracting parties shall, as far as possible in their respective territories, encourage the domestication of zebras, elephants, and ostriches."

LIFE AROUND THE POLES.

M. DASTRE contributes to the first October number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* one of his informing articles on life and all things living in the vast regions which surround both the North and South poles.

THE GREAT ANTARCTIC GLACIER.

To M. Dastre's mind, the principal interest of arctic and antarctic exploration is not the solving of certain scientific problems so much as the study of the animal and vegetable life of the polar zones. In both polar regions there are four different variations of the landscape—the main ice-floe, the inland seas, the mainland, and the ocean. In these four spheres is abundant room for the habitation of animals and plants. Of the two polar regions, the antarctic is the most simple; it is an immense expanse, perpetually frozen, of which the center is occupied by a vast continent, and the circumference is girdled with ice which forms the ice-floe. The main continent is covered with a mantle of snow, which drifts round the rocky summits and smooths the sharp angles of the configuration of the soil. "The

spectacle is that of a colossal glacier which disgorge itself into the sea or on the ice-floe.

REMARKABLE FAUNA AND FLORA.

If this view of the antarctic continent is correct, the wonder is that any animal or vegetable life should be maintained in so uninhabitable a region. As a matter of fact, however, the ice-floe, at any rate, presents remarkable fauna and flora. The geographical conditions of the arctic zone are quite different from those of the antarctic; it is regarded as certain that a deep sea occupies the center. A characteristic of the arctic is the continuity of the ice-floe with the lands which are not always frozen over; this is a matter of great importance from the point of view of the distribution of animals and plants. The ice-floe is a very poor substitute for the solid earth; it is continually breaking up into crevasses, grinding itself into chasms, and reuniting, apparently capriciously, but really in obedience to the forces of winds and submarine currents. It follows that the ice-floe can only furnish a very precarious habitation for terrestrial animals, and its fauna is therefore practically a marine one. It is the principal glory of Nansen to have realized the supremely important fact that the ice floe moves in obedience to definite laws, and that its direction can be pretty accurately foretold.

A FLOATING PRAIRIE.

But it is time to pass on to the animals. Curiously enough, the ice-floe in the polar regions rests upon a relatively warm sea, the waters of which are favorable to various forms of submarine life. The depths of the arctic sea are actually a little warmer if anything than those of the oceans farther south. Even under the ice may be found a kind of green moss which exhibits the elementary vegetable life related to the most simple kinds of seaweed. Under the microscope the tiny atoms which make up the whole layer reveal the most beautiful cells and granulations. Light, which is an almost essential condition of vegetable existence, is obtained in summer when the impenetrable layers of frozen snow formed during the winter disappear. Thanks to this curious kind of moss, the ice-floe, in place of a horrible desert, becomes an immense floating prairie, on which a prodigious quantity of little animals find nourishment; these creatures include jelly-fish, mollusks, and crustacea, which, in their turn, furnish food to animals of greater size, such as members of the seal tribe, whales, and various birds. We thus have a chain of organized life depending ultimately upon millions of tiny points of albuminous seaweed.

THE MODERN FORTUNE-TELLER.

M. JULES BOIS, well known as a writer on witchcraft, satanism, and kindred subjects, contributes to the first September number of the *Nouvelle Revue* a striking article on fortune-telling. He gives a rapid sketch of the greatest living fortune-teller—the remarkable woman who, under the name of Madame de Thèbes, exercises her art in modern Paris. “Do not laugh,” she once said to an interviewer; “I touch the bedrock of human sorrow. Eight out of ten married women who consult me would fain be widows, and all about me the death of others is longed for, if not actually sought.” Madame de Thèbes is a palmist; most of her rivals tell fortunes by cards, and from time immemorial Paris has been the center of somnambulism. The most famous “somnambule” of this century was Madame Auffinger; and M. Bois declares that on innumerable occasions she not only foretold the future, but gave the date on which notorious criminals and murderers would be brought to justice.

As to the great Frenchmen who frequently consulted fortune-tellers, the writer gives a long list, from Napoleon I. to Balzac, Hugo, Dumas, and Napoleon III. There is in the French code an act specially forbidding the fortune-teller to practise his or her art; but the law is rarely, if ever, put in motion, and every Paris paper, including the *Figaro*, publishes the attractive advertisements of these “dealers in hope;” and, what is more, French men and women, belonging to every class of society, consult regularly palmists, sorcerers, somnambulas, and tellers of cards. The late General Boulanger was a firm believer in occultism, and none of those who knew him can doubt that his pitiful end was partly brought about by the fact that he had clearly marked in his hand the “suicide’s line”—a fact of which he unfortunately became aware early in his career. President Carnot was also told by a fortune-teller that he would be assassinated, and so was the late President Faure, about whose death so many stories are current.

THE OXFORD UNDERGRADUATE.

AN entertaining account of undergraduate life at Oxford appears in the October number of the *National Review*. It seems that even in that conservative university atmosphere there is evidence of change within the past half-century.

“Fifty years ago rich men, or at any rate, men with a competence, had almost a monopoly of the ‘Varsity;’ nowadays the door has been opened to many needy students, and it would hardly be too much to say that the majority of

'Varsity men are very far from being well off. This great change in the social composition of the universities has had its effect on the unwritten law.

"One of the best features of Oxford is this, that a man's parentage is never discussed or inquired into. It is taken for granted that he is a gentleman, whatever his appearance may be, unless he proves himself to be the contrary. This is, of course, only a general rule, to which there are exceptions. Sometimes we may hear a man express contempt for his neighbor because he is a nobody, and complain that the university is open to 'all sorts of bounders' nowadays. Such men are, happily, rare; in general, patrician and plebeian live on terms of amity with one another, and meet on terms of equality with one another to their common advantage."

THE TROUBLES OF THE FRESHMAN.

The unwritten law of the university includes an appalling series of rules respecting conduct and dress, as "Mr. Verdant Green" learned to his cost. The undergraduate of to-day has quite as many details of etiquette to master.

"A common mistake of freshmen, and one which never fails to arouse the laughter of the onlookers, is to go for a walk in cap and gown. The guileless youth in his first term has a vague idea that he is always liable to be proctorized if he appears without his academics, and he consequently sets forth for a constitutional, a square mortar-board adorning his head, and thirty inches of black alpaca dangling gracefully from his shoulders. Occasionally one may see a wretched man on the top of Headington Hill, in cap and gown, the cynosure of every eye; even the dirty little ragamuffin of the Oxford streets has wit enough to see the jest, and points gibes at the unfortunate victim.

"To carry a stick while in cap and gown is universally barred. This rule is, perhaps, a correlative of the last.

"It is probably the cap and gown which give most trouble to the freshman. He has been known to go down to the river in them, and has sat in a tub all the afternoon, gravely wondering what every one was laughing at.

"The undergraduate is a hardy and cleanly animal; whatever he may have been at school, at Oxford he is the champion of soap and cold water—hence one of his unwritten laws. Every one is *supposed* to have a cold bath every morning. This is a law to which every one conforms—at least outwardly. If one does not, the college may perhaps treat him to a cold bath in the college fountain, or duck-pond, if it possesses one, some cold winter's night on the

break-up of a wine-party. The addition to the matutinal tub of hot water from a kettie is looked upon with suspicion, as a practice derogatory to the dignity of undergraduates. Hence, almost every one prefers to bathe in cold water, even in winter. In secret, doubtless, many put in so much hot water and so little cold that the cold is swamped; but this must be done by stealth."

UNDERGRADUATE IDEALS.

Of the ideals of the undergraduate, Mr. Brodick says: "It is certainly true that very few undergraduates have any very clearly defined ideals. The average young Oxonian is quite content to live on quietly at Oxford; with good plain food, plenty of exercise, and sufficient reading to give him an appetite for amusing himself, he is perfectly happy. Oxford is such an absorbing place that if the undergraduate is fond of idealizing, he will probably connect his ideal with alma mater. He thinks there is no place in the world like Oxford, no life like 'Varsity life. He idealizes the Oxford Theater, the Union, or, maybe, one of the more or less exclusive undergraduate clubs, the Oxford cabs, the country round Oxford. The one thing that he grumbles at is the dinner in hall; all else, except, perhaps, the proctorial system, is perfection. If he has any thought beyond his 'Varsity career, he dreams of a snug little place under the government, an office where the clerks—like the fountains in Trafalgar Square—play from ten to four. A charming little wife, perhaps, as well, who will permit smoking in the drawing-room; but as a rule he is content to let his thoughts play freely over Oxford, and resigns himself, with what grace he may, to reading enough to get through the necessary examinations, spending his leisure joyously."

A SUCCESSOR TO POE AND LANIER.

IN that excellent quarterly, *Poet-Lore*, of Boston, Miss Helena Knorr reviews the work of the young American poet, Richard Hovey, whose untimely death has cut short a career of unusual promise. Like Poe and Lanier, his acknowledged masters, Hovey left his work uncompleted, and, as Miss Knorr shows, the three poets had much in common.

"They had the most exalted view of the office of the poet as a bringer of light. They believed in the divine mission of poetry to ennoble the life of man. Moreover, they were artists in verse as well as singers—searching for new effects in sound and rhythm, craftsmen tirelessly experimenting upon new forms. The technique of verse was a serious business to them. They held

poetry to be an art amenable to fundamental laws; theorized on it, and practised it diligently to that end. They made poetry their chief concern. The younger learned from the elder, and carried on the work of the predecessor to further perfection.

A COMPARISON OF POETIC GIFTS.

"Yet with all these formal resemblances there are decided points of difference that mark off Hovey's work from that of the two elder singers. Poe left a body of verse, small in volume, but of a texture so fine and faultless, of a music so haunting, as to place him, in the opinion of many, at the head of our poets. More than any one of them he is distinctly a poet,—a maker of beautiful verse,—and nothing else. Life touches him little. His range is narrow, and remote from earthly interests. Even had he lived longer and produced more verse, it is doubtful if he could have written poems with warm, red, human blood pulsing through them. He limited himself to the creation of mere beauty. Lanier, like Poe, an artist in verse, was also a musician; haunted by elfin music, and vainly striving to bind the elusive melodies into rhyme. A worshiper of the beautiful; a lofty spirit standing awestruck before the holiness of beauty. His genius was essentially lyric, with perhaps a leaning toward the epic. He would have given us, as best fruit of his endeavors, more splendid 'Hymns of the Marshes.' His work, less clearly articulated, is also more incomplete than Poe's; it may not be too hazardous to say that, like Poe, he gave us of the best he had, and that he would have proceeded along the lines on which he had begun. Richard Hovey not only left a larger body of verse than either of these two, but his range was also much wider, including both the lyric and the dramatic, and passing from the tinsel of 'Barney McGee' to the rapturous exaltation of Taliesin's 'Hymn of Joy.' We find in the lyrics not only Poe's passion for beauty and his delight in mere verbal ingenuity, together with Lanier's nature worship, but the note of human passion, absent in Poe and held in abeyance in Lanier, is distinctly struck in Hovey's dramas."

THE VERDICT OF CRITICISM.

After a critical analysis of Hovey's poems and dramas, Miss Knorr concludes:

"What Richard Hovey would have done, had the full measure of a man's years been granted him, we do not know. What he intended to do does not concern us here. A man's intentions never count for much except to his intimate friends. Promissory notes are not a bid for immortality. But this we can say, even now, that

Richard Hovey was one of the most richly endowed poetic personalities this country has yet produced, combining lyric fervor with the dramatic instinct to a degree not found in any other of our poets, and adding to these the scholar's equipment with the artist's sense of form. The future smiled fair upon him. He gave to the world one fine drama and one splendid poem. Then he was called off, leaving his chief work a fragment. He must be named with poets like Lanier, whose work is incomplete, whose promise was greater than their achievement, and whose untimely loss American literature will mourn for many a day to come."

THE PROCESS OF INFECTION.

IN his article on "Infection," in the *Centralblatt für Bakteriologie* for August 22, Dr. Alexis Radziewsky describes the way in which microscopic organisms produce disease and death. For the past fifty years bacteria have been kept very prominently before the public. Since their discovery the germ theory of disease has been developed, giving us a rational working basis for the prevention and cure of germ diseases; the antiseptic treatment of wounds has made a radical change in surgery, while the application of the same principles along lines of less vital importance has demonstrated much that is of interest as well as profit. The various flavors of wines are due to certain kinds of bacteria; butter, good or bad, owes its flavor to the bacteria that pervade it, and different kinds of cheeses may be made as desired by inoculating them with the right bacteria.

These organisms are so small that it is frequently necessary to study them by means of lenses magnifying 1,200 diameters. They live everywhere—floating about in the air, mingled with the dust that blows in the streets, in water, in milk, and in the earth. They are always ready to take advantage of favorable circumstances for growth, and their growth may mean death to the organism invaded. The chief sources of invasion are the mouth, the skin, and the lungs.

The question may be asked, Why do we not all die? Because skin or lung that is perfectly whole and healthy is bacteria-proof. Cuts and bruises, or any unhealthy tissues, are favorable for the invasion of bacteria. Sunshine and oxygen are antagonistic to them.

Under the term *infection* are brought together all the changes that are induced in animal organisms by microbes. It is believed that the most important changes depend upon the action of specific poisons in the infected animals.

ACTIVITIES OF MICROBES.

Having once gained entrance to the body, these organisms grow rapidly and divide, so that enormous numbers are formed; while, as a result of their natural life processes, various matters are thrown off which act upon us as poisons. The life history of the microbe is short, and they soon begin to die in constantly increasing numbers. We have to consider, then, three ways in which microbes produce the effects of disease: first, by invading the tissues in large numbers and feeding upon them; second, by throwing out poisonous matter; and, third, by the decomposition of their dead bodies. It is thought that the cholera-germ is fatal because it dies between the cells that form the lining tissue of the intestines, through contact with the living tissue, or through the action of normal blood-serum which is intensely antagonistic to bacteria. This action is so intense that, even after death from cholera, the peritoneal fluids have still been found to be sterile.

The animal organism reacts in defense of itself, and under the influence of the infecting microbes bactericidal substances are formed in the tissues, which gradually become stronger, as well as increase in quantity, and become diffused through the whole system, where they resist the attacks of the microbes, so that the mere presence of the microbes calls an opposing force into action. Dead microbes, which are found in quantities at certain stages of these diseases, are destroyed by the action of the normal fluids of the body. But in case the microbes overcome the natural resistance offered, they will ultimately die from the effects of the substances which they themselves excrete, and in that case the chances of recovery will depend upon the endurance of the individual infected.

NEURASTHENIA IN STATESMEN.

THE infelicities of political life have been used more for pointing morals than adorning tales. They lack the decorative quality. Now comes Dr. Calatraveño, a hygienic moralist, and tells us, in *Revista Contemporánea* (Madrid, September 30), that political life is especially subject to neurasthenia. The statesman or politician who, after some years of political activity, has not suffered from the encroachments of this insidious disease Dr. Calatraveño regards as a rare exception.

"There is, in Spanish society," says the learned doctor, "a type *sui generis*, with characteristics perfectly marked, with a personality and physiognomy of its own, that offers symp-

toms so well defined, for its recognition that it cannot be confounded with any other. This type is the politician."

Dr. Calatraveño (let us remember) is writing of Spain and Spaniards. "And one of the infirmities," he says, "that torment the life of this type of people is, without any sort of doubt, neurasthenia."

THE NERVOUS STRAIN IN POLITICS.

Of course, the cause of the affection is to be found in the nervous strain to which politicians as a class are constantly subject—the feverish hopes and expectations, the biting disappointments, the sense of being never wholly at ease. All these excitements and irritations produce "constant hyperæmia, which finally converts these unfortunate beings into neurasthenics, predisposing them to cerebral congestion. . . . In the measure that the politician advances in his career he offers to us more distinct characteristics of neurasthenia. Look at the minister who has hardly a moment at his disposal. . . . Without quiet meals, without restoring sleep, always on the go, at all hours the object of the bitterest criticisms; . . . maltreated, at times unjustly, by the press; mortified by caricature; separated from the caresses of his family; alienated from his best friends,—he lives isolated from the world in the midst of the throng that surrounds him; hated, in spite of their false protests, by his flatterers, who are the first to disparage him; and in this cruel and envenomed existence passes his days, always fearing to lose power, always disquieted by the threat of revolt, at every hour tortured by anxieties, ingrates, and enemies."

A situation, certainly, that is not favorable to good health—physical, mental, or moral. Three symptoms are mentioned by our moralist as conspicuously noticeable in subjects of this class:

1. *The delirium of greatness*—that is to say, a disturbance of the judgment, in which the patient thinks he is fit for anything if it is great enough, and is ready and eager to take any portfolio of state, though he has had no experience or training to qualify him for the post.

2. *Failure of will-power*—especially of courage. It is a strange association, but the lives of many public men have demonstrated the fact that bloated conceit and poverty of will are constantly hugging each other in public life.

3. *Volubility* everybody recognizes—at least, in the United States. And it seems that this symptom of cerebral degeneration is not peculiar to Americans. Even people of such grave dignity as Spaniards of the upper class are subject to the infirmity when they are victims of neurasthenia.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1900.

AN article on "The American Presidential Election" is contributed to the *Contemporary Review* for November by Dr. Albert Shaw. Writing on the eve of the election, Dr. Shaw characterizes the campaign of 1900 as the most quiet and apathetic campaign that the country has had for at least half a century. By way of explanation of this fact, he says:

"Taking the country at large, party feeling has not run high in the past four years. There are actually no fundamental questions before the American people that are worthy to divide them sharply into two hostile political camps. There is, however, a highly organized business of politics which keeps the machinery of the Republican and Democratic parties in working condition irrespective of living questions and issues. It simply happens that there are two vast clans of politicians contending with one another throughout the country for elective and appointive offices, and the control of governmental work in a million school districts and road districts; a hundred thousand villages, towns, and townships, all carrying on local self-government on the party plan; some thousands of counties; half a hundred elaborately governed States or commonwealths; and, finally, the nation itself, with its scores of thousands of postmasterships and other appointive positions that are still used as the spoils of party victory. Most of these politicians are sincerely loyal to the party name, just as one man may be a tenacious Baptist without having the slightest reason for not being, like his neighbor, a tenacious Methodist, except that he was born into a Baptist instead of a Methodist family.

THE PERSISTENCE OF PARTY ORGANIZATION.

"Nobody can understand American politics at the present time who fails to perceive that party lines do not represent fundamental differences of opinion about public affairs, and that party organization owes its unimpaired vigor more than anything else to the fact that there are so many professional politicians who have a direct interest in controlling nominations and managing elections. The election laws in most of the States are so shaped as to favor these permanent leagues of professional politicians as against the independent citizen, whose concern in politics is only for the public welfare. It is made so difficult for such citizens to act effectively on their own behalf that they are almost always obliged, as a practical expedient, to vote for the candidates of one clan of politicians or else for the candidates of the other, merely seeking the lesser of evils. If it were not for the

politicians and their perfunctory activities, old party lines would have disappeared as meaningless, and we should have witnessed this year either a realignment upon fresh issues, or else one of those so-called 'eras of good feeling,' or acquiescence, which have once or twice been witnessed in American politics, by virtue of which a President has been accorded a second term with something like unanimous consent. Such moments of acquiescence are, of course, transitional; and they are naturally followed by divisions of opinion upon some fresh question of more or less consequence. Mr. McKinley's administration has been exceptionally free from party bias, on the one hand, and almost free from bitter partisan assault on the other. I do not refer, of course, to the hostile criticisms of individual men or newspapers, or to small though highly articulate coteries, like the Anti-Imperialistic League. It is rather to the general tone of public opinion and the general attitude of the members of the Democratic opposition in the two houses of Congress that I refer. Certainly no President in the memory of our own generation has been so free from personal attack or so widely known.

ACQUIESCENCE IN THE RESULT.

"It has been evident, through the four or five long months of the electoral campaign, that in reality the entire country was ready to acquiesce very cheerfully, and with a great sense of comfort and security, in the reelection of Mr. McKinley. Many men formerly known as leading Democrats have been supporting him openly; and a still greater number, while abstaining from an active part in the campaign, have allowed it to be known or inferred that they were privately favorable to Mr. McKinley's reelection. It was generally believed that a second term of Mr. McKinley's administration would be still more free than the first from conscious and intentional partisanship, and that its object would be to lay most substantial foundations for another century of American progress."

THE GREAT FINANCIER, J. PIERPONT MORGAN.

IN the December *Munsey's*, Mr. John Paul Bock has a brief but interesting article on "America's Foremost Financier," Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. Mr. Bock describes the head of the banking firm of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co., the greatest power in Wall Street, as a man distinguished not only for his large charity, but for his even more unusual modesty, or hatred of notoriety—whatever it is that makes him insist on the anonymity of his great gifts. Although



MR. J. PIERPONT MORGAN.

he has given away some \$5,000,000, not a single institution which has benefited by his generosity bears his name.

His abhorrence of notoriety is one of the strong factors in his personal equation. Others are his imperious will, his acuteness of thought, and his brevity of speech. Another powerful factor is his physique. Six feet in height, with the shoulders and chest of an athlete, he is, with all his two hundred and more pounds weight, so quick in his movements as to force upon all beholders the conclusion that here indeed is a man both intellectually and physically in touch with the foremost forces of his time.

AN ACCESSIBLE MAN.

A railroad president from a not far distant State, whose name was also identified with an institution of learning, called one morning, not many years ago, at 23 Wall Street, and asked to see Mr. Morgan. A peculiarity of the banking-house is that almost anybody can see Mr. Morgan who wants to; he does not sit in a sanctum, shut away by mahogany doors from the surging life of the place. Behind a long glass partition, to the right as one enters, and beginning about thirty feet from the street entrance, stand the

desks of the partners: Robert Bacon, C. H. Coster, who died recently, George S. Bowdoin, Temple Bowdoin, and W. P. Hamilton, the latter Mr. Morgan's son-in-law. At the far end of the line sits Pierpont Morgan himself, by a broad, low desk, in a pivot chair, on which he swings himself freely as his attention is directed now here, now there. Desk and chair are alike plain, businesslike, and unsuggestive of magnificent enterprises.

Around the room are men waiting, hat in hand, watching the opportunity to approach and speak. Mr. Morgan holds a long, gold-banded cigar between the fingers of his left hand, enjoying a dry smoke. His clothes are those of the man of the world; his closely trimmed gray hair, smooth-shaven face, and heavy mustache show that he takes care of himself. To him entered the railroad president, smiling, self-assured, prepared to be eloquent, but not to be abashed.

"This, sir," said he, presently, referring to the proposition he had just outlined, "is a gilt-edged opportunity. You must not think our stock is going begging. I am ready to put the matter through myself, but——"

"I don't see, then, that you need me at all," said Mr. Morgan, quietly. And he turned to the next-comer.

On a fair estimate of his annual gains, each minute of his working-hours is worth at least \$40. It ought to be dangerous to waste the time of such a man—and it is.

Mr. Morgan's chief recreation is yachting. He was, for years, commodore of the New York Yacht Club. His new yacht, *The Corsair*, is a big black ocean-going steamer of 1,136 tons, which cost \$500,000. Once aboard her, Mr. Morgan throws off business cares, and becomes a genial host and companion.

HIS VAST INTERESTS.

"Of the corporations whose management Pierpont Morgan dictates, the most important are the railroads. In others, like the General Electric Company, he retains an abiding interest. In others still, like the Federal Steel Company and the National Tube Company, he was interested only in their formative period, when they needed both promoting and financing.

"Of the way in which the Federal Steel Company was formed, President Gary said to the Industrial Commission, sitting in Washington, a few weeks ago: 'Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan really effected the union, and brought the separate companies together. Between \$200,000,000 and \$300,000,000 was given to him, and with this he bought a controlling interest in each of the corporations, paying his own expenses.'"

THE PERIODICALS REVIEWED.

THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY MAGAZINES.

THE great illustrated magazines of December, 1900, follow out the usual Christmas themes, with no startling deviations; but in the colored pictures, which have come to be the most distinctive feature of the Christmas number, there is to be noted a decided advance in both refinement and richness beyond the limits in color-printing of previous years.

THE CENTURY.

The *Century* for December begins with Milton's ode on the Nativity—a classical poem which presents, with probably more felicity and dignity than any other piece of English literature, the finest Christian spirit of the Christmas time. The colored illustrations the *Century* has provided to embellish the Miltonian ode are probably more striking in color effect than anything ever before attempted in a magazine, which at the same time should maintain the delicacy of the artist's conception. The artist in this case is Mr. F. V. Du Mond. At the other end of the scale of Christmas features, though excellent enough in its way, is Mr. Charles Battell Loomis' Christmas extravaganza, "While the Automobile Ran Down." With the exception of these two contributions, the *Century* has no distinctively Christmas allusions, and confines itself to making an excellent number, which includes a charming story by Mrs. L. B. Walford, the first chapter of Augustine Birrell's discursive essay, "Down the Rhine;" Sir Walter Besant's portrayal of "East-London Types," some authoritative accounts of the relief of Peking, and other no less agreeable contributions.

HARPER'S.

The opening and chief Christmas feature of *Harper's Magazine* is a beautiful and impressive allegory, "The Pilgrimage of Truth," translated from the Danish of Erik Bögh, by Mr. Jacob A. Riis, embellished with six reproductions from colored drawings by Howard Pyle. In the pleasant endeavor to appropriate Christmas for the enjoyment and the dignifying of the young people, Mr. E. S. Martin contributes an essay on "Parents," which is written from the standpoint of the youngsters themselves. The notable occurrence of this month for *Harper's* is the revival of the "Editor's Easy Chair," which has been vacant since the death of Mr. George William Curtis, in 1892. With this number the "Easy Chair" is again occupied, and now by Mr. W. L. Howells. The department is a revered institution in the Harper establishment, having been founded fifty years ago, with Mr. Donald G. Mitchell ("Ik Marvel") as the first occupant. After Mr. Mitchell's retirement, Mr. Thomas Bailey Aldrich sat in the "Easy Chair" for two months; then came Mr. George William Curtis, so that there have been practically only two editors before Mr. Howells. In this month, too, the "Editor's Study," another old and sacred department of *Harper's Magazine*, is begun, under the personal conduct of Mr. Henry M. Alden, the editor of the magazine. Mr. Alden, whose title as Dean of American Magazine Editors is undisputed, tells us that the "Editor's Study" is revived, not for the disclosure of the

editor, "but that through him the magazine may itself become articulate, speaking familiarly to its readers, or prompting the editor's speech through the intimations of its own spirit."

SCRIBNER'S.

Scribner's gives special reference to the Christmas season in the opening verses, "The Child," by Bertha G. Woods, and the accompanying frontispiece illustration, in strong yet delicate colors, from a drawing by Jessie Wilcox, Smith. A remarkable instance of the use of lithography in a magazine of the large circulation of *Scribner's* is seen in the reproductions in color accompanying Mr. John La Farge's essay on the art of Puvis de Chavannes. Mr. Frank R. Stockton has a most audaciously amusing story, "The Vice-Consort;" there are several other short stories by Ernest Seton-Thompson, Alice Duer, Henry Van Dyke, Arthur Colton, and Octave Thanet; and, from a pure literary point of view, most important of all, Mr. W. C. Brownell's essay on the art of George Eliot. Mr. Brownell places George Eliot "certainly at the head of psychological novelists."

McCLURE'S.

The December *McClure's* shows the influence of the holiday season in an unusual sumptuousness of imaginative illustrations, and in the kindergarten tragedy by Josephine Dodge Daskam, "The Madness of Philip." The great event of this December number is the beginning of Mr. Kipling's new novel, "Kim," in which the story-teller goes back to his India, the scene of his earliest and greatest artistic triumphs. The illustrations are by Mr. Lockwood Kipling and Edwin Lord Weeks. Another new feature is from Mr. Anthony Hope, "More Dolly Dialogues," charmingly illustrated by Howard Chandler Christy. Mr. John Barrett gives an account of a true incident of a Christmas dinner in Siam, under the title "When Cholera Came." There is an important character study of "The Chinaman," adapted from M. Pierre Leroy-Beaulieu's new book, "The Awakening of the East." Mr. Hamlin Garland writes on "The People of the Buffalo," and Mr. Ray Stannard Baker gives a most readable account of the researches of Sir John Murray in the science of oceanography, under the title "The Bottom of the Sea."

THE COSMOPOLITAN.

THE December *Cosmopolitan*, beyond a Madonna frontispiece and some verses by Katrina Trask, gives no especially Christmas features.

A second frontispiece is an excellent bird's-eye view of the city of Washington, prefacing Mr. F. W. Fitzpatrick's article on the "Centennial of the Nation's Capital," in which he tells of the founding of Washington City, and of its beauty, apropos of the coming Centennial celebration, next month. Mr. Fitzpatrick considers our national capital, just as George Washington planned it, "one of the finest cities, if indeed not the finest city, in the world." This number of the *Cosmopolitan* contains the very important article on "The Peking Legations," by Sir Robert Hart, which we

quote from elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, crediting the *Fortnightly Review*, London, which was the English medium in which the article appeared. A South African war-story by Rudyard Kipling appears in this issue of the *Cosmopolitan*, entitled "The Way That He Took;" Louis E. Van Norman writes on "Life and Art in Warsaw," and Epiphanius Wilson describes "Some Examples of Spanish Wood-Carving."

MUNSEY'S MAGAZINE.

MUNSEY'S for December has no Christmas allusions. The magazine begins with a very finely illustrated article by Isaac Headland Taylor, on Japan, which he calls "The Britain of the East," in which Professor Taylor tells of the island's ambition to play the part of an Oriental England; of the great development of her armed strength on sea and land, and her wonderful progress in education and industry. Professor Taylor calls attention to the fact that, when Japan shall have completed the proposed addition to her navy, she will be four times as strong as she was when she drove China out of the Eastern Seas. Mr. Walter H. Stevens tells over "The Story of the Galveston Disaster," Mr. Robert E. Park describes "The German Army" as "the Most Perfect Military Organization in the World," and John Paul Bocoec writes on "America's Foremost Financier," Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan. We have quoted from this article in another department.

LIPPINCOTT'S.

THE December *Lippincott's* begins with a complete novel by Amelia E. Barr, "Souls of Passage," a Scotch story, with the scene laid in Glasgow.

Lieut. John M. Ellicott, U.S.N., gives an interesting explanation of "The Strategic War Game" as it is played in the United States Naval War College at Newport, R. I. This institution has a president and a college staff on duty the year round, and a class of twenty-five to thirty officers, ordered in attendance from June to September, inclusive. The class is composed mainly of officers of executive and command rank, and is divided for work into committees of six to eight members, the senior in each being chairman. Every strategic situation is played many times over by different officers; so that while the mind of each individual player is being trained to study and solve war problems, the consensus of their solutions gradually but surely points out certain dispositions of forces of unfailing strategic advantage.

Miss Agnes Repplier, in a witty essay, "As Advertised," finds that we Yankees are briefer and more businesslike in writing advertisements than the English. "Our housemaids in search of situations do not mention their height. Our householders in search of servants do not express their unflinching devotion to the Protestant faith. Our typewriters do not set forth the fact that they are clergymen's daughters. An English gentleman, wishing to teach the higher mathematics, thinks it worth while to state—at his own cost—that he has married a French wife, and always speaks French at home." This number contains a Christmas story by Patrick Vaux, "The Bluffing of Johnny Crapaud," a pretty children's story, "The Little Queen and the Gardener," by Evelyn Sharp, and an article on "Anti-Masonic Mystification," by Dr. Henry Charles Lea.

OUTING.

THE December *Outing* shows by its varied and attractive contents that the magazine has "struck its gait" under the new editorship of Mr. Caspar Whitney, and this issue shows a most striking excellence in the particular field of the magazine. Mr. George Bird Grinnell, writing on "The Present Distribution of Big Game in America," shows where and when the last remnants of the buffalo in America have been decimated or exterminated. At present, he says, a few animals still linger in the Yellowstone Park; and these were almost exterminated between 1890 and 1894, owing to the failure of Congress to pass adequate laws for their protection. They now number about 25. A very few live in the arid country of Montana, although it is doubtful how many survived a raid of the Indians in 1898, when 32 were killed. One or two little bands are supposed to be in the mountains of Colorado, and a herd of wood buffalo are in the north, between the Great Slave Lake, Peace River, and the mountains to the westward. These are variously estimated to number 50 and 150, and it is certain they will be exterminated.

Mr. Howard C. Hillegas gives some wonderful stories of Paul Krüger in his capacity as a mighty hunter. It is said that on the original trek to the Transvaal, Krüger personally shot no less than fifty lions. When he was fifteen years old, he and one of his sisters were attacked by a South African panther, and, with only a knife for a weapon, Krüger attacked and killed it. His strength was almost superhuman; and the Boers all credit the story that when his horse collided with a large wounded buffalo in a pool of water, Krüger quickly regained his feet, seized the buffalo by the horns, and held its nose under the water until it was dead.

There are other excellent features in this number of *Outing*. For instance, Mr. David Gray's article on "The Outlook for Fox-Hunting in America," Mr. Emerson Hough's account of "The Old-Time Prairie-Chicken Hunt," Vance Thompson's on "Stag and Wolf-Hunting in France," and Guy H. Scull's "Vacant Hours in War."

THE BOOKMAN.

IN its December issue, the *Bookman* has two articles on Mr. J. M. Barrie, Mr. William Wallace writing critically of the novelist's work, and Mr. Walter Hale of "J. M. Barrie's Country."

Flora Mai Holly contributes some "Notes on American Editors," giving a series of short biographical sketches of the editors of the more prominent magazines. Those she considers worthy of a place in the *Bookman's* roster of the sanctums are: Mr. Henry M. Alden, of *Harper's*; Richard Watson Gilder, of the *Century*; Edward L. Burlingame, of *Scribner's*; Dr. Albert Shaw, of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS; John Brisson Walker, of the *Cosmopolitan*; Bliss Perry, of the *Atlantic*; Walter H. Page, of the *World's Work*; Edward W. Bok, of the *Ladies' Home Journal*; Harrison S. Morris, of *Lippincott's*; Samuel S. McClure, of *McClure's Magazine*; Caspar Whitney, of *Outing*; Frank A. Munsey, of *Munsey's*; Miss Elizabeth G. Jordan, of *Harper's Bazar*; Miss J. W. Tompkins, of the *Puritan*, and Miss Jeannette L. Gilder, of the *Critic*.

Prof. Harry Thurston Peck gives a brief estimate of Mr. Charles Dudley Warner, and there is an unusually full and adequate treatment of the new books of the month.

FRANK LESLIE'S.

IN the December *Frank Leslie's*, Mr. Arthur Henry has an interesting account of marine life as he saw it in the waters about Wood's Holl, Mass., and of catching sharks and swordfish. A most promising series begins in this number of *Frank Leslie's*, from the pen of Mr. E. Hough, author of "The Story of the Cowboy," and other books. The hero of each story in the series is to be a typical character of the early West. The first installment, "The Scout," deals with the capture of Little Wolf's band, as the facts were given to the author by Billy Jackson, the half-breed Piegan, who practically effected the capture. Jackson was one of Reno's scouts at the battle of the Little Big Horn, when Custer was lost.

Mr. William Davenport Hulbert gives a good account of "Life-Saving on the Great Lakes," with pictures of the crews and apparatus of the life-stations; and Burton J. Hendrick traces the history of British progress in South Africa in the past two decades, under the title, "Twenty Years of Empire-Building in Africa."

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

THREE of the articles in the November *North American* have to do with various phases of the problem of the far East. Captain Mahan discusses the "Effects of Asiatic Conditions upon International Policies," with special reference to the relations of the United States in the Pacific; Signor Crispi, the veteran Italian statesman, writes on "China and the Western Powers," defining the grounds and scope of Italy's intervention in China; and Count Okuma, formerly Japan's prime minister, describes "The Industrial Revolution in Japan," pointing out the bearings of the arguments for and against a protective tariff on Japanese industrial conditions.

ITALIAN POLITICS.

The brilliant young Italian writer, Gabriele d'Annunzio, in an article entitled "The Third Life of Italy," makes this pessimistic comment on the political capacity of his countrymen:

"The Italians, now that they have finally succeeded in crowning with unity the aspirations that had inflamed the purest spirits through the course of centuries, and in realizing the sublime dream of Dante and of Machiavelli, now offer us a singular instance of political dissension, of general discontent, of disaffection for their native land, of aversion for the state, of weariness such as it would be difficult to find in the history of any other nation."

THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

Baroness Bertha von Suttner defines the "Present Status and Prospects of the Peace Movement." Referring to recent events in South Africa and in Eastern Asia, this writer says:

"The warlike events that surge about us and threaten us furnish no proof against the principles of the peace movement. They merely prove that these principles have not yet entered fully into the conscience of nations and of their leaders; that the movement is not yet sufficiently advanced in its spread, its organization, its methods of action, to verify the hopes fostered by the conference at The Hague for an early eradication of old, deeply rooted institutions of brute force. In other

words, we have been mistaken, not in the fundamental statements we have made, but in the conception that they were more widely accepted than they have proved to be."

THE CENTURY'S COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

Mr. O. P. Austin, chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department at Washington, contributes an interesting survey of "A Century of International Commerce," with particular reference to the commercial development of the United States. Mr. Austin finds that our imports in 1900 are about ten times what they were in 1800, while our exports this year amount to twenty times as much as the nominal figures of 1800.

OTHER ARTICLES.

M. Benjamin Constant, the French painter, contributes notes on the famous art collection of Sir Richard Wallace; the Chaucer article, apropos of the five-hundredth anniversary of the poet's death, is furnished by Prof. John W. Hales, of King's College, London; Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer begins a series of papers designed to show how New York has suffered at the hands of its historians; Prof. James H. Hyslop reviews M. Flournoy's "From India to the Planet Mars;" Mrs. Flora McDonald Thompson writes on "Retrospection of the American Woman;" and Dr. Oskar Mann, Orientalist in the Royal Library at Berlin, contributes a paper on Mohammedanism, in the series on "The Great Religions of the World."

THE FORUM.

IN the *Forum* for November appears a paper by Mr. A. Maurice Low on the use of mounted infantry in warfare, from which we have quoted at some length in our department of "Leading Articles of the Month." In the same department, last month, we dealt with the Rev. L. J. Davies' article on "The Taming of the Dragon," which also appears in the November *Forum*.

TRUSTS AND THE IRON INDUSTRY.

Writing on the subject of trusts, Director of the Mint Roberts comments on the alleged power of combinations to raise prices, as instanced during the "boom" of 1899. He says:

"The field most thoroughly covered in 1899 by combinations was the iron industry, and the advance in prices in that line for the first nine months of the year was phenomenal. But it was by no means unprecedented. A similar boom in iron goods occurred twenty years before, under similar business conditions. The files of the *Iron Age* show that, at the beginning of the year 1879, No. 1 foundry pig was quoted at \$16.50 to \$18 per ton in Philadelphia; bar iron, \$1.65 per hundred; nails, \$2 per keg; steel rails, \$42 per ton. By July there had been an advance amounting to \$2 per ton on the pig; by the latter part of August another dollar had been added; but in the month of September came a jump of \$10 per ton. Four months later,—i.e., January 22, 1880,—pig iron was quoted at \$41 to \$42 per ton; steel rails at \$80 to \$85, bar iron at \$3.75 per hundred, and nails \$5.25 per keg. This was before the era of trusts."

In an article on "The Revival and Reaction in Iron," Mr. Archer Brown, who is well informed on the tendencies of the trade, expresses the conviction that the

American iron and steel industry, "instead of having reached its climax, is on the eve of a greater development than anything the world has seen."

THE QUESTION OF BREAD.

In an account of the bread and bread-making exhibits at Paris, Mr. H. W. Wiley, of the Department of Agriculture at Washington, declares that "the great evils of our time are not intemperance, bribery, and trusts, but the frying-pan, bicarbonate of soda, and pie." He estimates that not more than 25 per cent. of the bread annually consumed in this country is properly prepared or baked. In the interest of health, economy, and good living, Mr. Wiley's plea for reform in our bread-making processes should not go unheeded. Mr. Wiley insists that bread-making is as much of an art as tailoring, and that we have as much right to bread made by experts as we have to tailor-made coats and gowns. He urges that domestic bread-making be wholly dispensed with, and that in every community bakeries be instituted, under competent control, prepared to offer the best bread at the lowest prices.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Mr. Williams C. Fox, of the Bureau of American Republics, explains the objects of the Pan-American Conference called to meet at the City of Mexico in October, 1901; Chief-Justice Sir Robert Stout, of New Zealand, compares the constitutions of the United States and the Australian Commonwealth; Maj. Arthur Griffiths describes the "intelligence department" of the British army organization; Mr. Budgett Meakin writes on "Yesterday and To-day in Morocco;" and an essay on Chaucer is contributed by Dr. Ferris Greenslet, of Columbia University.

THE ARENA.

THE November *Arena* opens with four articles on the race question. Two of these articles are contributed by white men—Mr. Walter L. Hawley, of New York, and Mr. Walter Guild, of Alabama; and two by colored men—Mr. George Allen Mebane, formerly a member of the North Carolina Legislature, and Prof. W. S. Scarborough, of Wilberforce University.

DIRECT LEGISLATION.

Dr. Ellis P. Oberholtzer, for the benefit of those people who are just now beginning to realize the fact that the referendum has long had an established function in American political life, enumerates some of the measures submitted by our legislatures to popular vote.

"The selection of sites for county capitals; the adoption of city charters; the annexation of territory to a county, town, or city; the creation of a loan to erect court-houses or jails, repair the roads, or enable the local corporation to engage in other works of public improvement; to build or furnish schoolhouses, purchase or improve water systems or lighting-plants; the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating beverages within town or county limits,—all are matters concerning which the sense of the people is frequently sought and secured."

It is clear that Switzerland has no monopoly of the referendum as an active principle in practical politics.

TRANSPORTATION OF THE WHEAT CROP.

Mr. George Ethelbert Walsh shows that, with adequate transportation facilities all over the world, famines in India or in any other country would be impossi-

ble. Granaries are large enough to supply the needs of all countries. Crops do not fail in all parts of the world at once. In short, production keeps pace with demand, from year to year, but the grain is not properly distributed. "The engineer and railroad and steamship constructor have a duty to fulfill in the near future that will save the lives of millions from starvation."

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE.

IN *Gunton's* for November, the editor interprets the triumph of Mr. Chamberlain in the recent British elections as an indication of "the real tendency of political development in England, away from the barren policy of *laissez faire* towards an integrating, affirmative, protective policy, which industrially will bring England into line with the United States."

THE COUNTRY PRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION.

Mr. Daniel T. Pierce pronounces the rural newspapers of the country the truest reflectors of public opinion, and next to them he ranks the papers published in cities of from 10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants. He says: "The country newspaper not only reflects public opinion,—it anticipates it. Its editor is in close relations with his readers; he knows many of them personally, and his interests are identical with theirs. The editor of the great metropolitan daily, on the other hand, looks down upon his stranger-constituency from an elevation of reserve and self-esteem. This attitude of superiority may be warranted, but it does not recommend our 'great newspapers' as echoes of the public voice."

THE ASCENDENCY OF THE SCOT.

"The Silent Partner in the Anglo-American Alliance" is the title of an article in which Mr. Joseph Sohn emphasizes the importance of the silent influence exerted by the Scottish element in every portion of the English-speaking world. Mr. Sohn has explored the biographical and genealogical fields opened up by the publication of the "Dictionary of National Biography," and has been impressed by the ascendancy of the Scottish strain in almost every profession and calling. He includes in his article a list of eminent Americans whose ancestry was partially Scotch, beginning with Paul Jones and ending with Governor Roosevelt. Mr. Sohn feels warranted, in the light of all the facts, in the conclusion that the destinies of Anglo-Saxon union must inevitably be controlled by the "canny Scot."

THE INTERNATIONAL MONTHLY.

IN the November number of the *International Monthly*, the essay on "The Primitive Objects of Worship" is continued from the October issue. The author of the essay is M. Marillier, the learned French writer on the origin of religion.

A STUDY OF CALIFORNIA.

Prof. Josiah Royce contributes to the November number a paper entitled "The Pacific Coast: A Psychological Study of Influence." Professor Royce's exposition of the effect of climate on the Californians is most interesting. Consider, for instance, the independent position in which the Californian farmer finds himself:

"It is of little importance to him who his next neigh-

bor is. At pleasure he can ride or drive to find his friends; can choose, like the Southern planter of former days, his own range of hospitality; can devote himself, if a man of cultivation, to reading during a good many hours at his own choice; or, if a man of sport, can find during a great part of the year easy opportunities for hunting or for camping, both for himself and for the young people of his family. In the dry season he knows beforehand what engagements can be made, without regard to the state of the weather, since the state of the weather is predetermined."

LI HUNG CHANG.

Apropos of the selection of Earl Li Hung Chang as one of the negotiators on the part of China for the settlement of the questions growing out of the late disorders, the Hon. John W. Foster's sketch of the aged viceroy's career is instructive. Mr. Foster authenticates the story that in the time of Li's greatest power "Chinese" Gordon urged him to make himself Emperor, and offered to lead his troops to Peking for that purpose. Li was, however, proof against this and similar temptations.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Marc Debrit, the editor of the *Geneva Journal*, writes on the futility of appeals by weak nations to international congresses for redress of wrongs; Mr. John La Farge on "Ruskin, Art, and Truth;" Prof. Franklin H. Giddings on "Modern Sociology," and Prof. W. G. Sumner on "The Predominant Issue" (expansion).

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

IN the *Contemporary* for November, the opening article is by Dr. Albert Shaw, on the Presidential campaign in the United States. This and the paper on Italy by Mr. Bolton King, together with the epitome of the Paris Exposition by Prof. Patrick Geddes, have received notice elsewhere.

EXIT ARC-LIGHT: ENTER WELSBACH.

A writer calling himself "Ex Fumo Lucem" is allowed to announce that the incandescent gas-lights are superseding the electric arc in street-illumination. Berlin and Paris have rejected the arc-light and reverted to gas and Welsbach. Liverpool manufactures its own electricity, but has lighted its streets with the incandescent gas. Gas companies will doubtless be grateful to the writer. A wider public will, at any rate, appreciate an opening paragraph of his article:

"Several attempts have been made to fix upon the century some peculiarly distinctive appellation. It has been styled the Age of Steel, the Age of Steam, and so forth; but it might as fairly be called also the Age of Light, inasmuch as it has witnessed the birth and development of one of the boldest conceptions of human mechanical skill and power of organization—the systematic provision of artificial light in any desired quantity, for any purpose, distributed through every town and available at any hour, for the mere turning of a tap or a button. The dreams of all the Utopians of past ages never compassed any such impressive reality. They never do. The dreams of dreamers remain dreams, while the workers continually endow the race with unexpected boons."

THE MORAL OF THE INDIAN FAMINE.

Under the title, "An Empire Adrift," Mr. Vaughan Nash gives to the *Contemporary* his impressions and

suggestions concerning the state of India. He presents a gloomy report. He says:

"I spent eleven weeks in the famine districts in the hot weather, as correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, trying to ascertain the bearing of our administration on these life and death problems. I had the advantage of hearing the opinions of a large number of British officials and native gentlemen; and whenever I had an opportunity I got into talk with the villagers about their farms, debts, means of living, and general position. From all I saw and heard, the conclusion was irresistible that India is drifting on the rocks; that her wealth is not increasing (the traders and money-lenders were never, indeed, so rich as they are to-day, but the cultivators are growing poorer); that the dissolution of village institutions and the growing power of the money-lender, who is swallowing up India in enormous mouthfuls, are the signs of a social and economic break-up, for which no benefits that we may confer can compensate. Railways and money-lenders have taken away the surpluses which used to form the reserves for bad years. The landlord institution that we planted has been a failure, if not a curse; the indebtedness of the cultivators is piling up faster than the public debt; in a word, the symptoms point to a state of exhaustion—exhaustion which, at the touch of famine, becomes collapse."

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

IN the current issue of the *American Historical Review* (quarterly) are four original contributions, besides reprints of documents, reviews of new books, notes of investigations, etc.

Mr. John B. Sanborn sums up the various influences that worked to retard homestead legislation during the forty years preceding the Civil War. Opposition came from the advocates of State sovereignty and strict construction, from the Know nothing opponents of immigration, and from the Southern slaveholder.

Considerable has been written, from time to time, about the "free-State" immigration to Kansas in 1854-55, but little definite information has been published regarding organized proslavery attempts to possess this "debatable land." In this number of the *Historical Review*, however, Mr. Walter L. Fleming gives a circumstantial account of the expedition organized and led by Col. Jefferson Buford, of Alabama, for the purpose of holding Kansas "against the Free-soil hordes." The colonization scheme was a failure, financially and politically. It seemed that the institutions of the South could not be transplanted to Kansas.

The other contributed articles in this number are a study of the English and Dutch towns of New Netherland, by Mr. Albert E. McKinley, and a postscript to the work of the American commission on the Venezuelan boundary, by Prof. George L. Burr.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

IN the *Nineteenth Century* for November, Mr. Samuel Waddington discusses the precise locality of "the cradle of the human race." He reckons that man first appeared in the Eocene period, which began 4,000,000 years ago. His first habitat is put by Hæckel in Southern Asia, by Wallace in Central Asia, by Wagner in Europe, and by Darwin in Africa. The writer's own view is as follows:

"The cradle of the human race was probably the vast tract of unbroken land lying between the Ural Mountains on the west and the Bering Straits, the sea of Okhotsk, and Manchuria on the east. . . . In this vast region between Manchuria and the Ural Mountains there are high tablelands and other districts that are comparatively destitute of trees; and it is not improbable that primitive man got separated from, or driven out of, the forest and was compelled to give up tree-climbing and to take to walking on these wild plateaux and prairies. After scrambling along on his 'back hands' or 'hind feet' for a long time, the latter at length would develop the strength and form of the human foot, and would lose the shape and character peculiar to the ape. But this would not take place so long as he was living in woods and was accustomed to use his 'back hands' in clasping boughs and climbing trees to reach the fruit that grew thereon. It would not have taken place if his cradle had been a tropical forest."

MAX MÜLLER ON CHINESE MISSIONS.

His death lends a melancholy interest to Professor Max Müller's concluding survey of the religions of China. The ordinary reader will be surprised to find Christianity present in China as far back as 636 A.D., and in the friendliest relations with Buddhism. After glancing at the compromising evangelism of the Jesuits in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the writer comes down to modern missions and refers to the offense they often unwittingly caused. He says, for example:

"The European missions would send out not only married but unmarried ladies, and persisted in doing so, though warned by those who knew China that the Chinese recognize in public life two classes of women only: married women, and single women of bad character. What good results could the missions expect from the missionary labors of persons so despised by the Chinese? . . . After our late experience it must be quite clear that it is more than doubtful whether Christian missionaries should be sent or even allowed to go to countries, the governments of which object to their presence. It is always and everywhere the same story. First commercial adventurers, then consuls, then missionaries, then soldiers, then war."

CALVINISM AND THE CELT.

In a beautiful but pathetic paper on the Gael and his heritage, which abounds in reminiscences, tales, and songs of the ancient time, Fiona Macleod says:

"I do not think any one who has not lived intimately in the Highlands can realize the extent to which the blight of Calvinism has fallen upon the people, clouding the spirit, stultifying the mind, taking away all joyousness and light-hearted gayety, laying a ban upon music even, upon songs, making laughter as rare as a clansman landlord, causing a sad gloom as common as a ruined croft."

THE AUDIENCE AT OBERAMMERGAU.

L. C. Morant writes on what he describes as "the vulgarizing of Oberammergau." He has no fault to find with the peasant actors. "Nothing," he says, "can exceed their reverence and devotion. They are not yet spoiled."

"The disillusion, if disillusion there is, is the work of the audience, and of the Americans in particular. . . .

From beginning to end, a devotional spirit, or even a spirit of reverence, never breathed its softening influence over that crowded house. . . . Perhaps, roughly speaking, there are 400 people who go to the play with a devout mind and a reverent intention, and the audience numbers 4,000. The heaven is insufficient to work any transformation, and the Passion Play is abused."

The writer closes with an outburst of wrath at the Pope for having given Mayer, who thrice acted *Jesus Christ*, and all his children a pardon for all their sins.

FRENCH CANADIANS AND THE EMPIRE.

Mr. J. G. Snead Cox explains the French Canadian attitude of latent misgiving concerning the dispatch of Canadian volunteers to South Africa. It was one of fear of imperial federation. In his own words: "The people of the French province are loyal to Canada with a passionate loyalty as to the only home they know; they are grateful to Great Britain for her faithful guardianship, and proud of her protection; they look forward neither to the establishment of a great French state on the St. Lawrence nor to annexation to the United States; but they view with deep distrust the prospect of constitutional changes within the empire which may diminish their relative importance and influence as a separate community."

THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for November is an extremely good number, containing several articles much above the average; and one, that of Sir Robert Hart, noticed elsewhere, of the very first political importance.

"DISILLUSIONED DAUGHTERS."

Among the minor papers there is a very interesting essay entitled "Disillusioned Daughters," which for some mysterious reason is printed in smaller type than the rest of the magazine. The writer, Pleasance Unite, is a believer in the women of the eighteenth century, and exhorts Englishwomen of to-day to pay more attention to housework. She says:

"Healthful employment for girls, economy without ugliness, and an immense advance in simplicity and beauty of living,—these are only a few of the advantages to be looked for from a revolution in feminine education, which shall restore to domestic pursuits the honor that was theirs in the eighteenth century."

Incidentally, she draws a picture of a villa resident who has five grown-up daughters, and who is worried to death with incompetent servants. The remedy, she declares, lies ready to his hand:

"But let these girls once realize how much happier and prettier they would be if they spent their mornings making beds and cleaning silver, and the slovenly house and parlor maids would find their occupation gone."

ENGLAND IN BELGIUM.

One of the most important articles relating to foreign politics is an anonymous paper upon "England and Belgium." The writer sets himself to explain how it is that the English at the present moment are so universally denounced by the Belgians. Of the fact, there seems to be no doubt. The writer says:

"General Brialmont's authority may be taken when he said that 'there was not a public man in Belgium who would utter a word of palliation or excuse for England.'"

He is loath, however, to admit that such universal unpopularity could be due solely to the infamy of the war in South Africa, and he sets himself to explain the various other reasons for England's slump in popularity with the Belgians. He says:

"The English had lost, in many ways, the popularity they once possessed in Belgium; and impartiality demands the admission that it was very much their own fault. . . . The value of the English visitor and tourist to Belgium has declined, while at the same time there has been no decline in their belief that they are indispensable to the prosperity of that country. Hence, their comments at the expense of its people are vulgar and free."

BELGIAN DEFENSES.

Many of the Belgians have got the idea that they would prosper much better if they were no longer a protected state. This aspiration to complete independence leads them to resent the position which England holds in relation to their neutrality. The writer is, however, very sure that they are making a great mistake, and tells them so with a plainness which is not exactly calculated to increase the popularity of his country in Antwerp and Liege. What Belgium should do, he says, is not to talk about an independence which she could not defend, but to set about at once strengthening her defenses. In this respect, he declares, a great deal remains to be done:

"She cannot escape the strict application of the existing law of conscription and compulsory service. Her peace army is 50,000 men short of the necessary number; she has no real reserve, and she requires one of 150,000 men. The citadel of her national freedom (Antwerp), notwithstanding some admirable forts, presents an undefended gap, through which a German cavalry force of 20,000 men could seize the city by a *coup de main*, when the protecting forts would not dare to fire on the place which personifies the commercial wealth of the country. Let this gap be closed by the construction of the five forts still traced only on paper."

The Rev. S. H. W. Hughes-Games discusses pleasantly, and with much appreciation, the life and poetical work of the Rev. Thomas Edward Brown, the poet and scholar who made it the ambition of his life to embody in literary form the vanishing traits of Manx life.

THE MONTHLY REVIEW.

THE *Monthly Review* for November is illustrated with a colored map of the trans-Siberian Railway, and various portraits of Dutch worthies illustrating a paper on the naval exhibition at The Hague; and also some illustrations of the art of primitive China.

A further novelty is Mr. W. Hall Griffen's translation of an Italian manuscript describing the trial and death of those concerned in the murder of Pompilia. The translator says it is the best prose account of the whole case which is known to exist.

THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILWAY.

One of the most interesting papers is Mr. A. R. Colquhoun's account of his journey on the trans-Siberian Railway to Port Arthur. Mr. Colquhoun says:

"The trans-Siberian, however badly laid, however costly in construction, has conferred inestimable benefits on the nation to which it owes its being."

Englishmen are becoming accustomed by this time

to read that the great market opened up by the railway has been taken advantage of by the enterprising German:

"The best teachers, artisans, and skilled workmen are Teutons. The writer in his journey met innumerable commercial travelers and agents of German nationality, but only one firm of British traders, a few British and American prospectors, and a half-dozen English engineers employed on the ice-breaker at Lake Baikal. There is no paper in Russia printed in English, and the language is practically only available at the Russian ports. In Siberia it is unknown except among the Germans. The French are not in evidence at all."

Altogether, Mr. Colquhoun thinks that the Russians themselves in making the railway have been already crowned with success, which even now much exceeds the hopes of the initiators of the scheme. It is impossible to exaggerate the possibilities of the railway when it is at length completed, strengthened, and put in order.

CHINESE ART.

The other out-of-the-way paper is that devoted to the account of Chinese masterpieces of art. Japan is recognized as one of the greatest artistic nations of the world, but Chinese art is little understood. The writer of this article, Mr. C. J. Holmes, is very enthusiastic about the art of primitive China. He says that the finer bronzes emerge with credit from the ordeal of being compared with the very greatest works of painters and sculptors of Europe in subleness of design and perfection of workmanship, that remain unsurpassed by any Occidental metal-work. Even their paintings are very remarkable, for they are limited by material, technical method, and subject-matter.

"Nevertheless, outside the very greatest names of Europe, it is surprising how small a number of painters can be said to possess the qualities which characterize the great periods of Chinese art. The evidence of their porcelain is enough to prove that the Chinese have been masters of color to a degree unknown in the West. Individual European artists have been magnificent colorists; but in no nation, not even in the Japanese, has the color faculty been developed so invariably and so uniformly."

The article by Professor Martens, on The Hague Conference and China, has been quoted in another department.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.

THE October number of the *Edinburgh* comes as a relief to nerves wearied with the incessant din of electioneering. Perhaps the most important article in the number is a study of municipal trading, which demands separate notice.

HOW IDEAS COME TO A GENIUS.

An appreciation of Hermann von Helmholtz ranks him, Clerk Maxwell, and Lord Kelvin as the three chief agents in the revolutionary progress of the second half of the closing century. "All bore the stamp of universality distinctive of greatness." Their work led to the cherishing of "a more *plastic* idea of the universe." How so great a genius received his ideas, is a matter of general interest.

"Lucky ideas," he said, "often steal into the line of thought without their importance being at first understood; then afterwards some accidental circumstance shows how and under what conditions they originated;

they are present, otherwise, without our knowing whence they came. In other cases they occur suddenly, without exertion, like an inspiration. As far as my experience goes, they never come at the desk or to a tired brain, but often on waking in the morning, or when ascending woody hills in sunny weather. The smallest quantity of alcoholic drink," he added, "seemed to frighten them away."

WHO IS THE CHIEF POET OF THE CENTURY?

Another article recalls Matthew Arnold's prophecy, that "when the year 1900 is turned, and our nation comes to recount her poetic glories in the century which has then just ended, the first names will be Wordsworth and Byron." The reviewer grants that "Wordsworth now stands far higher" than Byron. Nevertheless, he agrees with Tennyson that Byron and Shelley, with all their mistakes, "did yet give the world another heart and a new pulse." He concludes that "the time has surely now come when we may leave discussing Byron as a social outlaw, and cease groping after more evidence of his misdeeds;" rather should we assign him the permanent rank in our literature which the powerful impression he made on it justifies.

THE CONTINENTAL REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.

WE have mentioned elsewhere M. Dastre's article on the fauna and flora of the polar regions, appearing in the first October number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

M. des Noyers describes the methods of a Presidential campaign in the United States. Without insisting, he says, on the weak side of an electoral system of which the inconveniences are due, above all, to the abuses introduced into the work of the founders of the republic, it is impossible to avoid being struck by its complications and by its delays. Both these characteristics are explained in great measure by the rudimentary condition of communication between the different States of the Union at the epoch when the American Constitution was set up.

THE TRUE PARLIAMENTARIANISM.

M. Benoist takes the opportunity to reply to several criticisms which have been leveled against his theory of the true parliamentarianism, which he expounded in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for August. The Marquis Tanari, an Italian Senator, is selected by M. Benoist for the honor of a special reply. He admits that nothing is more certain, from M. Benoist's point of view, than that we cannot aim at destroying parliamentarianism; we should, on the contrary, construct it. It is the phrase "from his point of view" which annoys M. Benoist, who had laid down absolutely the conception that geography exercised an important influence upon the development of parliamentary institutions, the home of which is primarily in the West. M. Benoist goes on to describe very vividly that particular form of democracy which appears in Great Britain. There, rather than a democratic equality, he thinks there is a sort of Britannic equality, or, so to speak, a common pride in the *Civis Britannus sum*—an equality more real, he admits, than the one which is so loudly asserted

GLOOMY GENERALIZATION FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

A review of recent works on Cæsar's Gallic War leads the writer to indulge in a generalization which may be commended as a corrective to the shallow optimism prevailing in some quarters concerning the future of England's South African conquests. After recounting the desperate resistance of the Gauls after Cæsar's first conquests, the writer proceeds:

"Such is the course of all conquests. The conquered, crushed by military disasters, submit for the moment; then, recovering from panic and realizing what the loss of independence really means, they attempt, under some Vercingetorix, a new, a more desperate, and perhaps a more general resistance."

OTHER ARTICLES.

There is a clear survey of the process of the Chinese imbroglio, and a suggestive examination of medical shortcomings in the South African campaign. The literary prospects of the drama are said to owe much to "work so experimental in purpose, so classic in treatment, so flexible, so vivid, so full-fed, as the brilliant group of plays" written by M. Edmond Rostand.

in speeches and articles in France. He agrees with Signor Tanari that England lives by tradition; but, as he well points out, it is a tradition which is purely formal, and it is rather a survival than a living thing. It would be dangerous, in M. Benoist's opinion, for France to throw herself blindly into an imitation of British political forms, because of the radical difference between the French and the English people. In summing up, M. Benoist points out that parliamentarianism on the English pattern has changed its form even in England while growing old; on the Continent it has changed its form still more completely. Moreover, though it has worked well for two centuries in England, it has not succeeded in working well on the Continent, and the mother of parliaments has not produced a child which resembles herself.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Among other articles must be mentioned an interesting account by M. Radau of experimental astronomy, with special reference to the work done at the great observatory at Meudon; M. Goyau contributes one of his interesting historical studies on the sentiment of patriotism and humanitarianism which prevailed in France in those eventful years of the war in 1870-71; and M. Brunetière writes on the literary work of Calvin, in which he studies the origin of that exclusively French reform movement which was never political, but theological and moral.

REVUE DE PARIS.

THE *Revue de Paris*, although perhaps not quite up to its usually high standard, nevertheless contains not a few articles of interest and importance.

IN YUN-NAN.

M. François begins in the first October number a series of letters from Yun-nan, which range in date from October in last year to May in the present year. His descrip-

tion of Yun-nan-Sen is interesting, and in view of the unrest in the south his account of the conduct of the mandarins is only what one would expect. As M. François is the French consul at Lang-Chau, special interest attaches to his account of his squabbles with the local viceroy on the subject of the *likin* exactions, when he was accused of importing arms contrary to treaty obligations.

FRANCE AND GERMANY.

It seems only the other day that the powerful intellect of Friedrich Nietzsche was extinguished; and now we have, prepared by M. Lichtenberger, an analysis of his judgments on France and Germany. The philosopher was better known and certainly more popular in France than in his native country. This is largely due to the fact that, on the morrow of the Franco-German War, he had the courage to extol the imperishable grandeur of French genius, and at the same time to attack with bitterness that German culture of which his compatriots were so inordinately proud. He passed with the great public as one who despised everything that a good German reveres, as the enemy of religion, morals, and Fatherland; in fact, as a dangerous madman, whose extravagances people did not even discuss. Gradually, however, his influence made itself felt in Germany. But M. Lichtenberger explains that his diatribes against the Germany of to-day must not be taken too literally; and, moreover, it would be well if Frenchmen had no illusions as to the exact nature of the opinion he professed for them. He did not believe at all in the absolute superiority of France over Germany; he predicted that the twentieth century will be an era of gigantic struggles for the leadership among the different European nations. Although he wisely abstained from prophesying which would be the victor, it is nevertheless pretty clear that he did not regard France as an organized nation, to be very strong; indeed, he observed in modern France the disquieting symptoms of anarchy. He seems to have shared the belief of most of his compatriots in the decadence of the French race, though—and in this he differs from his compatriots—he did not regard that decadence as necessarily an inferiority. Just as in autumn the leaves of the trees turn yellow and fall, only to grow green again in spring, so the decadence of a people may be a necessary prelude to a transformation leading to a new and higher life. From that point of view, the words "decadence" and "corruption" are unjust.

OTHER ARTICLES.

Among other articles may be mentioned an exceedingly interesting study by General Dragomiroff of the famous Marshal Suvaroff, whose memory was recently honored in Russia. M. de Roussiers contributes some remarkable statistics on the commercial growth of Hamburg—a striking illustration of the enormous strides taken by German commerce. M. Corday has a well-written article on the characteristics of village life in France, which appears to have passed through a process somewhat similar to that which has depopulated the villages in England; while M. Houllévigie writes upon the place which machinery takes in modern society.

NOUVELLE REVUE.

THE *Nouvelle Revue* is adopting the American system of many short articles, there being twelve contributions in the first October number and nine in the second. With the exception of Captain Gilbert's interesting but highly technical analysis of the Transvaal campaign, the Anglo-Boer War is not touched upon, and international politics are conspicuous by their absence. The place of honor is given to M. Saint-Saëns, the famous French composer, who contributes some curious pages on spiritualism and materialism, as explained and set forth by Hirn and Buschner.

NIETZSCHE'S VIEW OF WOMEN.

Foreign thought and foreign science are attracting more and more notice in France, and M. Grappe contrives to give his compatriots a clear account of woman according to Nietzsche. The German philosopher is believed by many people to have been a profound misogynist. According to the French critic, this is quite a mistake; and, far from disliking or despising womanhood, he in one of his works observed: "The perfect woman is a far higher type of humanity than the perfect man; but then the perfect woman is far rarer than is the perfect man." His theory as to the education of girls appears in these days quite old-fashioned. He would wish to see every budding woman educated and trained by her own mother; he dislikes women's colleges and girls' schools. "Whatever you do," he said, "do not masculinize the education of your girls." He considered women gifted with extraordinary intuition. On the other hand, he wished that those who became the apostles, the masters of the world, should remain single.

WHO WAS THE REAL DAUPHIN?

M. d'Orcet once more puts the question, Was the child who died in the Temple Prison really Louis XVII.? He answers this all-important question in the negative, and declares quite positively that the boy whose martyrdom is the most ignoble and horrible incident of the great French Revolution was, to the full knowledge of Marie Antoinette and of Louis XVI., a child who, though he may not have known it himself, was only playing a part—the true dauphin having been confided to a Scotch retainer, who finally took him to Canada, from whence he never returned, but lived and died under the name of Rion.

RUSSIAN PHILANTHROPY.

M. Raffalovich contributes to the second number of the *Revue* a most interesting and instructive article on that portion of the Russian section at the exhibition dealing with Russian private and political philanthropy. According to this writer, the British workman might well envy his Russian brother, whose government watches over him with paternal solicitude, and provides him with an excellent lodging at cost price; while his mind is as little neglected as his body, there being many institutions which have for their object the intellectual and moral development of the worker. It may surprise many to learn that in Russia drunkenness has in a great measure decreased, owing to the determined action of the government, which has now for nearly 100 years monopolized the sale of spirits.



Illustration to "The Man With the Hoe." From a pen-drawing by Howard Pyle (Doubleday, Page & Co.)

ART IN THE HOLIDAY BOOKS.

BY ERNEST KNAUFFT.

(Editor of the *Art Student*.)

IT is the custom of the publisher to issue some of his finest books at the holiday season; and, to the end that they may be made as attractive as possible, he plans to have them embellished, inside and out, with illustrations, head-bands, end-papers, and decorative covers.

Much thought, originality, and technical skill are required in the production of these illustrations and covers, and the problems which confront the artist, and the mechanical processes employed to render his designs are worthy of a little consideration.

Books which have recently become popular are frequently selected by the publishers for special holiday *éditions de luxe*; such books, this year, are *David Harum* and *Eleanor*. Other books frequently chosen are the classics; this season we have *As You Like It*, *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, *The Cricket on the Hearth*, Hans Christian Andersen's *Fairy Tales*, and *The Psalms of David*.

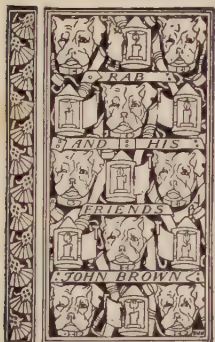
Volumes in which the subject-matter is mainly pictorial make admirable Christmas books; such are Gibson's *Americans*, Wenzell's *The Passing Show*, and Nicholson's *Characters of Romance*.

Appleton's have printed an *édition de luxe* of *David Harum* on plate paper, the type in black ink, with vignette and full-page illustrations in sepia ink; the figure subjects being by B. West Clinedinst, and the landscape vignettes and the chapter heads by C. D. Farrand. The public recently had the privilege of seeing the Clinedinst drawings at Keppel's, and these drawings proved that the artist was able to place himself in sympathy with the rural characteristics of David and his friends; and that his pen technique is virile in a time when many artists are forsaking the line for the more easily manipulated wash. Free and sketchy, they have the

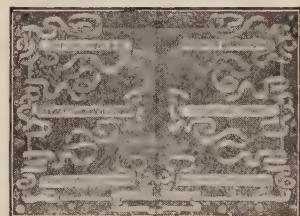
appearance of spontaneous creations, not of mere studies from models. Mr. Farrand's landscapes are charming.

Harper & Brothers have similarly issued the *édition de luxe* of *Eleanor*, illustrated by Albert E. Sterner, one of our most graceful draughtsmen. His work is full of sentiment. He possesses that faculty which is both rare in artists and seldom recognized by the public as a desideratum for the illustrator; that is, a sort of reticence—such as, in literature, is found in the writings of Wordsworth, preventing him from entangling his main subject with superfluous words or tangent thoughts. Mr. Sterner will be satisfied to suggest in any one drawing a single trait of femininity, a single characteristic of masculinity, where a more commonplace illustrator would be apt to load his drawing with subject-matter enough for a cyclorama. Those who expect Mr. Sterner's simple outline of the profile of Lucy, his suggestive sketch of an attitude of Eleanor, his study of a single pose of Manisty, to convey to us the analyzation of as many mental conflicts as Mrs. Humphry Ward is able to chronicle in a score of succeeding chapters, would expect to see the Moses of Michael Angelo at once smite the Egyptian, break the tablets of stone, and strike the rock in the wilderness.

If this difficulty exists in depicting a heroine of fiction, what shall we say of the difficulty of portraying heroes of the Bible? The time is past when the public accepted the very superficial drawings of Doré, because of the unqualified praise they received from the clergy. In these days of higher criticism, we expect archaeological accuracy in costume and scenery as well as invention in portraying characters. When the artist arrives who combines the invention of Blake with the accuracy of Alma-Tadema, his Bible il-



Cover design (reduced) by Blanche McManus (The Century Co.).



End-papers (reduced) for "As You Like It," by Will Low. From a half-tone printed in color (Dodd, Mead & Co.).

illustrations will probably take the world by storm. The great Book has always been a favorite of illustrators. Dürer's *Apocalypse* (which, by the way, R. H. Russell will reproduce this season under the editorship of Fitz Roy Carrington) is one of the early victories of illustrating, in which category we should really include Rembrandt's great etchings, though they were published as separate prints. The Dalziel Bible is a monument to the illustrators of 1860 (see the author's article on "John Gilbert and the Victorian Era of Illustrating" in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for December, 1897). The Tissot *Life of Christ*, now published by the S. S. McClure Company, evinces the profound impression which the Scriptures may produce on a modern mind. It is, indeed, worthy of record that one of the most sumptuously illustrated books in the history of the world, which is now in preparation at Amsterdam, is a Bible illustrated by the greatest living artists, including Adolph Menzel, E. A. Abbey, John Sargent, and Alma-Tadema.

We are not surprised, therefore, that Mr. Louis Rhead, who has heretofore illustrated *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Mr. Badman* by Bunyan, should have derived his inspiration this year from the Psalms. The Rheads (they are three brothers—Louis, Frederick, and George) select well-known classics and build their edition detail

by detail, designing the cover, initial letters, and the illustrations. They take a keen interest in their work not always to be found among illustrators. For instance, having clearly proven that the Island of Tobago, and not Juan Fernandez, was the scene of *Robinson Crusoe*, they made a special trip to it before they began to illustrate the edition of De Foe's masterpiece which R. H. Russell publishes.

It was not an easy task for Mr. Low to execute the illustrating of *As You Like It*. Abbey already had made the field his own. He had, besides, executed his illustrations in so consummate a technique that little was left to be desired when they were reproduced in the pages of the book. We seem to own the originals. In the case of Mr. Low's illustrations, we cannot but feel that we have only a substitute for the originals, —a blurred miniature of the paintings,—for

it was in monochrome oil that he executed his pictures. And it seems as though the very process of painting had divested the compositions of their spontaneity. The artist, too, has so obviously painted his figures from models that we are aware of the shoes being unsoiled by the dust of travel, the garments but recently purchased at the costumer's. There is not a worn shoe on the twenty-six figures. On the other hand, this is not necessarily an organic blemish. We are frequently aware, in theatrical representations, that an actor's clothes are not actually dust-begrimed or water-soaked; yet if there are certain pantomimic touches given by the actor,—if those touches are the result of artistic sensibility,—we supply much illusion from our own experience. And there are very many such pantomimic touches in Mr. Low's book, and the out-of-doors effect in the landscapes is certainly striking.

Maxfield Parrish, too, worked in no virgin soil when he undertook to illustrate *Knickerbocker's History of New York*. Darley had most sympathetically illustrated an early edition, E. W. Kemble had superadded his humor to Irving's in an edition published in 1893, and the Grolier Club had printed in 1885-'86 an

exquisite edition, decorated by Howard Pyle and W. H. Drake; but Parrish has a delightful style all his own.

Howells' *Their Silver Wedding Journey* is published by Harper & Brothers, with illustrations by William T. Smedley—who, though still a young man, is a veteran illustrator, having produced a large volume of work during the last twenty years. His drawing is more careful than much of the slipshod work of the younger men who illustrate "society" subjects.



"And Oloffe bethought him and climbed up to the top of one of the tallest trees, and saw that the smoke spread over a great extent of country; and, as he considered it more attentively, he fancied that the great volume of smoke assumed a variety of marvelous forms, where in dim obscurity he saw shadowed out palaces and domes and lofty spires."—Illustration (reduced) to "Knickerbocker's History of New York." From a pen-stipple drawing by Maxfield Parrish (R. H. Russell).

Looking at Mr. Parrish's work, it will be seen that in the illustrator's field there is an opportunity to augment the statements of the text with graphic addenda. We indulgently overlook any failure to illustrate rigorously the text, in view of Mr. Parrish's ability to make a design out of a motive the words may suggest. Who, for example, would object to the skyscraper buildings in Mr. Parrish's frontispiece on the score that they are such as Washington Irving never saw.



"Mr. Vanslyperkin," from "Characters of Romance." From a lithograph (reduced) after a pastel drawing by William Nicholson (R. H. Russell).

We miss in these lithographs the sureness of form obtained by the triple tracery of a line in Mr. Nicholson's woodcuts—first, its drawing on the block; and, second and third, its following on one side and then on the other with the graver. We trust that Mr. Nicholson will return to his wood-engraving, or else interest himself in auto-lithography and draw directly on the stone.



Cover design (reduced) by Thomas Watson Ball (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.).



"David Tending His Sheep."—Illustration to the "Psalms of David." From a pen-drawing by Louis Rhead (Fleming H. Revell Company).

The Rhead Brothers work in what is called the old woodcut style, a revival of the manner of seventeenth-century illustrations.

Joseph Pennell is an illustrator who has not only had a vast experience, illustrating from one to three books a year for a quarter of a century, but he is an authority in literature on the subject of illustration, having written *Pen Drawing and Pen Draughtsmen* and *Modern Illustration*. When, therefore, he makes the drawings for a book, he takes into consideration to what size they are to be reduced and on what paper they are to be printed, so that there is no smearing or blurring when the pictures appear. New Yorkers recently had an opportunity to see his original drawings illustrating Percy Dearmer's *Highways and Byways in Normandy*; and it is interesting to note with what simple means Mr. Pennell gets his effects—a few free outlines, a few solid blacks, united by a few parallel lines, and the design seems to complete the rendition of some phase of nature. This book was published by



"Steady," growled Kenton, "wait till they come nigh enough."—Illustration (reduced) to "Alice of Old Vincennes." Half-tone from a wash drawing by F. C. Yohn (The Bowen-Merrill Co.).

Macmillan & Co., but for the winter season Houghton, Mifflin & Co. have put forth Henry James' *Little Tour in France*, illustrated by Mr. Pennell in the same masterly shorthand.

Mr. Gibson's publisher, R. H. Russell, now regularly issues a volume of sketches by this favorite American draughtsman; and although these contain no text beyond the legends that explain the drawings, they are as anxiously awaited by the public as were, in England, Mr. *Punch's Pocketbook* and *Almanac* when Leach embellished their pages back in the sixties.

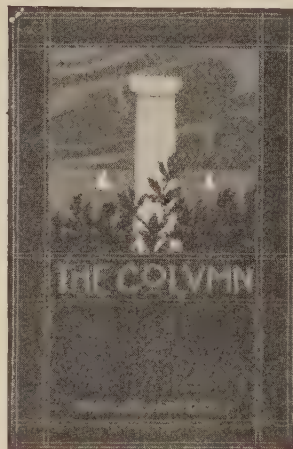
Mr. Gibson's draw-

ings are true portraits of American society people; his men and women are never "impossible," no matter how exaggerated the caricature. His drawings are marvels of pen-work. In *The Americans* we do not find that Balzac-like comedy sequence that we found in last year's *Education of Mr. Pipp*; but the American girl and her admirers,—American and foreign,—her weary father and her scheming mother, are depicted in all sorts of humorous situations.

Mr. Wenzell, though we believe him German by birth, has so long been identified with America that he ranks easily next to Gibson as a delineator of society people. This year, however, his collection of drawings, *The Passing Show*, deals mainly with the social life of England and France, where he has been traveling.

Mr. Nicholson is an English artist, but Mr. R. H. Rus-

sell has so thoroughly introduced him to the American public that he claims a place in our pantheon. Even though his *Characters of Romance* form a set of prints, and are not adjuncts to a book, here, as in much of his previous work, he has proved himself eminently the picture-book maker; and, besides, these characters of Don Quixote, Madge Wildfire, John Silver and Mulvaney are creations inspired by books. Heretofore, the major part of Mr. Nicholson's work has been engraved on wood by his own



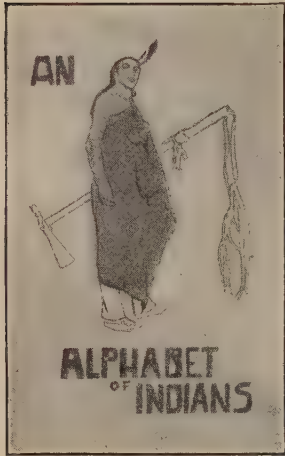
Cover design (reduced) by A. Kay Womrath (John Lane).

hand. The *Characters of Romance* are lithographic reproductions of his pastel drawings.

Dickens' *Christmas Carol* and *Cricket on the Hearth* have been admirably illustrated by Frederick Simpson Coburn, a Canadian artist, who draws in pen and ink with a technique as free as A. B. Frost's, while his drawings in body color reproduce admirably.

Mr. Coburn is not the only Canadian who excels as an illustrator. Ernest Seton-Thompson (he came to us *via* Canada, though born in England) has of recent years taken the publishers by storm, and Scribners and Doubleday, Page & Company seem to issue a book by him every six months—so that he has almost monopolized the animal field. And now comes Mr. Arthur Heming, another Canadian. Without any introduction, he swoops down upon New York, and his drawings are not only acceptable to the publisher, but when put in the latter's window are immediately bought by the public. His illustrations to *Mooswa*, and *Other of the Boundaries* are dramatic in the extreme. It seems as though Mr. Heming had obtained the maximum of animal expression in the drawing we publish.

Ernest Seton-Thompson is an example of the artist-artists. Mr. Seton (for that is his name, the Thompson being a pseudonym), indeed, avows that he is not an artist, but a scientist, who has used his illustrations to convey information. Be this as it may, his little black-



Cover design (reduced) by Emery Leverett Williams, the illustrator of the book (R. H. Russell).

The text of "An Alphabet of Indians" has been written by Mrs. Williams with a naïveté that makes it as direct in conveying information as the children's histories of Oliver Goldsmith.

inimitable, thoroughly spontaneous, delicate and refined. His most absurd creations seem as real as some careful studies from models by the serious illustrators.

Mr. Williams writes, in the succeeding article, of the success of the romantic-historical novel—the story "of hairbreadth escapes by field and flood." These tales have given the illustrators an opportunity to do some of their most spirited work.

Mr. Howard Pyle, who designed the dramatic poster of two men fencing for *To Have and to Hold*, has this year illustrated *Hugh Wynne* (The Century Co.). He is thoroughly at home with his Revolutionary subjects.

Mr. F. C. Yohn has illustrated *Alice of Old Vincennes* in a spirited manner, giving us again the old trapper-huntsman-soldier, with his flintlock, who in Cooper's novels, drawn by F. O. C. Darley, used to delight us in our boyhood days.

A new name among the illustrators is that of Henry Brokman, who has supplied a number of pictures for Marion Crawford's *Rulers of the South*. As he traveled with Mr. Crawford in a Southern itinerary, his illustrations carry with them the stamp of authenticity.

and-white drawings, made with a brush, and not with a pen, are as decorative as the similar brush drawings of the Japanese. He has made, for this season, some of the drawings illustrating *A Woman Tenderfoot*, by his wife, Grace Gallatin Seton-Thompson.

If Mr. Seton-Thompson is cited as a prolific illustrator, what shall we say of Oliver Herford? One would fancy that every publisher in the city is issuing one of his books. Charles Scribner's Sons publish *Overheard in a Garden*, and The Century Company issue his *Artful Anticks*. He is an author-artist, illustrating his own verses. His style is



Cover design (reduced) by Frederick S. Dellenbraugh, the author of the book (G. P. Putnam's Sons).

Emery Leverett Williams, the young author and illustrator of *An Alphabet of Indians* (R. H. Russell), died shortly after his book was finished. He had studied art in Boston, and then in New York. Like Mr. Heming, Mr. Williams desired to live among the people who were to be his theme.



Cover design (reduced) by Claude Fayette Bragdon (F. A. Stokes & Co.).

Mr. Bragdon is a designer and architect in Rochester, N. Y., and has produced many effective posters and bookplates.

mechanical, are rarely successful. Under certain circumstances, where the artist draws on the lithographic stone himself,—as, for example, do Chéret, Lepère, and Révière in Paris,—or when the different tints are carefully engraved on wood, as William Evans used to engrave the designs of Caldecott and Walter Crane, or as Bong engraves German color-work to-day; or, best of all, as Mr. Nicholson engraves his own designs on wood, the result is charming. But when the artist makes a design in a dozen or so colors,—especially when he makes it ten times the size it is finally to appear, and the translating of it is

Theodore Roosevelt's Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail



With Ninety-four Illustrations by Frederick Remington

Cover design (reduced) by The Decorative Designers (The Century Co.).

He went out to North Dakota, and lived near an Indian reservation for over a year, studying the racial type and customs. The hardships he underwent in pursuit of fidelity to nature undermined his health, and finally caused his death.

In their endeavor to obtain novel and striking results, the publishers resort to experiments in many new processes. Among these the colored illustration is much sought after. The processes to-day, being



"But suppose Thomas Jefferson was to come back here now."—Illustration (reduced) to "Mr. Dooley's Philosophy." From a pen-and-wash drawing by E. W. Kemble (R. H. Russell).

Mr. Kemble excels in negro character studies, and we miss from R. H. Russell's catalogue this year a "Kemble Coon" book.

left to photography and acids,—the result is not apt to be satisfactory; particularly when the three-color process is used, wherein the browns have a burned-up, singed appearance. The three-color process consists of photographing the drawings on achromatic plates, each of which is sensitive to only one color—one to red, one to yellow, one to blue. These plates are then half-toned; and when impressions are printed from them, one upon the other, the greens are obtained by printing blue over yellow, the browns and blacks by an admixture of all three colors in different degrees of intensity. The process is most successful when the plates are made from photographs from nature, such as flowers, birds, etc. Here a certain scientific accuracy is valuable. In using crayon-work in lithography (opposed to the flat tones of chromo-lithography), a fair result is obtained. In this case, though the artist's drawings are reduced by photography as guides for the workmen, the actual drawing is put on the stone by hand. This is the process used by Scribners in reproducing the pastel drawings made by Mr. Christy to illustrate *The Old Gentleman of the Black Stock*. The photographic reduction of drawings, whether for relief engraving or photography, permits the artist to make his originals any size he desires. Mr. Christy seems to go farther than most of his contemporaries, sometimes making his drawings two and one-half feet high.

The making of a book-cover is, singularly enough, more distinctly separated from the printing of the book than one would suppose, in these days of mechanical progress. It is a slow process, involving much hand-work. The first stage in the operation is for the designer

to submit a sketch to the publisher. This may be made on paper or any other material, so long as it shows the style and position of the lettering of the title, and the form and color of any ornament that may be used. But the professional designers of to-day usually make the drawings on the cloth which is to cover the book; and so neat are they in workmanship, that a design thus submitted is

often almost exactly like a finished book from the bindery.

We have spoken of the style of lettering and its position, for these problems are paramount to the designer.

There is more art involved in the selection of a pleasing letter than the public is aware of. Some of the Renaissance monuments—as,

for instance, a tomb by da Settignano—are a delight

to the artist merely because of their inscriptions, in which the letters are beautifully formed. The letters most used to-day are of three kinds: the Latin letter, such as that used on *Afield and Afloat*; the eighteenth-century script, such as that used on *First Aid to Young Housekeepers*; and the Gothic or black letter, which is not very popular this year with designers. The artist, in his endeavor to be appropriate, has to discriminate in choosing his letter. He may, for example, use the Latin letter for a history, the script letter for a book on lace, and the Gothic letter for a medieval legend. Mr. Archibald, in making the cover design for *The Duke*, has used an italic for the article and a Roman letter for the noun. After he has chosen his letter, the placing of the words upon the cover becomes a second problem. Monosyllabic titles, as *The Spy*, *The Sea*, are easy to place, but a designer would have a difficult problem

to work out in lettering the *Knickerbocker's History of New York*. A design beautiful in execution may be spoiled by bad placing. Letters must not be so close together that they tax the eye in reading; nor should they be so far apart as to seem disconnected, so that we have to "spell out the word," as Mr. Strange, the expert, says. And they should seem to be an integral part of the design. One of the faults of the modern book-cover is that the designer is frequently not an expert letterer, and the die-cutter is not an expert in anything else; so, when he cuts the designer's letters he straightens them out and makes them mechanically perfect, while he facsimiles the designer's decorations with all their free-hand irregularity; and the result is that the two styles do not agree.

Next to the lettering, the ornament of the book is to

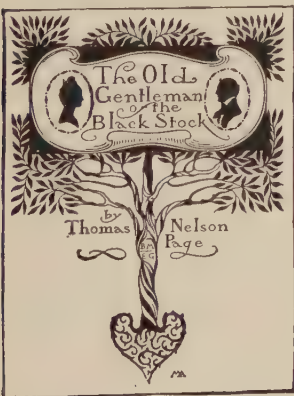


Cover design (reduced) for "First Aid to the Young Housekeeper," by Margaret Armstrong (Chas. Scribner's Sons).

Miss Armstrong has designed covers for "Peter Ibbetson," "Trilby," "A Lady of Quality," Dickens' "Christmas Carol," "Pippa Passes," and "Little Rivers."



"The Girl in Gray," by J. M. Flagg (reduced). From "Yankee Girls Abroad." Pen-outline and splatter-work used for a poster, the plate in the book being in chromo-lithography, from an original in water-color (New Amsterdam Book Co.).



Cover design for "The Old Gentleman of the Black Stock," by Margaret Armstrong. The white in this cover was not printed, but is an inlay of paper pressed into the cloth and then printed upon with black and stamped with gold (Chas. Scribner's Sons).

be considered. Here the designer is limited by two things—the number of colors he may use and the roughness of the binding cloth, which prevents delicacy of design.

The designer first casts about for a motive. This may be decorative, conventional, or emblematic. Miss Armstrong, in designing some of Scribners' covers, has used emblematic motives, and has placed two old-time silhouettes on the cover for *The Old Gentleman of the Black Stock*; while, in her *First Aid to the Young Housekeeper*, she has made use of the teapot, cake-basket, knife and fork, gridiron, and dinner-bell. Miss Sarah McConnell, with the same end in view, has introduced the Shakespeare coat-of-arms in her cover for Mr. Mabie's *Shakespeare*.

Sometimes an illustration from the book is utilized and translated into simple masses capable of being printed on the cloth of the cover. Mr. Berkley Smith, in his cover for Stockton's *Afield and Afloat*, has redrawn one of Peter Newell's inimitable illustrations to the story—two men and a horse crossing a ford, seen from above as though from a balloon. Such a device serves as a poster for a book, so that when it is seen on the bookseller's counter the cover reveals the comic character of the contents. The decorative designers have also embodied the sentiment of Theodore Roosevelt's *Ranch Life* in their clever design of a bronco-buster, redrawn, too, after the illustrator, Frederick Remington.

Miss Armstrong, who is the daughter of Maitland Armstrong, the mural decorator, has designed many of the covers this year. Perhaps her most ambitious one is that for Paul L. Ford's *Wanted: A Matchmaker*, for which she has also made a border for the type-page, which has been printed in green and repeated on every page.

Mr. Berkley Smith, the son of the well-known artist, F. Hopkinson Smith, like Miss Armstrong, a favorite designer among the publishers, has made the covers for *Afield and Afloat* and *The Story of a Yankee Boy* (Scribner's Sons.)

It must be borne in mind that the book-cover designer works in color masses as well as in line, and in the selection of his colors lies the good or bad exercise of his art. In T. Guernsey Moore's cover for *Colonial Days and Ways*, the combination of the other tints with the old blue china of the jug which holds the tulips makes a particularly harmonious ensemble.

Mr. Bruce Rogers has designed for Houghton, Mifflin & Co. the cover for *Michael Angelo's Sonnets*.

Other American designers of book-covers are: Will H. Bradley, E. G. Goodhue, F. R. Kimborough, Mrs. Henry Whitman, Alice E. Morse, B. A. Matthews, Edith Douglas, E. Aspell.

The designer's sphere is not limited to the cover. He may design the end-papers for the book. These are sometimes mere geometrical or floral repeats, partaking of the character of wall-paper patterns. But they may consist of figures, grotesques, or motives pertinent to the contents of the book. Such a design is Mr. Low's for the end-papers in *As You Like It*, where the quotation, "Books in the running brooks, sermons in stones," is lettered upon streamers.

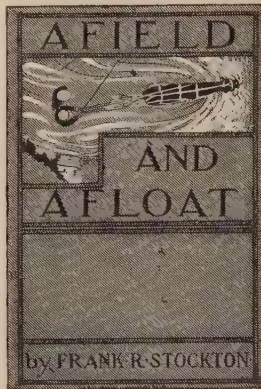
An end-paper is usually designed with a view to a more regular repeat than in Mr. Low's. A book-cover, also, based on the principle of the repeat, is apt to be satisfactory: Miss Blanche McManus has made a clever repeated design in her cover for *Rab and His Friends*.

There are a few artist-authors who have made their own book-covers. Frederic Crowninshield has designed, with simple lettering, laurel, and a lyre, the cover for his book of poems, *Pictoris Carmina*. He has also illustrated the text; or rather the poems have, in some cases, been written up to the illustrations, which are photogravures from original paintings. The photogravure is, like the half-tone, made by a chemical process directly from a photograph of the original design. But while the half-tone is printed on an ordinary printing-press, it being a block in relief, type-high, the photo-

gravure is printed like a visiting-card, a copper-plate engraving, or an etching; that is, it is run through a hand-press under a roller and the paper pressed into the design, which is intaglio. Being handworked, it is superior to the half-tone. It gives us more nearly the color values of the original. Mr. Low's illustrations reproduce well by this process.

As we said, the die-cutter makes the plates for a book-cover. The process has been, until recently, entirely a hand one. The design is traced and then transferred and reversed on a brass plate, and the engraver cuts away all the brass, except that covered by the design. Recently, designs have been transferred by photography to the brass, and etched as is a pen-drawing or half-tone. This process is cheaper than when the design is engraved by hand. The brass plate, which is called the die, is then put in the bookbinder's press, and printed from as one prints type, the ink which is used

being thicker than ordinary printing-ink. Of course, when several colors are used, a separate die and a separate printing are required for each color. In fact, each color usually requires two printings, one over the other. Previous to this year, the printing of white on a tinted cloth cover has been a vexatious problem, the first two or three impressions of the ink never thoroughly covering the cloth; six impressions are the average for white. Recently, however, there has been imported from Germany a preparation of white that comes in sheet-form, like gold-leaf, and is similarly applied, the result being an almost pure white. Gold is obtained by printing as follows: Let us suppose the word "the" is to be put on a book. The cloth cover or "case" is sponged with size (white of egg, or glue), a workman cuts a sheet of gold-leaf into small parts, and lays one of these a little larger than the word "the" where the word is to come; if on the back of the book, the space may be judged by the eye; if on the front, the word may have been stamped on first; this is called "blind stamping." The cover is then put into a press, where the heated die is forced down upon the gold. When taken from the press the gold is rubbed with a soft rubber, which takes the leaf off, except where the heated stamp has pressed it into the cloth. The gold used for cloth covers is of almost as good quality as that used for leather covers, still many critics feel that a cloth-bound book should not have gold stamping upon it.



Cover design by Berkley Smith, the figures taken from one of Peter Newell's illustrations to the story (Chas. Scribner's Sons).

THE CHANGE IN CURRENT FICTION.

BY TALCOTT WILLIAMS.

THE conditions of literature are of as much weight in its total product or its yearly output as its inspiration. A change has come over American fiction during the last decade. For it, now international copyright and now national growth are held responsible. Yet it

is probably due quite as much to sundry changes in the making of books as to any new impulse for writing them, or any increased return due to the protection of the American writer from international competition.

In the last fifteen years, the typesetting-machine has supplanted the compositor. Wood-pulp has reduced the price of book-papers more than one-half. The setting of a newspaper column costs in wages about one-third of what it did fifteen years ago, except where combinations of labor have prevented the public from reaping the ad-

its price, in most newspapers has found its price diminished, and in all has found it either impossible or inexpedient to increase the cost of an average column of advertising, is now giving its readers yearly from 150 to 160 up to 170 pounds of inked paper, which is assumed to be read. The magazine has increased by nearly the same bulk, and added still more to the cost of its illustrations and its contributions. The result is that the increased cheapness of product, as nearly always happens in modern manufacture, has become a free gift to the public, so far as the capitalist is concerned. His investment is larger. His margin of return is less.

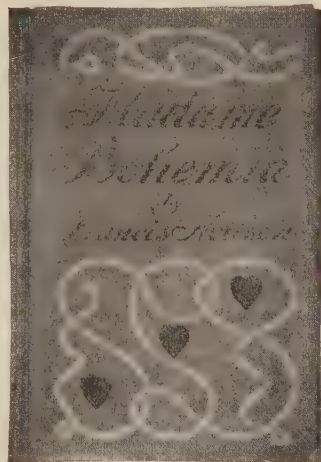
But the novel, like the theater, has a definite size, limited by the power of continuous human attention in one case, and by the speaking voice and the hearing ear in the other. The theater of to-day cannot hold more people, and does not hold much more money than the theater of Garrick. New York theaters were having in dollars in the box-office in the 20's returns which would not be despised to-day by any manager. The cost of the manager's productions grows. The people can see and hear but within a certain space, and therefore cannot increase. The novel is as rigorously bounded by leisure and attention. Three centuries ago, a novel of 400,000 words was none too long, and some of the romances at the dawn of fiction ran up to 600,000 words. A century and a half ago, Fielding and Richardson still had a canvas of some 400,000 words available. It had shrunk to about 250,000 words for Scott. Thackeray, Dickens, and Eliot, particularly the latter, had the privilege of running to 300,000 words. *Eleanor*, by Mrs. Humphry Ward, has about 150,000 words; *David Harum* about the same, *The Master Christian* about 225,000. After a movement toward the short story which seemed likely to carry the cycle during the last twenty years in successive lapses down to the Kipling story of 2,000 to 3,000 words, there has been a reaction. The short story has ceased to attract, as was expected. Whether it was due to this or not, the publication a year ago of Mr. Kipling's works in ten volumes—substantially ten volumes of short stories—proved by common report a failure. While it sold at a rate which would have been a commendable success for a less ambitious enterprise, measured by Mr. Kipling's reputation



Illustration (reduced) for "Madame Bohemia." Half-tone from a wash drawing by Charlotte Harding (J. B. Lippincott Co.).

vantages of mechanical discovery. Mechanical processes have reduced the expense of folding, stitching, and binding to a degree not easily estimated, but which changes materially the cost of an edition of a thousand volumes, and adds still more than this to that margin which can be left, after meeting the expense of production, for the profit of the publisher and the pay of the author. An economic law—which makes it wise that a popular author should select birth and date as far along in the process of the suns as he can compass—steadily increases the return for the writer, and decreases the outlay for the material process of publication. When manuscripts had to be copied by hand, the author got nothing save for a brief space in Rome. He got little in print until paper had been cheapened and the press had become a machine able to make about 250 impressions an hour—a token. His pay has risen since with every advance in machinery and typesetting. The remuneration of the author is, to put it exactly, a function of the variant whose expression is the cost of multiplying copies of his work.

The newspaper and magazine have lost the benefit of this decrease in the work of producing printed matter, because they have increased their size. The average two-cent daily paper was giving its readers from 50 to 60 pounds of paper and printing in 1885. In 1899 the same newspaper, though it has been unable to increase



Cover design (reduced) by E. S. Hollaway (J. B. Lippincott Co.).

the sales were not satisfactory. Successful fiction has returned to a space of about 150,000 words as its fairest limit. This was the space selected by Scott for his more popular stories, like *Ivanhoe* or *Redgauntlet*; while *Peveril of the Peak* or *The Antiquarian* reached 250,000 words—the last, on the whole, the most typically English of Scott's novels. Any publisher will tell the expectant author that there are certain limits which cannot be adopted. The story of 15,000 or 20,000 words may be sold to a magazine, for it can be published in three numbers. A story of 50,000 words is too long for a magazine and too short for a book. Anything short of 100,000 words offers serious difficulties, because it fits no special sale. The right length is a story which reaches 150,000 words, and does not pass 200,000. The reader will accept more from some authors, but he dislikes a larger measure from any.

This retrenchment in the size of the novel from the canvas open to the masters of half a century ago, and used for the larger and better effects of the master of all a century ago, has therefore supplemented the decrease in the mechanical cost at the one most vital point in the conditioning factors of the novel—its publication. The same novel costs to-day, for the mere outlay of publication, bulk for bulk, about one-half of what it cost from 15 to 50 years ago, which really bounds by its farther date the free use of steam power in book printing. This alone would have made the publication of the individual novel a lighter task. It has been aided by a decrease in the size of the novel, which after various oscillations seems to have settled on the single, thickish, 12mo volume, about 300 words to the page, which is to-day the type of the novel. Cut on both sides, in cost and in bulk, the ease of publication has prodigiously increased the number of novels. Yet our output remains small by the side of England's. We are twice the population, richer, and with more readers. In 1899 there were 457 novels by Americans published here. English presses issued 1,875. But the number grows. Five years ago, in 1895, we issued but 287 and England 1,584. Our output rose one-half, theirs a fifth. Yet this is, in fact, a contrast of good times and bad. In 1890 the American novels were over 400. They were outnumbered then by some 500 foreign reprints. In 1899, the foreign reprints (292) were one-half as numerous. After all, in 1833, with a population of 14,000,000, we published but 19 novels. In the 80's, our reprints of foreign novels ran steadily at about 600 a year—two-thirds of the whole. To-day, they are a third. Yet even with this, up to five years ago the English growth exceeds ours. In ten years the yearly issue of English novels has more than doubled. Our own indigenous product has risen about one-half. The increase here has, at least in part, come from the changes just recited.

Where \$800 could not once launch much more than one novel, it will to-day set afloat two, perhaps three. In England

there has been a change in the same direction. The novel at 31s. 6d. has succeeded, nearly a decade ago, by the 6s. novel; and this, in its turn, is giving place to the crown and half-crown issue. Here, being more conservative, we have kept the old price, \$1.50, but sell at \$1. Not only has the number of people who can afford to pay for publishing their novels received an increase, which is the burden and curse of every reviewer, but the publisher with the same amount of capital can risk carrying from two to three times the number of novels on his list which were once safe.

There has been added to this an equal increase in the ease with which the novel-reader is reached. Where novels were once sold in book-stores, they are now sold in great marts, where the entire range of household and domestic and personal needs is met. This is ordinarily spoken of as a loss both to book and reader. It is a gain. It shares with and is part of the same movement which has introduced the novel to the pages of the newspaper and the magazine, and made it the basis of more than one successful play. It has widened the social strata which the novel reaches, from the few who



Illustration from "The Old Gentleman of the Black Stock" (Charles Scribner's Sons). From a colored illustration in the book, which is a lithographic reproduction of a pastel by Howard Chandler Christy.

read to think, to the many who take thought only to amuse themselves. This advance has grown with the reduction in the cost of publication and the increase in the range of readers. The sale in three months of 1,000 copies of a novel in this country was, 25 years ago, a success which attracted an instant attention. A novel to-day which has not reached 5,000 copies in its first month has failed to attract a general notice. Between 1850 and 1880, there were not a dozen novels on the American market which had reached a circulation of 100,000 copies. There have been as many which have attained this circulation in the past five years.

The rewards of the individual novelist have proportionately grown. Twenty years ago, Mr. Howells publicly said that it would be possible to seat at a small table every man in this country who was clearing \$5,000 a year net from exclusively literary work. I have heard the returns from a single successful novel placed at \$50,000. Knowing the circulation which it had had and the usual royalties, this statement seems not imprudent. To the sales which make a return of from \$20,000 to \$25,000 off a single novel, there is now not unusually added the still larger wage paid to the novelist whose fiction becomes the basis of a successful play. Not long since, Mr. Charles Frohman said in substance that it was nonsense to turn anywhere except to a novel for a play, since it cost from \$15,000 to \$20,000 to make a play known, and the novel had already accomplished this without effort and without expense. No wage in literary life is comparable to that of the playwright. Not all novels dramatized succeed; but when a dramatized novel runs through the year, as nearly a dozen have done in the past five years, the return to the author will average about \$500 a week while the play is upon the boards. After making from \$25,000 to \$30,000 from a single novel, the author may then obtain as much more during each of the years in which the play based upon it holds the stage. It would be invidious to gossip over names; but there are two recent plays which must have yielded the novelist-playwright from \$75,000 to \$100,000, or half the sum earned by Trollope in a lifetime of laborious romance.

These returns exceed even the sums paid at the opening of the century to English authors. The fees, however, which were paid to Byron and to Scott, to Rogers and to Campbell—fees which seemed incredible as literary rewards up to 20 years ago—were paid to the few for works read by the few. No one of the works which Murray and Constable published had editions comparable with those of to-day.

But the impulse to letters as such, to style, to the

higher walks of literature, has by no means come which was expected when the reduction in the cost of manufacture, the increase in the area of readers, and protection against foreign competition all came in simultaneously a decade ago with the typesetting-machine, cheap

paper, the sale of books in department stores, and international copyright. It was anticipated that an individual and national type of production would be developed; but those forgot the method and manner of nature who predicted this.

Mr. Wallace long since showed that it is the island and isolated spot that produces the specialized and individual species. The mountain glen will change most of its flowers, half its insects, and all of its trees in a steep climb of a thousand yards. Given, however, the plain, an unbroken and illimitable expanse of fertile soil, a continuous demand, and the even conditions of lands level for leagues, and a single plant usurps all the space. The daisy will paint an entire principality of open land white or yellow. The mountain-side varies its flower at almost every yard, but from it one looks down upon a plain painted blue or purple or yellow by the sweep of a single plant. The like has come in letters. This increase in the number of novels and this multiplication in their readers have been succeeded by the sweeping success of single novels and the stillbirth of all others. English and American publishers both



"Beth."—Frontispiece (reduced) for "Marr'd in Making." Half-tone, from a drawing by Mrs. Elenor Plaisted Abbott (J. B. Lippincott Company).

complain that the market for fiction is more unsatisfactory than ever. It was once possible to predict, with a tolerable accuracy, that a certain ratio of excellence furnished, suitable skill in business, promotion and a knowledge in the market, then some return would be obtained from most novels placed in the market, particularly if they were by well-known authors, and from nearly all a fair return. This has ceased. Instead, the novel either has a prodigious vogue, and springs to its edition of 100,000,—150,000,—200,000; or, it fails altogether. The great herd of readers which passes the crowded tables of a department store moves, as herds will, on a single impulse. Publishers find, as managers have found, that reviews do as little for the novel as criticism for the play. People read, not because they wish to read, but because they wish to read what is being read. They tell each other. They move by the thousand past a given point where they are all turning the pages of the same novel. The man with an ear quick to the comments of readers knew *David Harum* was a success long before any but the most skillful critics had discovered it. *A Friend of Cæsar* had reached its third edition before most newspapers had published their first notice. The success of the novel has really come to be a matter of universal suffrage. Title, subject,

and the accidents of advertising decide the first movement of the avalanche; and if the conditions are favorable the fortunate publisher is buried under orders before a month is out, balanced by the failures of which less are sold than were once, few as these were.

Under conditions like these, the subject has become the decisive factor; for while style interests few, and personality still fewer, the interest in a subject is universal. Given a series of Revolutionary celebrations which began in 1775, and are still in progress, the organization of Revolutionary societies whose qualifications are as ingeniously devised as the crenellation of a yale-lock, and there would be created the desire and demand for the Revolutionary novel, which has carried one novel-writer after another to fortune, if not to fame, on a rising tide. We are in a new series of centennials which mark the post-Revolutionary epoch, and I predict—for the signs are already visible in book-lists—that in the next decade the success in a popular novel will be made, not on the Revolution, but on that narrower selva of history which began with the Western march. I dare predict that in 1950 the successful novel of the day, with a circulation which may by that time be reckoned by the half-million or million, will be an Argonaut, a California Forty-niner.

The Revolutionary romance has, therefore, been the natural product of the Revolutionary centennial. Realism has succumbed, not to a change in popular taste, but to a succession of popular celebrations. Inevitably, too, where the individual author once decided the sale and circulation of his novel for a generation, as did Dickens from the start, and Thackeray and Eliot after their vogue was secured, there is to-day a strange caprice. *Trilby* succeeded, and its successor fails. The subject is paramount. Religion is a universal interest, and *Robert Elsmere*, the *Christian*, and the *Master Christian*—poles apart—each find the same vast market. The new American delight in our own rural life succeeds *David Harum* by *Eben Holden*. The publisher has learned, to his cost, two things. The success of one novel is no guarantee of a like sale for the next by the same author. These vast sales which overspread a season, and choke all else, end as suddenly as they began. The tide turns. The bundles come back as they once went out. A "remainder" of 40,000 copies left in one instance attests the fashion in which the ebb may curtail the profits of the flood.

These things alter the native perspective of the field of fiction. It is still tilled in England as it once was. *Eleanor* is a novel of another generation. Mrs. Humphry Ward is little likely to win a circulation in six figures. Her one great success came to its own by its subject, not by its style. *Eleanor* is written with a patient care, save that a heroine of twenty-six is given the appearance and the adjectives of forty; but this novel thinks. It does not feel. Its interest is of scene, and not of subject. Mrs. Ward has brought together the English woman and the American girl, and, with the unhesitating instinct of the artist, sees that the higher breeding comes, not from a sense of superiority, but from a sense of equality; for the American girl, with all her lack of lower convention, has the higher distinction. The Englishman, Manisty, enamoured of home, his cousin *Eleanor*, the thinking Englishwoman of the new type, enamoured of him, and Lucy Foster, the

New England maiden to whom things are as they are, and not as they are believed to be,—this is as narrow a range of character as a Greek drama. Its knot is untied by an excommunicated priest—austere, simple, scientific, and sincere. The stage is set in Italy—new Italy, whose case has had no better defense, nor the old better description. But for all the skill with which this is done, the sensitive reader must feel that Mrs. Ward is at the end of a literary period, while the more shapeless American novel is at its beginning.

So far as workmanship goes between Mr. Maurice Hewlett's *Richard Yea and Nay* and Mr. William Stearns Davis' *A Friend of Cæsar*, no comparison is possible. It is not a question of years, but of method. The Englishman carries his English king through his crusade with a firm grip on period, diction, character, and atmosphere. *A Friend of Cæsar*, the book of a very young man, nigh twenty years Mr. Hewlett's junior, is loaded with detail and awkward in method. The archæology is painfully accurate and the atmosphere as painfully awry; but this picture of Rome, as Cæsar comes, moves straight on to an every-day human interest, which has kept it selling for weeks as one of the leading books in every store. Mr. Francis Marion Crawford lacks for nothing as craftsman *In the Palace of the King*; but it is the craft of the theater and not of the novel. On the stage as a play, for which it was written before it is on the market as a book, Miss Mary Mannering has given the pages an interest they might never have had without her; for Philip of Spain is studied more in his make-up than his manner, and the action and reversed catastrophe, none too fast nor too surprising on the boards, does not move between them.

Mr. Henry Harland, like Mr. Crawford, has learned his trade abroad. The Americans who follow received models generally have. Mr. Irving Bacheller has learned his selling fiction to the Sunday supplements. For over a month, *The Cardinal's Snuff-Box* and *Eben Holden* have been in all lists of the "best-selling books"—not neck and neck, for the latter leads. Mr. Harland thoroughly understands his technical task, the novel of dialogue in which a man and woman impart their souls and passions in Amabæan speech. Mr. Bacheller's book lumbers as a novel. It moves as a story. It wins—this recital of York State life—for the same reason that every man turns first in his daily newspaper to the fire or meeting he attended last night. Mr. Bacheller has torn a page out of American life and printed it; and the sales rise, week by week, in spite of technical defects. There is this feel of the story-telling power and this lack of the novelist's skill through all the flock of American fiction. You cannot open a page of two new colonial novels, Mr. J. A. Altsheler's *In Hostile Red*—of Monmouth—or Mr. Henry Thew Stephenson's *Patroon Van Volkenberg*, without seeing this. Random as is Mrs. Flora Annie Steel through the long panorama on which in *The Hosts of the Lord* she has sought to draw the working of the English raj, still you see she is unconsciously working by certain rules.

These things give hope. The story-telling American is finding a new field. There is a narrow space in every advancing art where originality and technical knowledge lap. The English novel of to-day has found it. The American story is approaching it.

NOTES ON THE NEW BOOKS OF FICTION.

NOVELS OF THE INNER LIFE.

AMONG the novels of 1900 which deal with the psychology of their characters as the chief thing of importance,—and this group is in America relatively smaller than in previous years, owing to the vogue of the adventure story,—the two most prominent are Mr. James M. Barrie's *Tommy and Grizel* (Scribners), and Mrs. Humphry Ward's *Eleanor* (Harpers). Mr. Barrie takes up the history of T. Sandys where he left him in the closing chapter of *Sentimental Tommy*. Tommy becomes a famous author in London, lionized by society and by the critics. Grizel loves him with the love of a noble, full-hearted, and true woman; but Tommy is not good enough for her, or is too good, as you please. He is somewhat too much of an artist and decidedly too little of a man to make "the perfect lover." His dangerous delicacy of nerves, his quick power of idealization, his dramatic self-consciousness, lead him to make fierce love to Lady Phippenworth while he is Grizel's sweetheart. Then, strengthened by remorse, Tommy marries Grizel, and there are months of happiness, to end in the tragedy, with its shameful surroundings, which kills off Tommy, without a great deal of sorrow, it must be said, from Grizel's well-wishers. Mr. Barrie



Illustration for "Eleanor." Half-tone (reduced). From a crayon drawing by Albert E. Sterner (Harper & Bros.).

makes this character, which is all his own, with a rare literary subtlety which is also his own. Even the darkest spots in his hero's career are relieved with the great tenderness and the delicate humor which illumine every work of Mr. Barrie's; and while there will be many, doubtless, who profess hatred for Tommy, and even a positive dislike to the story, there will be few indeed who do not admire Mr. Barrie's part in it.

In *Eleanor*, Mrs. Humphry Ward gives us a far more human story than any she has produced since her first large achievement of *Robert Elsmere*, and including it. With her great learning, her wide capacity for observation, her ingenuity, her earnestness of purpose, and her undeniable literary art, there has been something left to be desired in each of her stories. To some readers they appeared coldly intellectual, with a lack of warm, red blood, and, from an artistic point of view, almost stiff. In *Eleanor*, with the same intellectual grasp of her scenes and her characters, there is far more geniality and life. The heroine is a woman with a wonderful charm, arising, not



MRS. HUMPHRY WARD.

from her beauty, nor, perhaps, as much from her soul as from her intellect. She is more like Dorothea Brooke, in *Middlemarch*, than, probably, she is like any other real or imagined woman; and there are many phases of the story which remind one of George Eliot's masterpiece. In the very detail of Eleanor's devoted coöperation with Edward Manisty in his work, and the belief in that work, far more devoted and unreserving than his own, one is reminded of Mr. and Mrs. Casaubon; but Manisty is no septuagenarian. He is a young man, a publicist, with some disappointments in his career, engaged on his great work of defending the Papacy and its history. The scene is laid in Rome, and Mrs. Ward utilizes her learning to give us a significant and fascinating picture of Papal Italy. Manisty, the hero, is a most complex character, a thorough egotist, with the charm for women that able and consistent egotists are apt to have. There enters on the scene of Eleanor's love for him an American girl, Lucy Foster. Both of them love Manisty, and also each other. Mrs. Ward's characterization of the American figure in the story is extraordinarily good. Most of the admirers of the novelist are predicting that *Eleanor* will prove her masterpiece. It is presented by the publishers in two editions. The two-volume edition is illustrated by Albert Sterner, and is very strikingly and beautifully bound and printed.

Miss Grace Denio Litchfield, in her new story, *The Moving Finger Writes* (a quotation from Omar Khayyam), has given a charming picture of a New England

home, of intellectual and material wealth, and of a young girl's development into an exquisite symmetry of character, in spite of, perhaps because of, a secret love, which, in a less beautiful nature, might easily have been disastrous. The atmosphere of Agnes Alden's home is that of the aristocratic families who have their homes on the outskirts of Cambridge, Mass. Agnes is a girl of keen intellectual perceptions, and of an uplifted soul, who might probably have fallen in love with the good-natured and manly Godfrey Kilpatrick, whom circumstances seemed to have appointed for her, if she had not met the greater man, David Mulgrave, married to a cantankerous though not very bad woman. Agnes promptly falls in love with David, and is fine enough to keep it all within herself, and to be a very present help to both David and Isabel. The latter finally dies, and things go as the reader would wish. (Putnams.)

In the seventy-second year of his age, the marvelously versatile Dr. S. Weir Mitchell gives us a new volume, *Dr. North and His Friends* (Century Co.). In *Dr. North and His Friends* are introduced the personages whose admirable and witty conversations were admired in an earlier volume, *Characteristics*. The scheme of this volume is to give the conversation of a group of cultured people that gather around Dr. North and his wife. The topics which their wit and learning play may be concerned with literature, art, medicine, nature, conduct, or religion. The whole is bound together by a slender thread of romance. While the work is not sufficiently connected to make it possible to style it autobiographical, it undoubtedly reflects the personal experiences and observations of the author in a somewhat autobiographical way.

In *Enoch Willoughby* (Scribners), Mr. James A. Wickersham portrays the outer and inner life, especially the latter, of the Willoughby family, all of them originally Quakers, and all, "whether you find them in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, or even Iowa or Kansas, pretty surely of the respectable, well-to-do sort." The scene of the story is laid fifty years ago, in the wilderness of Ohio and in the forests of the South. The motive is found in the strenuous efforts of Enoch Willoughby's soul to decide whether Quakerism or Spiritualism have for him the final Truth. There is a little love-story to relieve the stress, and there is a good deal of historic interest in the accounts of these early Spiritualists, who were probably the founders of the sect of Christian Scientists.

Mr. Richard Marsh is bold indeed in the conception of his book, *A Second Coming* (John Lane). The scheme of the book is no less than the description of Christ's coming to England, and the following which He did and did not get, and of some judgments that He would undoubtedly have pronounced. Indeed, such an opportunity is seldom offered the novelist to dispose summarily of his pet aversions in contemporary life, both personal and impersonal.

The heroine of *A Woman of Yesterday*, Anna Mallison (Doubleday, Page & Co.), is the daughter of a Vermont clergyman of the strictest orthodoxy. Caroline A. Mason, the author of the volume, studies the development of this young girl, born in the fifties and growing up through the atmosphere of Puritanical conscientiousness surrounding her father's life and home and friends into the broader views of the end of the century.

Sir Walter Besant's new novel, *The Fourth Generation* (Stokes), is concerned with a definite problem—the

justice of visiting the sins of the fathers on succeeding generations. The story is an answer, as nearly as Sir Walter can give an answer, to the question, Why must the innocent suffer for the faults of those who have gone before? "I venture," says Sir Walter, "to offer in these pages an answer that satisfies myself. It substitutes consequences for punishment, and puts effect that follows cause in place of penalties." These consequences "can only affect the body, or the mind, or the social position of the descendants. They may make ambition impossible; they may make action impossible; they may keep a man down among the rank and file,—but they cannot do more."

In *The Image Breakers* (Stokes), Miss Gertrude Dix brings us into an atmosphere redolent of socialism. She has lived much in socialistic colonies, and has engaged in first-hand experiment with most of the communal ideas which she discusses in this story. The story itself is not fettered by her socialistic propagandism in a way to hamper the action, and many passages are full of dramatic force.

HISTORICAL ROMANCES.

Mr. Ronald MacDonald publishes his first romance, *The Sword of the King* (Century Co.). Mr. MacDonald comes to his taste for story-writing by inheritance, as he is the son of Dr. George MacDonald. *The Sword of the King* is a story of the time when William of Orange was making his sturdy fight for the English crown. The heroine tells the tale. She is Philippa Drayton, a brave and lovely girl, whose father sides with the Prince of Orange. Mr. MacDonald enrolls himself among those modern apologists for the monarchs of England who in their books have found virtues in King John and James II., for he gives a new and unexpectedly pleasant phase of the worthy but hitherto saturnine William of Orange. The character of Philippa Drayton is engaging, and the story is full of exciting action and adventure.

Mr. Henry Seton Merriman, who has become best known to the novel-reading public by his book, *The Sowers*, gives in *The Isle of Unrest* (Dodd, Mead & Co.) a dashing and highly colored tale of Corsica and the south of France. The vendetta and Sedan give ample opportunity for dramatic action. The character of Mademoiselle Denise Lange is especially attractive, with Mademoiselle Brun and Colonel Gilbert scarcely less so. *The Isle of Unrest* will sustain Mr. Merriman's reputation, and readers who care for romance and adventure will find an abundance of them of a good quality.

Margaret Horton Potter's historical novel, *Uncanonized* (McClurg), is a romance of English monachism. It begins with the beginning of the thirteenth century, in the time of King John. The author deliberately departs from the traditional figure of that scapegoat of English monarchs, and makes John out a very fair sort of king and man. This, she tells us in a prefatory note, is not from the exigencies of her romance, but from her own convictions, after a careful study of the records of the time her story deals with. The hero is Anthony Fitz-Hubert, the illegitimate son of Archbishop Hubert. Walter Anthony, a gay gallant of the court, is suddenly called upon to expiate his father's youthful sin by taking monastic vows. The story is conscientiously constructed, and has the ulterior value of dealing with a period which has been hitherto practically neglected by romancers of our day.

Emma Marshall has taken for the heroine of her story of classical Roman times, *A Roman Maiden* (George W. Jacobs & Co.), the lost Vestal, whose statue alone among those recovered in the Forum is unnamed, although the inscription recording her virtues was preserved. The author has gathered the incidents around the supposed history of this character—incidents more or less connected with the persecution and martyrdom of the early Church in Britain and in Rome.

Mr. Jeremiah Curtin has translated a new historical novel from the pen of Henryk Sienkiewicz, *The Knights of the Cross* (Little, Brown & Co.). Many readers have considered that this sounding romance is the finest work of the author of *Quo Vadis*. The scene is laid in Poland in the fourteenth century, and after a narrative of thrilling dramatic quality, it ends with the final and conclusive victory of the Slavs at Tannenberg over the German Knights of the Cross, whose object was the subjugation of Poland and Lithuania.

Mr. J. A. Altscheler's new book, *In Hostile Red* (Doubleday, Page & Co.), is a story of the American Revolution, and more particularly of the Monmouth campaign. Mr. Altscheler's spirited figure of Mary Desmond, and the continual lively incident of the narrative, make a very engaging work, and quite a fit successor to the series of American historical stories which have recently made the author so favorably known.

Mr. J. Breckenridge Ellis harks back to the first century for the subject of his romance, *The Dread and Fear of Kings* (McClurg). The scenes are laid alternately in the island of Capri and other parts of Italy, and the narrative of love and adventure has for a background the reign of terror which Rome endured under the Emperor Tiberius and his terrible favorite, Sejanus.

A new field is chosen by Judge Leo C. Dessar, of New York City, for his first essay in fiction, *A Royal Enchantress* (Continental Publishing Co.). The heroine is the famous Cahina, the last queen of the Berbers, who lived at Tunis, and won power and glory in the year 697 A. D. This beautiful, able and brave woman was cruel as she was powerful. The author tells the story of the period when she had united all the northern countries except Egypt into one great nation; when she was known as the Sorceress Queen. The occult powers claimed for this striking figure are well utilized by Judge Dessar to heighten the picturesqueness of his heroine.

Mr. Maurice Thompson is best known to American readers as the archer, the lover of nature and of the Latin lovers of nature. His essay in the field of historical romance he calls *Alice of Old Vincennes* (Bowen-Merrill Co.). It is a Revolutionary story, with the scene



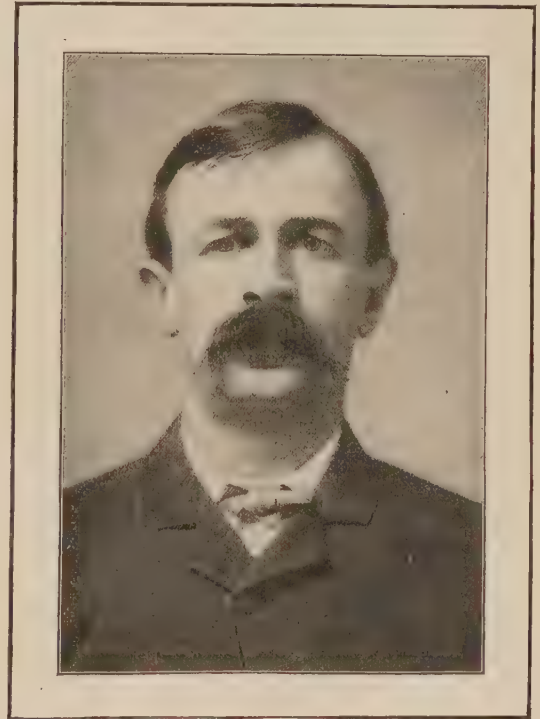
MR. MAURICE THOMPSON.

(Author of "Alice of Old Vincennes.")

laid in Indiana, with British and Americans, Indians and Creoles, engaged in supplying the fighting and the love-making. The heroine, Alice Roussillon, is a charming figure—much more charming, indeed, than her conventional lover. Alice is a spirited girl of good family, who is placed among the hardships of pioneer life and of Indian warfare, who can conquer her lover in sword-play, and use a rifle with the best of them. There are few chapters in which one does not find the excitement of a duel, a battle, scalping-party, or some equally thrilling incident.

Mr. Edward Bellamy, the famous author of *Looking Backward*, had written *The Duke of Stockbridge* (Silver, Burdett & Co.) even before the book that made him so well known. In fact, it is said that *Looking Backward* grew out of this romance. Shortly before his recent death, Mr. Bellamy authorized the publication of the novel. It deals with the great revolt of the debtor-farmers of Massachusetts against the laws which dealt so severely with them in 1786. An officer of the Continental army, who led the revolt, is the hero of the narrative, and his love with a belle of Western Massachusetts makes a pretty story.

Miss Molly Elliot Seawell essays, in *The House of Egremont* (Scribners), an historical romance of the time



MR. EDWARD BELLAMY IN 1889.

(Whose posthumous novel "The Duke of Stockbridge," has just been published.)

of James II. Aside from the stirring incidents and the many adventures and misadventures, narrated with much spirit and skill, the striking part of Miss Seawell's work is her attempt to renovate the figure of James II.—an even more difficult task than that which confronts the apologists for Richard III. and King John, but one

which Miss Seawell enters on with enthusiasm and not without success.

Mr. F. Marion Crawford has chosen old Madrid, in the time of Philip II., for the background of his romantic story, *In the Palace of the King* (Macmillan). His figure of Dolores is a captivating one; and her lover, Don John of Austria, makes a noble and spirited hero. King Philip is one of the characters in the tale, and all the pageantry and splendor of the Spanish court aid in enriching the background.

Mr. Maurice Hewlett has his field, so far as style and expression are concerned, pretty much to himself. The success of his *Forest Lovers* showed that his archaic and romantic sentences were done so well that no apology was needed. Now he has entered the lists with Sir Walter Scott in utilizing Richard the Lion-Hearted as a romantic figure. *Richard Yea and Nay* (Macmillan) is a legitimate literary descendant of *The Forest Lovers*, and will undoubtedly prove of absorbing interest to the large public which so enjoyed that first notable work of Mr. Hewlett's.

STORIES OF ADVENTURE.

In Mr. Charles Fleming Embrees' *A Dream of a Throne* (Little, Brown & Co.) he uses the romance of Old Mexico and the dramatic episode of a Mexican revolt. The hero is a descendant of an Aztec royal family, although his boyhood has been passed as a fisherman's son. When he emerges into self-consciousness and manly strength, and feels the power of the Church, he heads a revolution which is meant to place him on the throne, but which gets him shot as a traitor. The author is a careful student of the local color framing his story, and the Mexican characters are notably well drawn.

Mr. W. H. Wilson, who appears as the author of *Raf-naland* (Harpers), is the son of the late president of Washington and Lee University and postmaster-general in President Cleveland's cabinet. This is the son's first effort in fiction. It is lively and imaginative enough to suit the most exacting. The hero is enticed into a balloon, and is conveyed thereby to an unknown Scandinavian island near the north pole, where he finds a race of gigantic Norsemen, with the size, the strength, the courage, and the appetites of the Vikings. The lucky aeronaut falls in love with the beautiful Princess Astrid, and has plenty of fighting and love-making on his hands from that time on. These occupations Mr. Wilson describes in a very capable way.

Mr. Joseph Conrad is one of the group of writers who have come forward in the last two years, and who know the sea and the sailors on it in all their moods. His new story is called *Lord Jim* (Doubleday, Page & Co.). Prejudice is won in favor of the hero at the first sentence. He is a water-clerk, an inch under six feet, powerfully built, with a slight stoop and a fixed from-under stare "which made you think of a charging bull." How this promising water-clerk rose to a great emergency in his life, and the romance of the sea and the Malaysian Islands to which his adventures bring him, make a capital story.

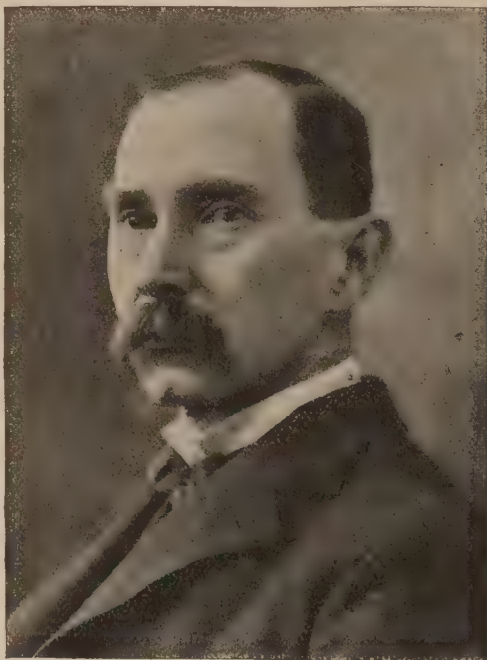
That indefatigable fictionist, Mr. Cutcliffe Hyne, appears with a new narrative in his well-known and dashing style. *The Filibusters* (Stokes) deals with an expedition that successfully captures the presidency of a Central American republic. The author serves up a fresh dish of "red-hot" incidents in every chapter, without any hampering of coincidence.

Pistols, muskets, and swords figure prominently on the escutcheon of H. B. Marriott Watson's new book, *Chloris of the Island* (Harpers). The scene is laid in the last century in England, and the story is full of the thrilling and hairbreadth escapes of Warburton, an engaging fighting-machine who loves the sister of his deadly enemies. Mr. Watson is a skillful hand at the construction of such a rattling story, and incidentally gives a good picture of the lives of Englishmen in the last century.

NOVELS, PICTURING AMERICAN COMMUNITIES.

In the past two or three years there have been a remarkable series of stories, the product of earnest and intelligent work, many of them, whose chief significance lay in the pictures they gave of the peculiar customs, peoples, and characteristics of distinctly marked regions of the United States. One of the most notable stories in this general class appearing in 1900 is Mr. John Uri Lloyd's *Stringtown on the Pike* (Dodd, Mead & Co.), which, after serial publication in *The Bookman*, is now presented in book form. Mr. Lloyd has taken for his scene the northeastern part of Kentucky, the rolling hill-lands similar to adjacent regions of Ohio and Indiana, and very different from the Blue-grass district of Mr. James Lane Allen's tales. The time is that of the Civil War; and, although Mr. Lloyd's story is full of incident and life, it turns on a most dramatic episode, where a chemical analysis decides the fate of the hero and alienates him from the heroine. Its final value will undoubtedly lie in the extremely veridical picture of this Southwestern rural community, with its village drunkards, its sharp country lawyers, and its superstitious and wholly delightful negroes.

Another story, with its primal scene lying in Ken-



MR. JOHN URI LLOYD.

'Author of "Stringtown on the Pike."')

tucky, and by a well-known Kentucky author, is *Crittendon* (Scribners), by Mr. John Fox, Jr. Mr. Fox takes us into the inner and luxurious mysteries of the Blue-grass region, and introduces us to the life there in 1898. He raises a Kentucky legion and takes it to Cuba to help at San Juan and Caney, along with Lawton and Chaffee,



MR. IRVING BACHELLER.
(Author of "Eben Holden.")

and Roosevelt and the Rough Riders. All of these scenes and all of these subjects Mr. Fox knows thoroughly and freshly; and his facile pen makes the most of them, and contrives to weave a pretty love-story into the whole.

Although Mr. Irving Bacheller's *Eben Holden* (Lothrop) has been referred to in an earlier number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, and also in Mr. Williams' general characterization of the books of the season in this December number, the well-deserved appreci-

ation which is being bestowed on this excellent picture of our New York grandfather's life makes the book worthy of a further note. Mr. Bacheller's shrewd, sturdy New Yorkers of the North Woods farm have quite captured the American public; nor is the "local color" in the homespun phrases of "Eben Holden" alone praiseworthy. The chapters that deal with the city experiences of the hero, and, indeed, the book as a whole, are true to the ear, and hold the attention to the end. It is nothing short of wonderful that a man of Mr. Bacheller's distracting and continuous business preoccupations should have produced such an excellent piece of fiction. As he himself says, "Chapters begun in the publicity of a Pullman car have been finished in the cheerless solitude of a hotel chamber. Some have had their beginning in a sleepless night, and their end in a day of bronchitis."

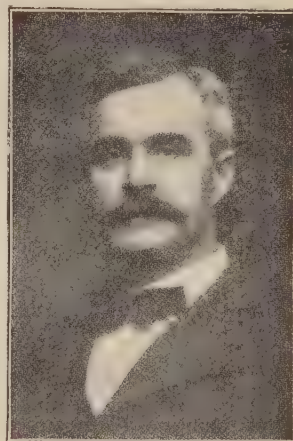
The region which Mr. Charles Frederic Goss, a new writer, exploits in *The Redemption of David Corson* (Bowen-Merrill Co.) is to the west of Kentucky, but not far away nor essentially different. This boldly conceived tale which has already proved so popular has its scene laid in the middle of the nineteenth century and in the western part of Ohio. The Indians had already been disposed of, and the most tragic work of subduing the wilderness had been accomplished, when David Corson's

story begins. But there was enough elemental nature around his home to make a wild and poetic setting for Mr. Goss' fiction. David Corson is a Quaker preacher, who, according to the admiring tributes of his neighbors, could at twenty "talk a mule into a trottin' hoss in less'n three minutes." The lucky young Quaker with such facility of language found it less difficult to talk a gypsy girl into loving him. As she already had a husband of fierce aspect and physical attainments, all the elements of an exciting story are furnished in the first few chapters.

Mr. Hamlin Garland has rarely produced a set of verses or work of fiction in which his worship of the great Western country, its picturesque crudities, and its elemental strength did not furnish the foundation. He does not depart from his idols in *The Eagle's Heart* (Appletons). The hero who turns his face to the West is Harold Excell, a proverbial minister's son, high-tempered and adventurous. He fails to dominate the Chicago cattle markets, and removes to the far West as a government agent in the Indian country. He is in the troubles between the sheepmen and cattlemen, and passes through many tremendous adventures on the mesa. The vivid descriptions of cattle-ranching and other picturesque phases of Western life are such as only one who loves his subject and who has studied it can give.

It is a far cry from Mr. Hamlin Garland's cow-punchers and Western desperadoes to the quiet New England home folks of Mr. Charles Felton Pidgin's *Quincy Adams Sawyer* (C. M. Clark Pub. Co.). The hero, and the other Mason's Corner folks, dwell in a quiet Massachusetts village, and the story celebrates the virtues and failings of the tradesmen, merchants, lawyers, and politicians according to the New England standard. The story is a considerable one in length, and gives as a whole a most perfect and comprehensive picture of New England life, both as to externals and as to intellectual manners and standards.

Mr. Elmore Elliott Peake's *The Darlingtones* (McClure, Phillips & Co.) is not so consciously occupied in portraying the external life of the community as the foregoing; and yet it does sum up the manners and customs and ways of thinking of a new and very little known part of the United States, and is not weakened in this way by excursions into the outer world. The Darlingtones live in northern central North Carolina, in a region which is rather void of material or intellectual interests, save for the railroads and the furniture factories and other evidences of enterprise which these railroads have lately brought into existence. The Darlingtones naturally are a railroad family, and Mr. Peake carries them through such a series of railroad adven-



MR. CHARLES FREDERIC GOSS.
(Author of "The Redemption of David Corson.")



MR. HAMLIN GARLAND.
(Author of "The Eagle's Heart")

tures as to show that Mr. Kipling and Cy Warman and other exploiters of the locomotive have not by any means used up all the literary material of that new literary field.

The Rev. William E. Barton, whose *Hero in Home-spun* won such a well-deserved success, appears with a second novel, *Pine Knot* (Appletons), which successfully meets the critical scrutiny naturally accorded a volume succeeding a first success. Mr. Barton gives a virile account of the Kentucky mountain-folk in the region bordering on Tennessee, as different from the Kentuckians of John Fox's stamping-grounds as the Chinaman of Mott Street is different from the Knickerbocker aristocrat of Washington Square. His story precedes and ends with the War of Secession, and his account of the Abolitionist element among the poorer mountaineers is especially readable and valuable. Altogether, the book is one of the strongest and best of the year among those works of fiction aiming especially to reflect local color.

Mr. Hervey White's *Quicksand* (Small, Maynard & Co.) takes us far to the North, into the thrifty, hard-working regions of New Hampshire. The life of the sturdy farmers, their struggle with the long winter, with the exigencies of "schooling" their numerous families, their churchgoing, their literary societies, and their jollifications, are pleasant and conscientiously recorded.

Miss Jane de Forest Shelton's book, *The Salt-Box House* (Baker & Taylor), is even more directly and exclusively occupied in recording the eighteenth-century life in a New England hill-town. The scene is laid in Stratford, Conn., and the author has carefully collected a great number of the less-known phases and odd customs of rural life in that period, the description of which she has found most convenient to put into narrative form.

Still another State gives the scene of Mr. Nelson Lloyd's *The Chronic Loafer* (J. F. Taylor & Co.). The story is told in the dialect of central Pennsylvania, and includes many excellent sketches of rustic life and manners in this picturesque valley surrounded by the heights of the Blue Ridge. "The Spelling Bee," "The Wrestling Match," "The Haunted Store," "Hiram Gam, the Fiddler," "Breaking the Ice," and other chapter titles suggest the quaint subjects that Mr. Lloyd's patriarch dilates upon.

It is to the "Land of the Sky," in the heights of the Allegheny Mountains, that Mary Nelson Carter turns for her *North Carolina Sketches* (McClurg). The book consists of a series of sketches made up from conversations with the poor mountain-folk of this region (Charles Egbert Craddock's country), and furnish a very good picture of their meager life and curious speech. It is much the same sort of folk that Mr. Will N. Harben describes in his *Northern Georgia Sketches* (McClurg), though his accounts of them are given in truer story form.

STORIES OF LONDON AND NEW YORK LIFE.

Mr. H. C. Chatfield-Taylor's *The Idle Born* (Stone) has for its subtitle "A Comedy of Manners." The tale won the prize of a New York magazine offered for the best novel dealing with contemporary society, using the word in its limited sense. The scene is laid entirely within the sacred portals of New York's "Four Hundred," and Mr. Chatfield-Taylor's purpose is primarily to satirize the weaknesses and follies of the so-called

"smart set." Mr. Chatfield-Taylor thinks that the days of Isaac Watts, when the idle-born had the fad of writing verses which were creditable and letters which were readable, have been succeeded by days when metropolitan society has the sole ambition of leading in extravagance. This quickly reduces all social excellence to a question of money, and gives the author abundant opportunities for satire.

Miss Grace Marguerite Hurd has written a very lively and vivacious story in *The Bennett Twins* (Macmillan). These two young people, Donald and Agnes Bennett, leave their home in Maine in their seventeenth year, and come to New York to make their fortunes, one of them as an art student, and the other as a student of music. Their life and struggles in the metropolis are humorously told, in a way which leaves a very good picture in the reader's mind of the experiences through which such provincial neophytes must pass in the struggle for existence in a great city.

Miss Amelia E. Barr's latest story, *The Maid of Maiden Lane* (Dodd, Mead & Co.), too, has New York as its scene and essential atmosphere; but it is the New York of a hundred years ago, when Maiden Lane boasted handsome residences instead of rows of jewelry stores. The thousands of readers who have enjoyed Mrs. Barr's *A Bow of Orange Ribbon* will find in this new volume from her prolific but very even pen a further treat.

Margaret Blake Robinson's *Souls in Pawn* (Revell), "A Story of New York Life," is essentially of modern metropolitan conditions. It is of the New York of the missions of the Salvation Army's field that she writes with much kindly humor and philosophy. Her heroine, Miss Irving, sounds much as if she had been modeled on Mrs. Ballington Booth, and Katie Finnegan and the other neighbors of Chinatown are convincingly presented.

Another novel of New York life, *Sister Carrie* (Doubleday, Page & Co.), by Theodore Dreiser, brings us into an atmosphere of Rector's and the theaters rather than Chinatown and the missions. Mr. Dreiser's heroine, Caroline Meeber, comes from her country home in Wisconsin through Chicago to New York. Carrie's career in New York City, first as a struggling aspirant for histrionic honors, and finally as a famous actress, furnishes the plot of the story.

Mr. W. Pett Ridge's new book is entitled *A Breaker of Laws* (Macmillan). The hero is a London cockney burglar, who has an honest love for a decent young servant-girl, marries her, reforms, and turns to irreproachable work. There is a characteristic touch of cleverness in Mr. Pett Ridge's management of Alfred Bateson's relapse. He does not make him go to stealing again for the sake of saving his wife from starvation, or from evil associations, but simply because of love for his burglarious art. It appeals so strongly to Alfred's imagination to effect a clever stroke of roguery that he leaves his wife and child, whom he loves, and pilfers to his heart's content, until he is put in prison, and finally goes to South America a ruined man. The manners and the opportunities of the typical London burglar are vivaciously presented.

Miss Una L. Silberrad's story of life in the poorer quarters of London, *The Lady of Dreams* (Doubleday, Page & Co.), is the second book from her pen, and bids fair, taken with her first novel, *The Enchanter*, to make her a reputation of high order. Her heroine in *The Lady of Dreams* is the niece of a dissipated man, whom she cared for with a devotion that absorbs all

her outer energies, but which only helps to develop a dreamy, poetic, and altogether charming personality. When the besotted man attempts to kill her, a crisis comes, leading to a great love to compensate for her dreary existence. There is a quality of restraint and quiet power in Miss Silberrad's work which promises well for her future.

In much lighter vein is Mr. H. G. Wells' tale of London folk, *Love and Mr. Lewisham* (Stokes), in which the conditions of modern student life in the English metropolis are vivaciously and happily described. Lewisham, a tutor in a provincial school, goes up to the metropolis, falls in love with a young girl, the daughter of a precious rascal, and marries her. Ethel's father poses as a Spiritualist, and his frauds, and Mr. Wells' exposition of their methods, form an entertaining part of the story.

Mr. Percy White takes us to quite a different and most highly respectable kind of London in his story, *The West End* (Harpers). He cleverly portrays the weaknesses and foibles of the London "smart set," and the career of John Treadaway, an otherwise respectable and estimable manufacturer of jam, who enters the edifice of society through a side-door.

TALES OF STRANGE LANDS.

Mr. E. P. Dole has hit upon a fascinating legend of an ancient goddess-queen of Hawaii as the basis of his story, *Hiwa* (Harpers). The heroine, one of the ancient race of island demi-gods, has violated a sacred law, and tries to save her life and that of her unborn child, which are forfeit to the terrible Ku. The story of her escape, and the growth of her son into manly beauty and strength, and the leadership of his people, is well worth the telling; and this little volume, in its tasteful binding, is altogether a welcome addition to the season's work in fiction.

Very like Mr. Dole's story, in its general setting, is *Kelea, the Surf-Rider* (Ford, Howard & Hulbert), by Mr. Alexander Stevenson Twombly, a romance of pagan Hawaii. Mr. Twombly knows his Hawaii thoroughly, and the poetic story, as well as his interesting use of the traditions and folk-lore of the islanders, makes *Kelea* a volume of interest from several points of view.

Iroka: Tales of Japan (Doubleday & McClure Co.), comes from a Japanese author, Mr. Adachi Kinnosuké, who has written in English this series of sketches portraying the life and folk-lore of the haughty Samurai class. Mr. Kinnosuké is a Japanese residing in California, and several of these stories have been published in American periodicals. That the Japanese taste for delicate and quaint imagery has not been lost in this author's transition to the English language, is shown particularly in such descriptions as that of the cherry-blossoms: "A bit of gauze torn off from the skirt of

that vain coquette called Spring, in her all-too-hasty and careless way of passing over this earth."

The perennially brilliant Ouida appears in a new book, as good as anything she has ever written out of all her vast output, and almost entirely free from the qualities which have cheapened the public for many of her earlier stories. *The Waters of Edera* (Fenno) is a story of Italy, based on the devotion of the peasant to his native soil. Ouida's always trenchant, if sometimes mistaken, pen has an easy task in the thorough demolishing of the supposition of an actual Italian unity. She paints the Italian people as ground under an absurd and cruel government. The passages in this book, which show the love of the peasant hero for his birthplace, and its rivers and trees and hills, are such as no other woman writer could produce. Whatever one may have to think of Mlle. De La Ramée's quarrel with civilization, one will want to read this excellent story.

Mrs. Flora Annie Steel's novels have always been Indian scenes; but in her last book, *The Hosts of the Lord* (Macmillan), we have a more modern setting than in the others. The story produces an excellent picture of English India, and shows interesting points of contact between the Eurasians and the native life.

Mr. Henry B. Fuller, in *The Last Refuge* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), returns to the quaint discursive style of his *Chevalier of Pensteri Vani*. *The Last Refuge* is a Sicilian romance, telling of the search of a group of people, the characters of the book, for a life of more beauty; and of their hegira to Sicily, which land is to produce the scene of a sort of Golden Age, so far as the inner life is concerned. Everything that Mr. Fuller writes is distinguished by a rare delicacy of fancy and expression; and *The Last Refuge* is no exception to this rule.

St. Peter's Umbrella (Harpers) is a series of sketches of Magyar life, by Kálmán Mikszáth, who is introduced to us as second only to Maurus Jokai in popularity among his countrymen. The pictures of Slavic life in this volume are enlivened by a quaint humor which brings the peculiarities and characteristics of the Hungarian peasant into pleasant relief.

It is the Bohemian village folk that Madame Flora B. Kopta utilizes in her novel *The Forester of Vimpek* (Lothrop). Her studies of life and character in far-away communities buried in the forests of Bohemia, her interpretation of the passions, the joys and griefs of the village peasantry, have a decidedly original and grateful flavor.

The Weir Orient (Henry T. Coates & Co.) is the title of a writer hitherto unknown to Americans. Rabbi Henry Iliowizi is a Hebrew who grew up in Russia and Roumania, was educated in Germany, and has become an important educating influence among the people of his race. He has written a volume of stories of Russian life, and now publishes in America this series of Eastern tales of a legendary cast, which leave a vivid impression of the poetic imagination of the Moors among whom the author collected the material for his work.

There is a haunting flavor in several of Mr. Lloyd Osbourne's stories, collected under the title *The Queen Versus Billy* (Scribners), which reminds us of his stepfather, Robert Louis Stevenson. The scenes of the stories are chiefly laid in the Samoan Islands, which have been Mr. Osbourne's home since Stevenson led the family thither in search of health. The scoundrelly white men,—not bad, but just scoundrels,—and the



MLLE. DE LA RAMÉE ("OUIDA")

stupid, but affectionate natives of those lazy islands, and the languorous freedom from the conventions of civilized life, are most cleverly used in Mr. Osbourne's literary workmanship. Why "The Beautiful Man of Pingalap" should be such a good story to read might puzzle a critical analyst to decide; and yet it is, beyond a peradventure.

In *Elissa* (Longmans), Mr. Rider Haggard takes us, of course, to Africa: but this time to Phenicia, the city in South Central Africa whose mysterious ruins have furnished much speculative food for historians and archæologists. Here was a great trading town, with vast fortifications. Mr. Rider Haggard attempts to show, in the incidents of his story, how such an incomprehensible thing might have existed, and how the town came to extinction.

Sigurd Eckdal's Bride (Little, Brown & Co.), by Richard Voss, is a story of Scandinavian life among the great snowdrifts and icy atmosphere of the Norwegian solitudes. The scheme of the tale is the arctic expedition of the hero and his friends in search of the north pole.

NOVELS WITH VARIOUS MOTIVES.

Mr. Eden Phillpotts follows his *Children of the Mist*, which was so well received on account of its virile imaginative qualities, with *Sons of the Morning* (Putnams),—a love-story, with the scene laid in Devonshire. Mr. Phillpotts has been bold enough to make his heroine be in love with two men at the same time. After having put her in this most dangerous predicament, he is kind enough to allow her to marry both of them in turn. The significant qualities of Mr. Phillpotts' work point, in many ways, to a similarity to Mr. Thomas Hardy. The subtle imaginative study of the girl's emotions, the philosophic attitude toward the fact of sex, and in the background the delicious portrayal of the Devonshire rustics, bring Mr. Phillpotts decidedly into Mr. Hardy's field. If the younger novelist finds no such delicate and poetical setting as he of Wessex, no such artistic interpretation of the nature world surrounding his characters,—for that matter, neither does any other author to-day.

Mr. Robert Burns Wilson is known to many readers as a maker of dreamy and poetic verses. Indeed, his temperament is essentially mystical. His last volume, *Until the Day Break* (Scribners), is a novel which might have been expected from such a literary nature. In the prelude, a young author reads his first story to his mother. This story is the romance of the volume, and at the end the mother informs him that the author has simply told a piece of family history which has not been revealed to him by human means.

A new book appears from the famous Hungarian author, Maurus Jokai, *Dr. Dumany's Wife* (Doubleday & McClure Co.), translated by F. Steinitz. The scene is laid during the Franco-Prussian War, and offers Dr. Jokai the highly dramatic opportunities which his genius is prone to select. The story deals with a marriage made under a misapprehension, which is not dispelled until years after.

The always clever and vivacious John Oliver Hobbes (Mrs. Craigie) has written, in *Robert Orange* (Stokes), a sequel to *The School for Saints*. She deals wittily with the religious, political, and philosophical questions broached in the story, which has for its characters a dilettante politician as a hero, a painter, a conventional peer of England, an ambassador, a political adven-

turer, and Lord Disraeli, whose figure has a great attraction for Mrs. Craigie.

Mr. Harrison Robertson begins his story, *Red Blood and Blue* (Scribners), with a Kentucky shooting scene and its surroundings. The narrative is of a low-born youth with large aspirations, and it takes us, as Mr. John Fox's story does, from Kentucky to San Juan Hill and back.

In Mr. Anthony Hope's new novel, *Quisanté* (Stokes), he leaves his half or wholly fanciful characters and moves among Englishmen of to-day and of the earth, their political affairs and business enterprises. Mr. Hope has evidently determined, in this work, to sacrifice the light improvisation and piquancy of his earlier works to the demands of a more substantial and solid and more "regular" novel.



MR. JOEL CHANDLER HARRIS.

SOME COLLECTIONS OF SHORT STORIES.

The collection of Mr. Joel Chandler Harris' newest short stories, *On the Wing of Occasions* (Doubleday, Page & Co.), includes a novelette of about 30,000 words, called "The Kidnaping of President Lincoln," which is itself sufficiently striking to give special significance to this volume. No biography of the great War President has afforded a more lifelike picture of his giant figure, or a more vivid impression of his ready, homely wit and large simplicity. Four other stories are in the volume: "Why the Confederacy Failed," "In the Order of Providence," "The Troubles of Martin Coy," and "The Whims of Captain McCarthy." Another reason to give this volume some special interest is the announcement that Mr. Joel Chandler Harris has this autumn retired from newspaper work, in order to give his whole time to story-making. The immortal "Uncle Remus" stories, and Mr. Harris' other notable productions, were written by him through the past years while

he was engaged in the most grinding work on the *Atlanta Constitution*.

Mr. Eden Phillpotts will enlist the sympathy of the reader with his title, *The Human Boy* (Harpers). The eleven stories which make up the little volume deal with boy life and characters in a style not unlike that of *Tom Brown at Rugby*. Mr. Phillpotts' characters are real boys—a quality so rare in boy stories that nothing more need be said to recommend his book.

The late Mr. Stephen Crane's posthumous volume is named *Wounds in the Rain* (Stokes). It consists of various war-stories descriptive of the campaign against the Spaniards in Cuba in 1898. Let the London *Academy* say what it will, these stories are capital work, and give a real and vivid impression in a new and striking way, whether it be of the heroism of Nolan, the Government regular, or of the brisk action of the "Holy Moses" and the "Chicken" with a Spanish warship. There are eleven of Mr. Crane's last-written short stories in the volume, most of which have been published before in American magazines.

Mr. A. T. Quiller-Couch names his new book *Old Fires and Profitable Ghosts* (Scribners), and of the fifteen stories which make up the volume, most of them have to do with the sea; for Mr. Quiller-Couch's pen is apt to travel seaward, and he is at his best when the tang of Margate inspires him. They are a capital lot of tales. "Once Aboard the Lugger," which tells of the kidnaping of the unwilling Rev. Samuel Bax by the salty Nance, who is sick of love for him, is especially delicious.

In the twelve numbers which make up Mr. Henry James' new volume, *The Soft Side* (Macmillan), there is the wonder-



MR. CY WARMAN.

ful distinction in style, the subtle analysis and perfect method which in any detached portion of any one of them would at once proclaim him the author. No matter who quarrels with Mr. James for an excess of attention to the form at the expense of the matter of his stories, there can never be a lack of the readers he would wish to reach for such exquisite delineations as "Paste" and "Maud-Evelyn."

Mr. Egerton Castle, who has become widely known as the author of *The Pride of Jennico*, gives a number of short stories under the title *Marshfield the Observer* (Stone). Mr. Castle has only recently become celebrated as a writer; but before that he was already celebrated as one of the first fencers of the world, and as an authority on the history of swordsmanship. One of the stories in this collection utilizes his acquaintance with sword-play in a most vigorous description of a fight with the blades. Most of the tales are of a bizarre and weird cast.

Mr. Cy Warman is known as the literary prophet of

the locomotive since his graduation from the engine-cabin to the rank of a very successful American author. He has published previously three volumes celebrating the railroad profession in verse and prose; and now this group of short stories, under the title *Short Rails* (Scribners), with a score of sketches inspired by the life of the railroad track, in which Mr. Warman's ready humor, keen observation, and thorough knowledge of his subject-matter show to good advantage.

Mr. S. R. Crockett's new book is called *The Stickit Minister's Wooing* (Doubleday, Page & Co.). The thousands of readers of *The Stickit Minister*, which was published seven years ago, and first won Mr. Crockett notice

in the literary world will understand what to expect in the way of homely humor and pathos in the present volume. Apropos of the capacity Mr. Crockett shows for turning out readable stories with commendable regularity, it is interesting to hear his publishers say he is at his desk at five o'clock in the morning, and that he never misses a sunrise. However, he drops all literary work after nine. Mr. Crockett is "a broad-shouldered giant of six feet four. To him book-making is rather a diversion than a serious task."

Mr. Robert Shackleton's stories in *Toomey and Others* (Scribners) are of East-Side life in New York City. The author has a keen ear for both the humor and the pathos of the "Avenue A" community. The opening story, "How Toomey Willed His Government Job," is especially good.

Mr. Gilbert Parker, in dedicating his new volume of short stories, *The Lane That Had No Turning* (Doubleday, Page & Co.), to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, pays a tribute to that quaint corner of America, French Canada, which has given this highly successful novelist the great part of his material. "A land without poverty and yet without riches, French Canada stands alone, too well educated to have a peasantry, too poor to have an aristocracy. . . . I have never seen frugality and industry associated with so much domestic virtue, so much education and intelligence, and so deep and simple a religious life." Mr. Parker announces, too, that this volume marks the end of his narrations of French-Canadian life. The stories show that effective appreciation of the simple, shrewd folk who have been the characters in *Pierre and His People*, and rise at times to great pathos. It is to be hoped that Mr. Parker's new duties as a British legislator will not entirely deprive us of so good a story-teller.



MR. GILBERT PARKER.

(Mr. Parker, whose new book of French-Canadian tales is noticed here, has just been elected a member of the British Parliament for Gravesend.)



"'IT'S TERRIBLE,' MOOSWA BLURTED OUT."

(Illustration from "Mooswa, and Other of the Boundaries." From a wash drawing by Arthur Heming [Chas. Scribner's Sons].)

TWO STORIES OF THE NATURE WORLD.

Mr. C. G. D. Roberts has done a fascinating piece of work in *The Heart of the Ancient Wood* (Silver, Burdett & Co.)—a romance in which the chief personages are a bear, a maiden and a hunter. He does not personify the animals who move on his wilderness stage; he shows them as creatures of motives and reasonings, and each is a distinct character in the tale. The book has the nature charm of Mr. Seton-Thompson's and Mr. Kipling's animal stories, but achieves it in a different and a new way.

Another new book of animal stories of decided merit is Mr. W. A. Fraser's *Mooswa and Others of the Boundaries* (Scribners). Here the characters are nearly all the animals of the North Woods—Mooswa the Moose, Wolverine, Whisky Jack, Marten, Sable-Otter, Black King the bear, and so forth. The life, the dangers, the pleasures, and the hatreds of the wilderness-folk are shown in much the same method as Mr. Kipling used in his *Jungle Books*.

SOME HUMOROUS FICTION.

Mr. Frank Stockton publishes two books this season—*A Bicycle of Cathay* (Harpers), in which we follow the adventures of a young schoolmaster on a summer tour a-wheel; and *Afield and Afloat* (Scribners), a collection of the novelist's short stories. The latter volume contains eleven of Mr. Stockton's lighter sketches that have appeared in various periodicals. Both books are pervaded with that whimsical philosophy and

cheerful inconsequence which Mr. Stockton utilizes so well in adding to the sum of human happiness.

The Idiot at Home (Harpers) is that same cheerful institution who helped Mr. John Kendrick Bangs to make *Coffee and Repartée* so much read and quoted from. In the present volume, *The Idiot* is seen and heard among his Lares and Penates, his domestic cares, especially the children, and his attempts to solve them.

The solid value that Virginia Frazer Boyle's *Devil Tales* (Harpers) have in their contribution to negro folk-lore study might easily bring them into another classification of the season's fiction. The author has a great gift of making the most of the weird and uncanny superstitions of the Southern negroes; Mr. A. B. Frost's inimitable illustrations help her more than can be said once in a thousand cases of an illustrator's efforts, and whether one takes up the book to laugh, to "creep;" or to study, one will find it well worth while.

The new Dooley book, *Mr. Dooley's Philosophy* (Russell), is quite as funny as any of Mr. Dunne's previous accounts of the conversations with Hennessy. Indeed, it is perhaps the best of all; for Mr. Dooley is essentially philosophic in temperament, and one enjoys the shrewdness of his conclusions quite as much as the comical extravagance of their expression. The subjects which pass under review by Mr. Dooley in the present volume, in his rôle of philosopher, vary from the servant-girl problem to polygamy and the future of China.

Another product of Chicago helps to enliven the year in Mr. E. S. Kiser's *Georgie* (Small, Maynard & Co.).

His Lordship's



Cover design (reduced) by Miss Amy Collier (Henry Holt & Co.).

Miss Collier has here used a grotesque motif with a full-faced letter, making a poster-like cover. It is printed in black, gray, and yellow. Among her other covers may be mentioned those for "The Gadfly" and "King Circumstance."

Like the Dooley sketches, these remarkable letters of Georgie's, on the domestic scenes of his own experience, are the work of a newspaper man, and originally appeared in a Chicago newspaper.

Mr. David Dwight Wells says that his farcical story, *His Lordship's Leopard*, is a "truthful narration of impossible facts." The story deals with the supposed pursuit of Spanish spies in 1898 from New York to a peaceful cathedral town in England. The author's sense of humor and strong inventive faculty are never-failing.

In *Half Portions* (Life Publishing Co.)

are collected a number of very short stories indeed that appeared in *Life*. The skits are all comedy, the atmosphere throughout that of well-dressed Manhattan, and if one wants to fly from moralizing and enjoy a half-hour of agreeable nonsense, they serve the purpose.

SOME NEW EDITIONS.

ALONGSIDE of the demand for the very newest books in fiction, there is plainly perceptible a growing appreciation of the approved masters of the art of novel-writing; and so the publishers find a good market for freshly edited editions of Dickens and Thackeray, Jane Austen, Charlotte Brontë, and the rest. Heretofore, of the older French novelists, those most universally appreciated by English-speaking readers, and most demanded in translations, have probably been Dumas and Victor Hugo. It is evidence, perhaps, of a higher capacity of literary appreciation, that there should, within the past decade, have been so marked a revival of interest in the novels of Honoré de Balzac that, voluminous as were his writings, several publishers in England and the United States have ventured upon elaborate translations in numerous volumes with special introductions and illustrations.



HONORÉ BALZAC.

The latest translation of these collected novels and tales, constituting what in their range of human interest Balzac himself entitled the "Comédie Humaine," is issued by Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., bound up in 16 volumes, well printed and attractively bound, and at a popular price. To the student of literature and the general reader, this edition will be found of decided value, on several accounts. Each volume has a special introduction by Prof. W. P. Trent; and the first volume has a general introduction, in characterization of the life and work of Balzac. Besides this, it has a bibliographical note that is well-nigh indispensable to the reader who takes up the works of Balzac for the first time; while it also has a note on the order in which it might be desirable to read the Balzac stories,—and this is a help for which the reader will be grateful. Professor Trent renders a very much needed service. Balzac ought not to be read haphazard, as one might read some other writers. While there is no absolutely necessary or established sequence, there should be some intelligent guidance,—and this Professor Trent has rendered. Various translators have been employed by Messrs. Crowell & Co., with apparently very good results.

The same publishers, who have previously given us good translations of other popular novels of Alexander Dumas—the "Musketeer" series, for example—have now brought out in fresh and careful translation, and with a number of very spirited illustrations by Frank T. Merrill, the so-called *Valois Romances*, comprising the three following volumes: *Marguerite de Valois*, *La Dame de Monsoreau*, and *The Forty-five Guardsmen*. The first of these belongs to the period of the

Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the other two are sequels. In their narrative sweep, these are incomparable romances, and must always keep their hold.

Alphonse Daudet is, distinctly, a French writer to whose charming, humorous, and artistic works no special guidance is necessary. The reader may begin with any odd volume and end wherever he likes. Nevertheless, a complete and definitive edition of Daudet is a very desirable thing; and Messrs. Little, Brown & Co. are bringing out such an edition for the library in exquisite taste. The translations are notably excellent; the introductions are by different writers, a number of them being by Professor Trent, while George Burnham Ives, who has translated several of the volumes, has also supplied some excellent introductions. Each volume has a photogravure frontispiece.

It would be difficult indeed to point out any way in which the Haworth Edition of the works of the Brontë sisters might have been improved. It meets exactly the tastes and wishes of the lover of literature who also likes to find a favorite author in a convenient and appropriate garb. Mrs. Humphry Ward's introductions to the successive volumes have the discriminating worth that one might expect from one who is perhaps the best-fitted of all living writers to present Charlotte Brontë and her only less famous sisters to a new generation of readers. The illustrations are for the most part photographic reproduction of English scenes, country homes, and places associated with the life and work of the Brontë sisters. No other illustrations could be at once so appropriate and so interesting. The Haworth Edition is in seven volumes, the first three of which comprise Charlotte Brontë's famous novels, *Jane Eyre*, *Villette*, and *Shirley*. The fourth includes Charlotte's tale, *The Professor*, and also a series of poems by Charlotte, Emily, Anna, and Patrick Brontë. The fifth contains *Wuthering Heights*, by Emily Brontë, and *Agnes Gray*, by Anna Brontë. The sixth is devoted to Anna Brontë's long novel, *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*. To each of these six volumes Mrs. Ward has contributed an introduction, to some extent biographical, but chiefly critical. The seventh and final volume is a republication of the famous *Life of Charlotte Brontë*, by Mrs. Gaskell, edited by Mr. Clement Shorter, who supplies a very useful introduction and various notes. (Harpers.)

In the minds of many American readers, the publishing house of Thomas Nelson & Sons is most prominently identified with such amazing durability and perfection of paper, printing, and binding as belong to certain compact and beautiful editions of the Holy Scriptures. Certainly, the name is one that has always been associated with things of a sterling quality and character. Their new editions of the novels of Scott, Dickens, and Thackeray are printed upon the same quality of paper—extremely thin, yet remarkably opaque—that they have successfully used in some of their editions of the Bible. They have succeeded in producing a type of volume that is convenient for the pocket or satchel, while also entirely suitable for the library shelf. The type is large, clear, and readable; and since the binding permits the book to open flat, like an Oxford Bible, wide margins can be dispensed

with. *Pickwick*, in 845 pages, and *Vanity Fair*, in 784, make volumes only about half an inch thick, the page size being almost exactly six inches by four.

An example of exactly the opposite method in book-manufacture is the sumptuous two-volume edition of *Ramona*, the famous story of the California Indians that will keep the name of Helen Hunt Jackson alive, in the history of American literature and of American reform movements, with that of the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, for many generations to come. This ambitious and beautifully printed edition is illustrated by a number of photogravure plates from drawings by Henry Sandham. (Little, Brown & Co.)

Messrs. Harpers, who last year published W. D. Howells' delightful novel, *Their Silver Wedding Journey*, in two volumes, now reprint it in most excellent form in one volume. This is a story of summer travel in Europe which brings together some of Mr. Howells' familiar characters—now no longer young—and some younger characters whose acquaintance is well worth making. The great success of *David Harum* has justified the publishers, the Messrs. Appleton, in bringing out a new illustrated edition in admirable style, with a special introduction by Mr. Forbes Heermans, of Syracuse. The principal pictures are by B. West Clinedinst. In *the Midst of Alarms*, one of Robert Barr's sprightliest stories, which first appeared six years ago, is reprinted by the Frederick A. Stokes Company, with illustrations by Morrison Fisher. It is an irresistible piece of story-telling.

Perhaps *The Choir Invisible* and Mr. James Lane Allen's latest book, *The Reign of Law*, are destined, in the popular mind to be regarded as his best work; but those who learned first to appreciate Mr. Allen in *A Kentucky Cardinal* and its sequel, *Aftermath*, will never lose the sense of fresh charm and pleasure that came to them with those delightful stories. The two are now brought out under one cover, with artistic new illustrations by Hugh Thomson, and especially with an autobiographical introduction by Mr. Allen, telling of his childhood life on the Kentucky farm. (Macmillan.)

Penelope's Experiences, by Mrs. Kate Douglas Wiggin, are abundantly worthy of fresh commemoration in their latest attractive garb of holiday edition, with many clever drawings by Charles E. Brock, an English artist. Penelope's experiences in Scotland are voluminous to the extent of 301 pages, while those in England, bound in a separate volume, are recounted in 176. Mrs. Wiggin's humor, insight, and literary gift makes these books real additions to literature. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.)

Mr. Thomas Nelson Page is always welcome at about Christmas time; and it is good news that he has taken his story, *The Old Gentleman of the Black Stock*, of several years ago and rewritten and expanded it. Howard Chandler Christy has illustrated it with drawings, which are printed in color with the most exquisite delicacy. The story itself is perfection, and the book-making is a match for the story. It forms a companion for Mr. Nelson's book of last year, *Santa Claus' Partner*, and is even, if possible, a finer instance of the book-making art. (Scribners.)

Vesty of the Basins, by Sarah P. McLean Greene, is a story of eight years ago, by the author of *Cape Cod Folks*, now attractively republished with many illustrations. The heroine is a fisherman's daughter, who rises through sheer force of character to a broadened sphere of life. (Harpers.)

The plan adopted in "Macmillan's Library of English Classics" has been not to present either new introductions or new notes, but to reprint with excellent typography and paper, in library form, some works that have become, to quote a hackneyed expression, "necessary to any gentleman's library," and which, moreover, have a vital interest to each successive series of new readers. It is marvelous, not merely how the number of actual individuals speaking and reading the English language has multiplied in the past half-century, but even more marvelous what a great development of education there has been, and how many are the new readers each year in the United States and Canada, the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere, who have reached that point—in age or awakened interest—where they create a fresh demand for the standard English writers. This of itself creates a condition sufficiently explaining the reason why great publishing houses can afford at a reasonable cost to supply fresh editions of desirable books. In the past year there have appeared in this particular series, among other things, a volume of Bacon's *Essays*, one of Sheridan's *Plays*, Malory's *Morte D'Arthur* in two volumes, the works of Laurence Sterne in two volumes, Boswell's *Johnson* in three, Carlyle's *French Revolution* in two, Fielding's *Tom Jones* in two, White's *Natural History of Selborne* in one, some essays of De Quincey in one, Lockhart's *Scott* in five, Shelton's *Don Quixote* in three, and some others.

The Messrs. Appletons' series entitled "The World's Great Books," which we have had occasion frequently to commend, as successive volumes have made their appearance, brings us in one volume the *Discourses of Epictetus*, and the *Meditations of Marcus Aurelius*, the translations being made by George Long, and the critical and biographical introductions by John L. Spalding. Another volume contains the *Orations of Demosthenes*, and the *Orations and Essays of Cicero*. Prof. Munroe Smith provides the introduction to the Cicero orations, while Robert B. Youngman introduces those of Demosthenes. Another volume contains selected essays by Montaigne, Milton, Disraeli, Lamb, Irving, Lowell, Jefferies, and others, with an introduction by Helen Kendrick Johnson. Still another group conveniently the classic stories of *Nicolette and Aucassin*, *Paul and Virginia*, *Undine*, and *Sintram*, with introductions by Edward Everett Hale, Andrew Lang, and Rossiter Johnson. An especially welcome volume is that which contains Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography*, his *Sayings of Poor Richard*, and his miscellaneous *Essays and Correspondence*, with an introduction by Ainsworth R. Spofford.

The Messrs. Little, Brown & Co., who issue Parkman's works in admirable editions, now publish *The Oregon Trail* with the attraction of a series of special illustrations by Frederick Remington. A more complete mention will be made at another time of the contents of the charming collected edition of Edward Everett Hale that the same publishers have brought together in ten volumes. Of all the books available this year, hardly anything could be a more welcome addition to the library of the American home than this set of books by our great and good Dr. Hale, whose mind and pen to-day are as versatile and apt as any in the country, and who has never touched any subject that he did not adorn.

We shall also, in a future number of the REVIEW, find space to say something more explicit about the

important enterprise of the Messrs. Crowell in bringing together the works of Count Tolstoy in a complete and uniform edition in twelve volumes under the editorship of Mr. Nathan Haskell Dole. This set will deservedly be in great demand; for it well fulfills the requirements of a standard edition as respects paper, presswork, and binding, while its price is very moderate.

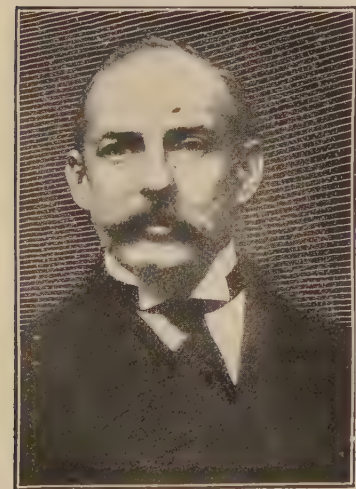
Eugene Sue might be ranked with Dumas as a French novelist of adventure whose books have been constant favorites in English translations. We have a thoroughly attractive new edition of Eugene Sue's *Knight of Malta*, with several illustrations, from the press of

the H. M. Caldwell Company. These same publishers are, in a very extensive series which they call the "Berkeley Library," providing handsome reprints at a moderate price, an example of which, in Marryat's *Mr. Midshipman Easy*, happens to lie on our table. They have also produced what they call a "Green Room Edition" of Charles Dickens' *Tale of Two Cities*, illustrated by photographs from life of Henry Miller and other members of his company in "The Only Way," a successful play founded on Dickens' great novel. This is uniform with their "Green Room Edition" of several other novels out of which popular plays have been evolved.

SOME NEW BOOKS OF HISTORY AND TRAVEL.

ONE of the most successful books of the season, from the artistic point of view, is Mr. F. Marion Crawford's *Rulers of the South* (Macmillan). Whatever else the critics may have had to say about Mr. Crawford's

work in the domain of fiction, it has never been charged with deficiency of "local color." Mr. Crawford's prime qualification as a writer of the history of southern Italy is his intimate acquaintance with the people of that region—their language, modes of thought, and social characteristics. A great deal of Mr. Crawford's information has been acquired through other channels than the printed word.



MR. F. MARION CRAWFORD.

He is in no sense a bookish historian. Habits acquired long since, in the process of gathering material for novels of Italian life, have undoubtedly affected permanently his methods of work; so that this story of ancient and medieval times in Sicily, Calabria, and Malta is really a story rather than a formal historical record. One great advantage of the employment of Mr. Crawford's vivid style in such an enterprise as this is the keen interest that will be aroused in the modern people and institutions of the countries considered. After reading one of Mr. Crawford's graphic chapters, the traveler will no longer neglect Sicily or the adjacent regions of the Italian mainland. The interest is still further heightened by the remarkable original drawings of Henry Brokman, which are interspersed throughout the text, together with numerous photogravure plates. Mr. Crawford's final chapter on the Mafia in Sicily contains much in-

formation derived from a recent work by the chief of police of Palermo, and also from Sicilians who have had intimate relations with the society. This chapter will interest all Americans, who are reminded from time to time of the existence of this secret order and its ramifications in certain cities of our own land.

Mr. Edmund Noble, who has served as the correspondent in Russia of the London *Daily News*, and also for many years as the American editor of *Free Russia*, has written a brief and modest sketch entitled *Russia and the Russians* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.). In this work Mr. Noble traces the growth of the great empire of the Czar, its development into an autocracy, its "Europeanization" under Peter the Great, and its remarkable expansion during the past century. Bearing in mind the special interests of American readers, Mr. Noble has given due attention to the subjects of nihilism and the revolutionary movement in Russia, together with the story of Siberia and the exile system. The whole subject of Russian liberalism is treated from a frankly American point of view. The concluding chapter, entitled "The Russian Future," covers those topics that are of immediate interest to Americans at the present time in connection with our own relations to the far East.

M. de Maulde's *Women of the Renaissance* (Putnam's) is a learned and detailed study of the feminist movement of the sixteenth century as it developed in Italy and France. The writer endeavors to show the attitude of women in regard to sports, books, music, and the theater; their conversational abilities and their qualities as literary writers. The anecdotal method of treatment is freely employed, and the author's intimate acquaintance with a vast range of documentary materials has enabled him to illustrate his points in a most interesting manner. The reading of the book gives a new point of view for the study of the social and political activities of the period considered.

In a volume entitled *The World's Discoverers* (Little, Brown & Co.), Mr. William Henry Johnson has made a collection of the narratives of all the voyages made during a thousand years for the purpose of finding a sea route to the Indies. Quite apart from the author's serious purpose of tracing the great movement of Western exploration, which began in Europe early in the fifteenth century, the voyages that he sketches abound in thrilling adventures, and will have perennial interest for the youth of our country.



THE "WHITE HOUSE OF THE CONFEDERACY," AT RICHMOND, VA.
(From "Historic Towns of the Southern States.")

Mr. John R. Spears, the well-known journalist and author, whose *History of Our Navy* and *The Gold Diggings of Cape Horn* are standard and authoritative works of their class, has been led by his studies of American naval history to write a history of *The American Slave-Trade* (Scribners). It is not a pleasant chapter from any point of view; but the time seems to have come when a dispassionate study of the whole subject may be profitably undertaken. After reviewing all the horrors of the slave-trade (Mr. Spears makes no attempt whatever to palliate or minimize them), the conclusion is still irresistible that the evils to the white race were even more grievous than those inflicted on the negro. It is Mr. Spears' belief that the slave-trade and the slave system in the South might have been carried on profitably without any cruelty to the slaves. He has even found instances of slave-ships making the "Middle Passage" without loss of life; and it is a matter of familiar knowledge that many planters in the South promoted the comforts and pleasures of their slaves.

In the series of "American Historic Towns" (Putnam's), the South is represented in a new volume including studies of Baltimore, Annapolis, Frederick Town, Washington, Richmond, Williamsburg, Wilmington, Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, Montgomery, New Orleans, Vicksburg, Knoxville, Nashville, Louisville, Little Rock, and St. Augustine. In his introduction to the volume, Prof. W. P. Trent anticipates the Northern reader's first feeling of surprise at the number of Southern towns of historical importance that are included in the volume. But a moment's thought will convince any one that the towns thus selected compare favorably in point of historical importance with those included in the earlier volumes of the series, *Historic Towns of New England* and *Historic Towns of the Middle States*. As Professor Trent points out, nearly every town described has experienced the vicissitudes of war; but the commercial growth of the last two decades is well exemplified in the gratifying record of so solid a commercial metropolis as Baltimore. Annapolis, Charleston, New Orleans, and the other towns of the ante-bellum South have all played parts in our national history that fully entitle them to recognition in such a volume as this. With the completion of this important series dealing with the older towns along or near the Atlantic coast, the editor, Mr. Lyman P. Powell, is to be congratulated on the value and unique interest of

his work. The publication of these sketches of American towns should do much to dissipate narrow sectionalism and provincialism, both North and South.

A new volume by Mr. Edmund H. Garrett, uniform, with his *Romance and Reality of the Puritan Coast*, deals with *The Pilgrim Shore* (Little, Brown & Co.). Mr. Garrett's descriptions and illustrations begin at Dorchester, and picture the whole Massachusetts coast as far as Plymouth. The book contains a beautiful colored frontispiece, and numerous full-page plates and clever drawings in the text, by the author. Like the author's earlier work, *The Pilgrim Shore* is a blending of history and description. A good book for the traveler who delights in New England's historic haunts, and a vast improvement on the made-to-order guide-book.

Mrs. Alice Morse Earle, whose studies in colonial history have dealt with almost every phase of the social life of our ancestors, has written an elaborate account of *Stage-Coach and Tavern Days* (Macmillan), in which are included descriptions of the old-time taverns, the tavern landlord, tavern fare, tavern ways, the early stage-coaches, the stage-drivers, and all the varied accompaniments of the traveler's life in colonial times. Like the earlier volumes by the same author, *Stage-Coach and Tavern Days* is illustrated from old prints and from recent photographs of ancient buildings.

An example of local history of more than local interest is a little volume by Mrs. F. Burge Griswold, entitled *Old Wickford, the Venice of America* (the Young Churchman Company), and describing the interesting old village of Wickford, R. I.



"A Pilgrim." Half-tone (reduced), from pen-drawing by Edmund Garrett, illustrating his own book, "The Pilgrim Shore" (Little, Brown & Co.).

It seems appropriate that, in the "Story of the West" series (Appleton), *The Story of the Soldier* should be told by Gen. George A. Forsyth. Recent events have brought into prominence for the first time the careers of such eminent soldiers as Lawton, Henry, Egbert, Liscum, and Reilly, whose long years of service on our Western frontier would otherwise never have received recognition.

The biographies of these men serve to remind us of the important part played by our regular army in the settlement and

development of the West. Aside from the brilliant novels of General King, our literature has for the most part ignored the regular soldier. And even in time of war, a disproportionate amount of attention is given to the doings of the volunteers, to the neglect of the regular army. In this volume by General Forsyth we have for the first time a connected popular history of the American soldier, from the inception of the army to the close of the Indian wars in the far West. Our

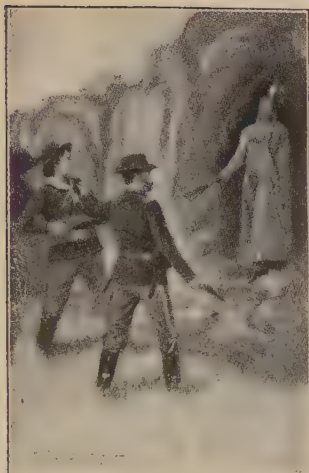


Illustration to "The Story of the Soldier." By Rufus Zogbaum (D. Appleton & Co.).

American army, little as its deeds have been sung, has had perhaps as many thrilling adventures and daring acts to its credit as any body of troops in the world. General Forsyth has done well to outline the whole history of our army from its beginning, to show us what it has actually done, and how its officers and men have conducted themselves in times of peril.

Mr. Richard Harding Davis had an experience different from that of most of the war correspondents in South Africa, in that he was with both Briton and Boer in the field. In his new volume, *With Both Armies in South Africa* (Scribners), Mr. Davis tells what he saw from both points of view. When Mr. Davis went to South Africa, his prepossessions were all in favor of the English, and he had many friends among the English officers. He could not be blinded, however, to the outrageous mismanagement of Buller's campaign; and, after the relief of Ladysmith, when he joined the Boers, he learned for himself that the opinions of their enemy entertained by many of his English friends were gross perversions of the truth. Mr. Davis indulges in no panegyric of the Boers, but his comments on the actions of their conquerors are frank and by no means favorable. He especially condemns certain actions on the part of the English officers who were prisoners of war at Pretoria.

Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill's second volume on the Boer war is entitled *Ian Hamilton's March* (Longmans), and is a continuation of the letters to the *Morning Post*, of London, published under the title *London to Ladysmith, via Pretoria*. In this volume Mr. Churchill tells how General Hamilton's column marched four hundred miles through the most fertile parts of the enemy's country, fought ten general actions, and captured five towns. Owing to the difficulties of telegraphing, the army was attended by hardly a single newspaper correspondent. Mr. Churchill's narrative is, therefore, likely to remain without a rival.

One of the daintily illustrated books of the year is *A Little Tour in France*, by Henry James (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.). The notes which go to make up this volume were gathered by Mr. James some years ago. Numerous drawings have been contributed to the present edition by Mr. Joseph Pennell, whose skill as an interpreter of European architecture has been frequently put to the test. Mr. James states in his preface that his notes were originally made to accompany a series of drawings; both author and artist are certainly to be congratulated on the union now consummated.

Mr. Ernest Young, an English gentleman who was connected with the Siamese educational department, has written an entertaining book, entitled *The Kingdom of the Yellow Robe* (New York: New Amsterdam Book Company). This volume is made up of sketches of the domestic and religious ceremonies of the Siamese, including chapters on "Street Scenes in the Venice of the East," "The Shaving of the Topknot," "Courtship and Marriage," "Popular Amusements," "The Cultivation of Rice," "The Order of the Yellow Robe," and "The Elephants."

In his new book entitled *The World of the Great Forest*, Paul Du Chaillu endeavors to tell his readers how animals, birds, reptiles, and insects talk, think, work, and live in the great forest of Central Africa. If any human being is endowed with the power to discern these things, surely this indefatigable explorer can lay claim to the distinction. So many years of his life have been passed in the great African forest that it is not strange that he has come to half believe that beasts and birds have, indeed, the gift of speech, and have reposed their confidence in him. The illustrations of the volume are the work of C. R. Knight and J. M. Gleeson, two artists of reputation as animal painters, and many interesting phases of animal life in the Dark Continent are represented in their drawings. (Scribners.)

It may not have been generally known that, while Mr. Ernest Seton-Thompson was gathering material for

his widely read *Wild Animals I Have Known*, he was accompanied on many of his trips by his wife. The "woman side" of these trips is presented in a striking way by Mrs. Seton-Thompson in a volume entitled *A Woman Tenderfoot* (Doubleday, Page & Co.). This book not only sets forth the difficulties, dangers, and pleasures of Rocky Mountain touring from a woman's point of view, but contains much specific advice on the subject of camping dress and equipment



Cover design (reduced) by Mrs. Ernest Seton-Thompson (Doubleday, Page & Co.).

for women. Mrs. Seton-Thompson offers her book as a tribute to the West; and Western women, we are sure, will appreciate the spirit in which she relates her experiences in the Western country. It was with the hope that some women who are planning to go to Europe next summer may be tempted to go West instead, that Mrs. Seton-Thompson wrote her book. It is said that the plan and details of the "bookmaking" of the volume are due to the author. The cover and title-page were designed by her, while the full-page drawings were made by Ernest Seton-Thompson, G. Wright, and E. M. Ashe, and the marginals by S. N. Abbott.

BOOKS FOR CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE.

THE word juvenile as applied to literature is highly elastic, and from year to year it seems to cover books of an ever-increasing variety. The output of books intended to be read by young people or little children for their entertainment reflects, as a whole, very effectively the intellectual and moral development of the community in general. For several years past, juvenile books, as a rule, have been admirable in their artistic embellishment, showing how decidedly we are improving as a nation in our art taste. The books for very small children are reflecting something of that better knowledge of child-nature that has come with kindergarten methods and the new ideas as to education and the growth of the child-mind.

The increased interest in outdoor life and observation is reflected in the multiplication of books that enhance the juvenile interest in birds, beasts, plants, and all nature, animate and inanimate. A better and more faithful study of history on the part of the elders is revealed in the immensely improved quality of the story-books that deal with epochs and periods, and that narrate quasi-historical adventures. It has come to be understood that no book of rhymes or verses is good enough for a child that has not merits evident to the most mature lover of literature; and no book of history or biography, however simply phrased or brightly written for juvenile interest, can be called good of its kind if it could not pass muster with—let us say—the editor of the *American Historical Review*. In short, the idea has begun to dawn on the minds of those who have to do with juvenile books that they ought to be judged on their merits, like all other books.



Illustration for Hans Christian Andersen's "Fairy Tales" (The Century Co.). Wood engraving from a drawing by Hans Tegner.

Wood engraving has been little used lately, but is now being revived in Europe. The preparation of this Danish artist's illustrations has occupied eleven years, and in them the spirit of Hans Christian Andersen is transuted more thoroughly than is usual into black-and-white. The *Flower King*, with his rose scepter, his spindled shanks, his benign vegetarian smile, is the creation of no hack draughtsman. The original picture, after being exhibited, will find a resting-place in the Copenhagen Museum.



Cover design (reduced) by Florence K. Upton (Longmans, Green & Co.).

BOOKS OF VERSE FOR LITTLE CHILDREN.

The venerable Mother Goose, as a suggestive point of departure for the making of new juveniles, is in danger of being overworked. We had several up-to-date Mother Goose books last year, not to mention the amusing and absurd *Father Goose* book. Now comes *Baby Goose* (Laird & Lee), by Fannie E. Ostrander, amusingly illustrated, and written in catchy, rollicking rhymes. *Mother Wild Goose and Her Wild Beast Show* (Boston: H. M. Caldwell Company) is by L. J. Bridgman. It is printed in colors, with illustrations by the author. It parodies the familiar Mother Goose rhymes, with animals rather than people as their subjects, and is a decidedly successful book of its kind. Another parody is entitled *Mother Goose Cooked* (John Lane). It is by John H. Myrtle and Reginald Rigby. This comes with the characteristic attractiveness of John Lane's books, and its grotesque illustrations are its striking feature. *Fiddlesticks* (E. & J. B. Young & Co.) sets forth, with new illustrations by Hilda Cowham, a few of the well-known Mother Goose verses. *Chinese Mother Goose Rhymes* (Revell) is a little volume translated and illustrated by Isaac Taylor Headland, of Peking University, who has lately been writing so industriously about China. Mr. Headland tells us that there are more nursery rhymes to be found in China than in England and America, and that most of them have much in common with those of our own Mother Goose. Each rhyme in this book is accompanied by an appropriate picture from Chinese life, reproduced from a photograph. The Chinese text is also given, so that the book is in shape for a Chinese market,—and surely the mandarins need diversion.

Florence K. Upton gives us *The Golliwogg's Polar Adventures* (Longmans). The Golliwogg books need no coaxing words; they advertise themselves. This year Golliwogg & Co. set out to find the north pole; and after many discouraging experiences, the pole is found. One of the cleverest of the books for very little people is called *Urchins of the Sea* (Longmans), by Marie Over-

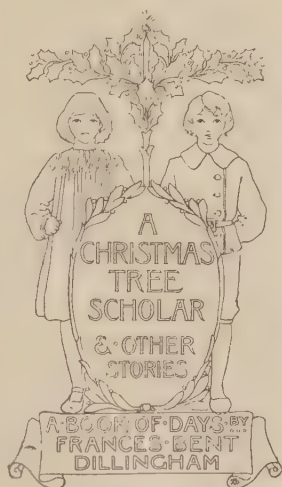
ton Corbin and Charles Buxton Going. This tale in rhyme must appeal strongly to children. It tells how the little sea-urchins lived, what their sports were, how they went to school to a mermaid, and divers other of their adventures, respecting which the children will ask: "Is it true? and are there really sea-urchins?"

A clever idea is carried out in the book of *Proverbs Improved* (John Lane), by Frederic Chapman, with colored illustrations by Grace H. May. Various proverbs, such as "Fine feathers, make fine birds," are amusingly paraphrased in verse, and the pictures are altogether charming. *Wild Animal Play for Children* (Doubleday, Page & Co.), by Ernest Seton-Thompson, is a little rhymed comedy, with music duly provided, and an explanation of the needful costumes which would enable young children to act the parts of Wab, Tobo, Mollie Cottontail, and the other forest friends. *Jack of All Trades* (John Lane), by J. J. Bell, is a book of absurd rhymes with still more absurd illustrations; and *Child Verse* (Small, Maynard & Co.), by John B. Tabb, is a book of charming little poems, some of which have appeared in *St. Nicholas*.

The *April Baby's Book of Tunes* is by the author of *Elizabeth and her German Garden* (Macmillan). The April Baby is a well-known character, but this new book tells us about her sisters, May and June, and also how the tunes came to be written. It is delightfully illustrated by Kate Greenaway, and to the discriminating it is needless to say it is one of the books of the season.

SOME STORY-BOOKS FOR LITTLE ONES.

Mr. John W. Harrington, in *The Jumping Kangaroo and the Apple-Butter Cat* (McClure, Phillips & Co.), has chosen a name perhaps unduly fantastic for a series of amusing and graphic tales regarding the life-histories and pranks of several domestic and field animals who live together and have experiences both varied and exciting. Mr. Conde, the illustrator of this book, is as fond of animals as Mr. Harrington, and a sympathetic touch adds value to all his work, whether he portrays his pet frog or "apple-butter cat." Kate Louise Brown has written a story called *Alice and Tom* (Heath), who have many friends, consisting of animals, flowers, and birds. Their study of these friends is presented in such a way in this book as to provide very valuable and useful nature-lessons for little children without the suspicion of being intentionally instructive. *Jimmy, Lucy, and All* (Lee & Shepard) is the fifth volume of Sophie May's series of "Little Prudy's Children." The well-known leading characters have a summer in the mountains of Southern California, where their experiences are all of an improving and, at the same time, entertaining nature.



Cover design (reduced).

It is enough to say of *Marjorie's Doings* (George W. Jacobs & Co.), by Mrs. George A. Paull, that it is the story of the every-day life of a little girl, simply and naturally told, and quite certain to be of interest to most little people; and *Mabel's Mishap* (Jacobs), by Amy E. Blanchard, seems to have some of these same

Two Little Street Singers By N. A. M. Roe



Cover design (reduced).

is restored to her father at the right time, while Jimmy, after all, is not her brother—and this discovery has a certain usefulness in the last chapters.

This innocent and pleasant little motive—the adoption of poor children by some well-to-do person through providential circumstances, with mutually beneficial results—figures this year, as in all years, in a due proportion of children's stories. *Divided Skates* (Crowell), by Evelyn Raymond, like *Two Little Street Singers*, mentioned above, is one of these. Two children skating downhill, with one skate apiece, upset a rich old maiden lady, whose affections heretofore had been confined to an aged poodle-dog. She is induced to enter upon a career of adopting newsboys,—a good career, too, and by no means a bad story.

Gertrude Smith's *Arabella and Araminta* may or may not be found in the *Century Dictionary of Names*, but nevertheless they are standard characters in literature; and now the writer's *Roggie and Reggie Stories* (Harpers) tell all about the twin-brothers of the aforesaid Arabella and Araminta. They are amusing stories, accompanied by beautiful illustrations, and to withhold them from children is nothing short of punishment. *The Book of Saints and Friendly Beasts* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), by Abbie Farwell Brown, tells us in story or in ballad of those saints who had beasts or birds for attendants or helpers. The idea is a good one, and has been developed with imagination and skill. Some very charming stories about little children that show a keen knowledge of children's ways and expressions are written by Clara Vawter, under the general title, *Of Such Is the Kingdom* (Bowen-Merrill Company). *Little "Jim Crow"* (Century), by Clara Morris, is a volume that includes eleven stories treating of the life of children in city and country, nearly all of them purporting to be told by the child most concerned.

SOME FAIRY TALES.

The Christmas Angel, by Katharine Pyle, with illustrations by the author, is a most worthy addition to the juvenile Christmas literature. The little Mary of this story has heard about Kris Kringle and the wonder-country where all the toys are alive; and one day she finds a little door in a tree, and opening it with a tiny key, she discovers that it leads to toyland. We can only hint at what happens in the land where gingerbread girls are alive, and where the Noah's Ark inhabitants are all animated and active, while the wooden dolls and Jacks-in-the-box say wonderful things. The story leads on, with some touches of pathos, to a sweet conclusion. (Little, Brown & Co.)

Andrew Lang's compilation this year is called *The Grey Fairy Book* (Longmans), and it is made up of tales from Lithuania, parts of Africa, Germany, France, and Greece.

The Road to Nowhere (Harpers) is a book by Livingston B. Morse, which is dedicated to *Alice in Wonderland*; and Mr. Morse's characters, Jack and Kitty, have adventures quite as remarkable as Lewis Carroll's Alice ever had. Edna Morse supplies very pretty illustrations.

The Little Dreamer's Adventure, by Frank S. Child (Lee & Shepard), is a sequel to Mr. Child's story of last year, called *The House with Sixty Closets*. The children meet and agree to make a calendar. They call it a meeting of the days, and Anna Domini sits in the chair. Special days from New Year's to Christmas Day participate in the meeting. *The Other Side of the Sun*, by Evelyn Sharp (John Lane), is a very attractively illustrated volume of fairy tales, dedicated to "All the children I know on this side of the sun."

The Wonderful Wizard of Oz, by L. Frank Baum (Chicago: George M. Hill Company), has for the principal character a little girl named Dorothy, who with her dog is carried by a Kansas cyclone into the land of Oz, where she has many adventures in looking up the wizard whose business it is to send her back home again. *Yankee Enchantments*, by Charles Battell Loomis (McClure, Phillips & Co.), is a book of fairy tales of a new sort altogether, in which trolley-cars, automobiles, and liquid air are called into requisition.

SOME BOOKS MEANT TO INTEREST YOUNG CHILDREN IN PLANTS AND ANIMALS.

Squirrels and Other Fur-Bearers, by John Burroughs, is a book that children of an older growth will want to share with the juveniles. It includes chapters on the smaller fur-bearing natives of our latitude, such as the squirrel, woodchuck, rabbit, hare, muskrat, skunk, fox, weasel, mink, raccoon, porcupine, possum, and wild mouse. Mr. Burroughs gives it the form of a

series of reminiscences of certain acquaintances of his among the animals, and the book is illustrated with reproductions of Audubon's colored plates. (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.)

In a volume entitled *Wilderness Ways* (Ginn & Co.), William J. Long describes animals just as he has found and known them in many years of observation. He gives them all Indian names, the better to individualize them. *Mother Nature's Children*, by Allen Walton Gould (Ginn & Co.), is a little book that traces the love, care, and dependence of living things, from human beings down through the animals, to the plants. For each subject treated, there is a picture to fix the attention of the child.

Olive Thorne Miller gives us a *First Book of Birds* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), in which she describes birds' nests; the growth, feeding, and feathering of young birds, and their learning to fly. Then follows an account of their language, migrations, various characteristics, and uses to mankind. There are useful instructions as to the best way to attract birds as visitors to one's own home. The volume has twenty beautiful illustrations in color. Walter S. Phillips, in *Just About a Boy* (Stone), describes a lad who loves nature, and with whom we wander through woods or idle on the banks of running streams, meanwhile learning many things about animals and plants.

Tommy's Adventures (Jacobs), as related by Emily Paret Atwater, were in an anthill, a beehive, with butterflies, with crickets, and with spiders. These adventures all happened to him while he was asleep in the pine grove. He had been a rather lazy boy, but his dream-adventures had taught him how the ants and the bees and the other little people worked. He took the lesson to heart, and forthwith reformed.

SOME STORIES OF ADVENTURE FOR BOYS—HISTORICAL AND OTHERWISE.

The Last of the Flatboats (Lothrop) is a first-rate book, by George Cary Eggleston, the well-known brother

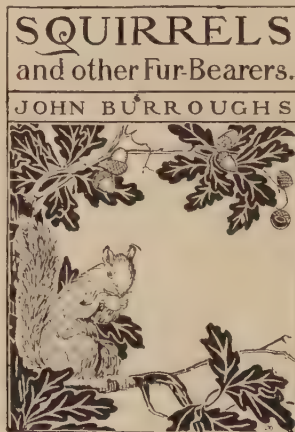
of Dr. Edward Eggleston, who knows as much about old times on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers as Mark Twain himself. This is a tale of five young Hoosiers who load a flatboat and take it from Indiana to New Orleans—a sort of journey that Abraham Lincoln once made. There is plenty of healthy adventure and excitement in this book, and also a great deal worth knowing about the Mississippi, and the other waters of which it is the "Father." There is

a boy called "Ed" in this story, who has brains, and is said to be drawn on the model of the author of *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* himself; that is to say, the distinguished Dr. Edward Eggleston.

Not to take the order of arrangement too seriously, the next adventure book in the pile happens to be one



Cover design (reduced).



Cover design (reduced).

by Arthur R. Thompson, called *Gold-Seeking on the Dalton Trail* (Little, Brown & Co.). We accompany a party made up of two New England boys, with their father and uncle, on a trip to the Alaska gold regions. They go from the Dalton trail to the Klondike, shooting game of all kinds, crossing mountain ranges, taking long trips on snowshoes, and also having their share in the search for gold.

Kirk Munroe's book, *Under the Great Bear* (Doubleday, Page & Co.), has for its hero a young mining engineer, just graduated, who is sent by a firm interested in copper and iron to Newfoundland and Labrador to make an examination of certain mines—an errand that happens to require secrecy. The young engineer is wrecked in mid-ocean, is rescued, reaches Newfoundland, has adventures with icebergs, Indians, and Eskimos, finds rich ore deposits, gets back safely, is duly rewarded, and made manager of the mines. Another book by this same author, called *Brethren of the Coast* (Scribners), is a story of the West Indies. The title is the name given to a band of pirates. The head of the pirates had been an overseer on a plantation, who was discharged for cruelty to Cuban slaves. The plantation-owner—who happens to be an American married in Cuba—is captured and killed at sea by the pirates, and his boy, who was on his way to be educated in America, is held to be brought up as a pirate. The boy's escape makes an exciting story.

The enterprising Mr. Edward Stratemeyer, even more than Mr. Kirk Munroe and Mr. George A. Henty, evidently values the art of keeping strictly up to date with his material. We find on our table no less than four brand-new Stratemeyer stories, one of which is entitled *On to Peking* (Lee and Shepard). Its hero is a young lieutenant who goes from the Philippines with the Ninth Regiment to take part in the rescue of the beleaguered European and American company in the British embassy at Peking. The story carries with it much useful information about China. *The Campaign of the Jungle* (Lee & Shepard) is the fifth volume in Mr. Stratemeyer's "Old Glory Series," and in this book we follow the fortunes of Larry and Ben in the expedition of General Lawton against Santa Cruz, and also in a movement from Manila to San Isidro, through the swamps. Meanwhile, Mr. Stratemeyer has not neglected the situation in South Africa, as is shown in his book *Between Boer and Briton* (Lee & Shepard), which tells the adventures of two boys, one American and the other English, whose fathers happen to be engaged in farming and mining operations in the Transvaal. The two boys, who are cousins, are off for a hunting trip when the war breaks out, and find themselves, on their way home, between the hostile armies. A good picture is given of life on the ostrich and cattle farms, and also in the mines near Johannesburg. *True to Himself* (Lee & Shepard) is Mr. Stratemeyer's story of an American boy and his sister, the father of whom has been wrongfully accused of forgery and sent to prison. The boy makes his way in the world bravely, and eventually finds the true culprit and secures his father's vindication and release.

Aguinaldo's Hostage is a story by the war correspondent, H. Irving Hancock, who has drawn upon his Philippine experiences for material out of which he has written a story dealing with things from the Filipino's point of view. The American hero is captured by a bad Filipino, saved from death by a surgeon, falls into the hands of Aguinaldo, and has a thrilling escape. The

story becomes the vehicle of much fresh information regarding military and other matters in the Philippine Islands. (Lee & Shepard.)

We have two stories of the Cuban war: one by William O. Stoddard, called *Running the Cuban Blockade* (Stone), and the other by Gordon Stables, entitled *Remember the Maine* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co.). Dr. Stables is a surgeon of the Royal Navy, in whose story American exploits are dealt with in a very friendly tone. Mr. Stoddard's volume proves, upon examination, to contain three stories: one dealing with a filibustering expedition and throwing light on the perilous traffic of supplying guns and powder to the Cuban insurgents, the second with the adventures of some boys who fitted up a yacht on the Florida coast and participated in the Cuban imbroglio, and the third is a wrecking tale.

Mr. George A. Henty's story, *In the Hands of the Cave-Dwellers* (Harpers), relates the exciting experiences of a runaway Boston lad who goes to Mexico, saves the life of a wealthy ranch-owner's son at San Diego, and becomes a favorite member of the family. In the temporary absence of the ranchman and his son, the young American is left in charge of the place, and has to meet a raid of Apache Indians. He shows bravery, of course, and marries the Mexican ranchman's daughter.

In the Civil War period we have *Battling for Atlanta*, by Byron A. Dunn, this being the third volume of the "Young Kentuckian Series" (McClurg). The heroes are two young soldiers serving under General Thomas, and the book purports to be written with great care for military and historical accuracy.

We are always safe in relying, each Christmas time, upon a few new books dealing with the adventures of American boys in the Revolution period. *Scouting for Washington*, by John Preston True (Little, Brown & Co.), is a tale of the days of Sumter and Tarleton. It will please boys who are fond of a good horse and like to hear clashing hoofs on frozen ground. The elements of adventure in the Southern Revolutionary campaigns are well exhibited in this story. *With Washington in Braddock's Campaign*, by Edward Robins (George W. Jacobs & Co.), is a tale that makes Washington a principal character, dealing with him in his early military experiences, and reciting faithfully the famous episode of the march through the forest to Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburg, at the head of the Ohio River.

The Century Book of the American Colonies (Century) is another of the welcome compilations of Elbridge S. Brooks. Its useful historical knowledge is woven into the story of a pilgrimage of a party of young people to the sites of the early American settlements. It is the fourth of Mr. Brooks' books in which Uncle Tom Dunlop and his nephews and nieces absorb American history by going to places where things have happened. In this book they proceed from New Orleans to New York, and along the New England coast as far as Maine, studying the history of battles, religious persecutions, and the changing fortunes of Spaniards, English, French, and Dutch in their attempts at colonization. *The Young and Old Puritans of Hatfield*, by Mary P. Wells Smith (Little, Brown & Co.), is a concluding volume in a series not intended for small children, but for young people old enough to take an intelligent interest in the history of the country. This particular volume recounts the experiences of seventeen people taken captive by the Indians in 1677.

America's Story for America's Children, by Mara L. Pratt, attempts to lead children along the course of American history by a connected chain of incidents, narratives, and romantic biographical description. This volume begins with the Northmen, and tells of Christopher Columbus; of Montezuma, of Mexico; of North American Indians, of our early settlements, especially the Pilgrim Fathers, with Betty Alden much in evidence. There is a chapter on the Dutch colonists, in which Katrina and Hans Van Tassel are brought into the foreground, and another about the Boston boys and the growing spirit of insurrection that leads up to the Revolutionary War. It has a story of the War of 1812, and concludes with a Southern story called "The Boy in Gray." (D. C. Heath & Co.)

Fifer-Boy of the Boston Siege, by Edward A. Rand (Boston: A. I. Bradley & Co.), is a Revolutionary story that deals with the fortunes of Tom Parker, who becomes a fifer for the patriots. There is a good description of Paul Revere's ride, and of the scenes and events in and about Boston that have become historical.

In the Days of Alfred the Great, by Eva March Tappan (Lee & Shepard), is a very useful compilation of stories, some familiar and others new to the general reader, translated from original sources by the author, and brought together in illustration of the period of the great Englishman whose thousandth anniversary is now approaching.

In Beowulf, the Hero of the Anglo-Saxons, by Zenaida A. Ragozin (New York: William Beverly Harrison), the Beowulf legends are retold in a charming way. Although in an educational series, it is quite as suitable for the home and family as for the school. In this connection may well be mentioned several numbers of Heath's "Home and School Classics," admirably reëdited by such well-known authors as Edward Everett Hale and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. Among these we find *Jackanapes*, by Mrs. Ewing; *The Wonderful Chair and the Tales It Told*, by Frances Browne; *Chapters on Animals*, by Philip Gilbert Hamerton; *Goody Two Shoes*, by Oliver Goldsmith, and others. These books, well printed, in paper covers, and at a low price, will be welcome in many a household.

The House-Boat on the St. Lawrence, by Everett T. Tomlinson (Lee & Shepard), is a sequel to last year's book called *Camping on the St. Lawrence*, and the same four boys who had pleasant adventures in that story now study Canadian history under the cliffs of Frontenac, in addition to their experiences of life in a house-boat.

Rival Boy Sportsmen is a book by W. Gordon Parker that introduces a hero of several previous books by the same author. This hero is Grant Barton, whose former experiences,

which we must not pause to relate, had hardened and invigorated him so that in this book he returns to school, establishes a rival club of young sportsmen, and we have a sequence of fishing matches, boat-races, and all sorts of wholesome sports. (Lee & Shepard.)

SOME STORIES ESPECIALLY FOR GIRLS.

Myra Sawyer Hamlin has now written, as the third and concluding volume of her popular *Chicopee* series, a book called *Nan's Chicopee Children*. The heroine has been doing nursing work in Porto Rico, where her husband, who is a physician, had been serving with the army. A rich friend had become interested in Nan's idea of taking poor children into the country, and helped her to found a summer home for poor girls and boys. The doctor builds a small hospital in connection with this country home, and sends poor children to it as he finds them in his city practice. These little invalids are Nan's *Chicopee* children, and give title to the book. The idea of helpfulness inculcated in this story is one that has a prominent place in a good many of the books written nowadays for girls. (Little, Brown & Co.)

Another of these stories of philanthropy is called *The Story of Delight*, by Evelyn Raymond. The young heroine is obliged by the death of those nearest to her to accept the rather cold hospitality of some distant relatives, where she sees something of the painful and unpleasant side of life; all of which is intended providentially to prepare her for the better fortune that awaits her. The villain in the plot makes a confession which brings to our heroine an ample fortune, of which her grandfather had been defrauded; and this enables her to go back to her old home at Seabury, where she launches out into a career of philanthropy on the most approved lines. (A. I. Bradley & Co.)

Almost as Good as a Boy, by Amanda M. Douglas (Lee & Shepard), is a story about a girl who, if her unselfishness did not reach out to the community at large, at least turned the scale of fortune for her and her family. The death of her father had left a straitened situation, and, in order to be of help to her mother, she goes to work in the hat factory of an uncle in a distant city. The uncle is rich, rheumatic, and something of an old skinflint; but our little heroine nurses him in illness and completely wins him over, to the great advantage of her folks at home.

Not quite so altruistic, yet tinged with that spirit, is Helen Leah Reed's story called *Brenda, Her School and Her Club* (Little, Brown & Co.). It is instructive in its information about Boston, and it tells of schoolgirl life and incidents, with a bazaar organized by the girls of the story,—all, of course, for charitable purposes. Simply saturated with altruistic work, however, is the story by Adelaide L. Rouse, entitled *Helen Beaton, College Woman* (Bradley). Helen, after leaving college, engages in so-called settlement work in the city slums, where her good work is not completely interrupted by her happy marriage, for the reason that she marries a young man who is also engaged in that kind of work.

A Plucky Girl, by Laura T. Meade (George W. Jacobs & Co.), is the story of a young person who has to do something to support her mother. She has the fortitude to open a boarding-house, which does not make ends meet; and to save the family situation, which grows desperate, she is about to marry the wrong man. In due time the right man, who had not been drowned, after all, reappears, and virtue is rewarded all around. The philanthropic idea in girls' stories is not



Cover design (reduced).

confined to the Atlantic seaboard. *The Girls of Bonnie Castle*, by Izola L. Forrester (Jacobs), is a Western story. A summer cottage on the shores of Lake Michigan, where the girls have a little club, worked out the idea of a summer home for poor children from Chicago.

The point of view is shifted somewhat in *Randy's Summer*, a story by Amy Brooks (Lee & Shepard), from the giver of benefits to the receiver. Randy is herself a nice country girl of fourteen, and her summer, with that of her neighbors, is greatly brightened by the advent of a sensible young lady from the city, who helps the country neighborhood to enjoy itself in a pleasant and rational way. *The Play Lady*, by Ella Farman Pratt (Crowell), is the story of a girl left penniless and motherless and with the care of an invalid aunt. She has a comfortable house, however, and devises the plan of taking charge of a dozen or more children several mornings each week, relieving their mothers, and giving the children their luncheon and agreeable amusement.

Laura E. Richards has a new story, a very charming and touching one, entitled *Snow-White; or, the House in the Wood* (Dana Estes & Co.). Snow-White is a little child who wanders away and becomes lost, weary, and hungry. She finds at length a little house occupied by a solitary man, who is a dwarf. His kindness wins her confidence and friendship, and she explains that her parents had gone to New York, and that she had run away from her governess. She proves to be the child of the woman who had jilted him in his youth and driven him to his life as a hermit. The child is restored to her home, but maintains her friendship for the solitary man in the woods.

A Child of Glee, and How She Saved the Queen, by A. G. Plympton (Little, Brown & Co.), is the adventure of a small girl from the town of Biddeford, Maine, who is traveling abroad with her father and witnesses the coronation of a child-queen in the kingdom of Averill. Strange circumstances make her the friend of the queen and enable her to circumvent a plot. *A Little American Girl in India*, by Harriet A. Cheever (Little, Brown & Co.), is a very interesting and instructive story, the character of which is indicated by its title.

SOME BOOKS OF SPECIAL INTEREST TO BOYS.

Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (Russell) makes its appearance in a new edition, with illustrations of admirable freshness and originality, drawn by the Brothers Rhead. It is to be noted that the artists made a special voyage to the Island of Tobago, where the scene of the story is laid, in order to match the realism of Defoe's narrative with pictures that show the precise sandy patch upon which Friday saw the footprints.

The Boys' Book of Exploration (Doubleday, Page & Co.) is by Tudor Jenks, and is made up of a series of tales of heroes of travel and discovery, chiefly in our own generation, in all parts of Asia, Africa, and other parts of the world. Mr. Hezekiah Butterworth, in *Jack's Carrier Pigeons* (A. I. Bradley & Co.), tells a tale of the times of the Mariners' Home and Father Taylor, the well-known Boston preacher, whose mission was especially to sailors.

The Delahoides: Boy Life on the Old Santa Fé Trail (Topeka, Kan.: Crane & Co.), by Col. Henry Inman, is a story of certain boys who were grandsons of Pierre Delahouide, an old-time French-Canadian trapper, who had married a Cheyenne squaw. Their life on the ranch, their love for animals, and their coming in con-

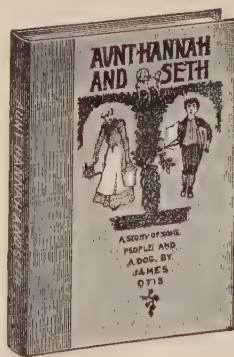
tact with famous men make, altogether, a thrilling story. *By Way of the Wilderness* (Lothrop) is a story by "Pansy" of a boy who leaves home because of a disagreement with his stepmother, gives up his college career, and tries to make his own way in a hard world. He gains experience, if not success, and at the right time becomes reconciled with his family. *Playground Toni* (Crowell), by Anna Chapin Ray, tells the story of the Jewish quarter of a crowded city slum, where certain young ladies have established a playground in connection with a school. Of all the ragged children that they bring together, Toni is the worst. In due time he is won by tact and kindness.

About the very best books of all for boys are those that Mr. Dan C. Beard prepares for them, because Mr. Beard shows them how to do things for themselves. *The Jack of All Trades* (Scribners) is his latest book, and its suggestions will keep many a boy profitably busy. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the chapters devoted to animal life teach boys to regard dogs and the other animals about them with the same sort of thoughtful kindness they might give to their younger brothers.

Boy Donald (Lee & Shepard), by Penn Shirley, although a complete story in itself, is in some sense a sequel to earlier books, and it describes life in Southern California. *The Adventures of Joel Pepper* (Lothrop), by Margaret Sidney, have to do with the scrapes of the most harum-scarum member of the Pepper family.

Half a Dozen Thinking Caps (Crowell), by Mary F. Leonard, is the story of six active boys formed into a Thinking Cap Circle by a young lady just out of college.

James Otis' story of *Aunt Hannah and Seth* (Crowell) tells of a crippled newsboy who passes a bad nickel by accident and, under fear of arrest, escapes to the country, where he makes himself so useful to a certain Aunt Hannah that she gives him a home. He saves her life in a fire, and she, in turn, sees the advertisement in a newspaper that tells why the lawyers wanted him. It was not for passing the bad nickel by mistake, but to inform him that a legacy of \$5,000 was awaiting him.



Cover design (reduced) by Charles Copeland (Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., Boston).

FIVE OTHER GOOD BOOKS FOR THE YOUNG.

Chatterbox: 1900 (Dana Estes & Co.), edited by J. Erskine Clarke, is, as in former years, full of entertaining and varied reading matter and pictures. *Sunday Reading for the Young: 1901* (E. & J. B. Young & Co.), is a volume of collected stories, not of the biblical or strictly religious nature, but of an instructive and useful quality. *The Little Bible* (Doubleday & McClure), by J. W. Mackail, is a collection of Old Testament stories rewritten carefully and simply for young children. From the pen of George L. Weed we have *A Life of St. Paul for the Young* and *A Life of St. John for the Young* (Jacobs), each of these taking up in chronological order the incidents and scenes in the life of its subject, with such citations from their words and teachings as may well help the young to realize their greatness.

INDEX TO PERIODICALS.

Unless otherwise specified, all references are to the November numbers of periodicals.
For table of abbreviations, see last page.

- Abrahamic Covenant, L. Link, PQ, October.
Actor's Value, A. Laidlaw, West.
Adams, Samuel, W. LeR. Flory, A MonM.
Adirondack Park Region, L. Hubbard, Jr., O.
Africa as the Largest Game-Preserve in the World, J. B. Torbet, NatGM.
Agricultural Education, Newer Ideas in, L. H. Bailey, EdR.
Airship, Count Zeppelin's, E. Wolf, McCl.
Alcohol Physiology and Temperance Reform, W. O. Atwater, Harp.
Algeria, Political Reforms in, A. Castéran, Nou, October 1.
Algiers, Elizabeth F. Risser, Over, October.
Alligator-Hunting in Florida, A. Maude, WWM.
Anglo-American Alliance, J. Sohn, Gunt.
Animals in Warfare, W. Kelly, Jr., Mun.
Arbitration Alliance, International, M. D. Conway, OC.
Arctic Hunter, Day's Work of an, A. J. Stone, WW.
Architecture:
American Architecture, E. Flagg, Arch.
Building, Finest, in the World, F. Dolman, Str.
Fontainebleau, Palace of, R. Sturgis, Arch.
French Architecture, Modern, A. D. F. Hamlin, Arch.
Quaint, Old-Fashioned House for \$6,600, C. B. Keen and F. E. Mead, LHJ.
Villa Farnese at Caprarola, Marie D. Walsh, Arch.
Wauters, Emile, a Painter of Architecture, G. Sérae, Arch.
Army Transportation, Problem in, A. W. Butt, Cos.
Art:
Adams, Charles Partridge, Daisy P. Hall, BP.
Allen, Charles John, Sculptor, E. R. Dibdin, MA.
Anderson, Hendrick C., Mrs. S. Van Rensselaer, Cent.
Art and the Woman, Mac.
Art Culture, Duty of, W. von Seidlitz, Deut.
Art for the Home, G. E. Walsh, AI.
Art Sales of the Season—I, Pictures, W. Roberts, MA.
Art Students' League of New York, Mary Twombly, Ekman.
Caricature, American, I. A. Pyle, Mod.
China, Dresden, AI.
Collins, G. W., Pencil-Drawings of, Art, October.
Colors, Some Prints in, J. H. Slater, AJ.
Cups, Sporting—III, IntS.
Decoration of London Restaurants, F. Miller, AJ.
Designs, Making, J. W. Wentworth, AI.
Drawn-Work, Lesson in, AA.
Du Maurier, Artistic Position of, L. Lusk, AJ.
Figure-Painting in Oil, AA.
Furniture, Lacquered, at Buckingham Palace, F. S. Robinson, MA.
Glass and Ceramic Industry at the Paris Exposition, W. Fred, Art, October.
Heine as an Impressionist, E. B. Shulldham, Temp.
Hutchison, R. Gemmell, G. Setoun, AJ.
Indian Tepees, In, E. A. Burbank, BP.
Inness, Martin, and Vedder, N. H. Moore, Mod.
Landscape in Water-Colors, AA.
Metal and Glass, Designs in, M. Moore, AE, October.
Mexico, Art Education in, Amanda Matthews, AE, October.
Ministry of Art, D. Dorchester, Jr., MRNY.
Monet, Claude, W. Dewhurst, Art, October.
Painting, Spanish School of, AA.
Paris Exhibition, *Grands Prix* for Painting at the, H. Frantz, MA.
Peacock, Ralph, and His Work, W. S. Sparrow, IntS.
Photo-Engraving of Pictures, W. C. Whittam, BP.
Philadelphia, Art Education in, Georgia F. Arkell, AE, October.
Roche-grosse, Georges, and Historical Painting, C. Maclair, RRP, October 15 and November 1.
Schneider, Otto J., Etchings of, M. T. Everett, BP.
Subject in English Painting, R. de la Sizeranne, Art, October.
Tapestries, Ancient, Revival of, Lida R. McCabe, AI.
Tool-Chest, Home, How to Make the, G. E. Walsh, AI.
Van Eycks, The, W. H. J. Weale, NineC; Katherine W. Elwes, West.
Volk, Douglas: His Work as a Teacher, F. W. Coburn, AE, October.
Wallace Collection, Glance at the, J. J. B. Constant, NAR.
Wispelaere, Philip de, Wood-Carver, Art, October.
Wood-Carving, Maori, C. J. Praetorius, IntS.
Astronomy, Experimental, at Meudon, R. Radau, RDM, October 15.
Australasian Federation, United States and the, Compared, R. Stout, Forum.
Australia, Leaders of Thought and Action in, YM.
Australia: Resources and Attractions of Queensland, RRM, September.
Austria, Emperor of, E. I. Prime-Stevenson, Out.
Austrian Interspachen War, E. Maxey, Mod.
Balloon and Carrier-Pigeon Service in the Franco-German War, Deut.
Bank Clerk's Opportunities, J. C. Emory, BankNY.
Bankers' Association, American, Annual Convention of, BankNY, October.
Banking Methods, Modern, A. R. Barrett, BankNY.
Banking: Security for Circulating Notes—II, C. A. Conant, BankNY, October.
Banking System, National, L. J. Gage, BankNY.
Battleship-Building, Rapid, W. Fawcett, PopS.
Beethoven as a Man, H. Davies, Mod.
Belgium, England and, Fort.
Belgium, Home Industries in, A. Julian, RefS, October 1.
Belgium, Literary Movement in, E. Gilbert, RRP, October 15 and November 1.
Berlin, City Council of, E. J. James, AJS.
Bible: Service of Negative Criticism, J. K. Wilson, Hom.
Biblical Law—VII, D. W. Amram, GBag.
Boilers, Water-Tube, for Naval Service, B. H. Thwaite, Eng.
Borodine, Alexandre Porfirievitch, M. Delines, BU.
Boys and Girls, Reading for, E. T. Tomlinson, Atlant.
Bread-Making at the Paris Exposition, H. W. Wiley, Forum.
Browning, Robert, Theology of, H. White, PL, September.
Brown, Rev. Thomas E., S. H. W. Hughes-Games, Fort.
Bryant, William C., In the Footprints of, T. F. Wolfe, Lipp.
Burkersdorf Heights, Storming of, S. Crane, Lipp.
Burns, Less-Known Land of, B. MacGregor, LeisH.
Bushnell, Horace, S. D. F. Salmund, LQ, October.
Byron, Lord, Works of, Edin, October.
California, Taxing Churches in, Over, October.
Calvin's Literary Achievements, F. Brunetière, RDM, October 15.
Cambridge, Literary Memories of, W. D. Howells, Harp.
Canada, Eight General Elections in, A. H. U. Colquhoun, Can.
Canada, French, and the Empire, J. G. S. Cox, NineC.
Canada, Libraries in, J. Bain, Jr., Can.
Cape Nome, Woman's Experience at, Eleanor B. Caldwell, Cos.
Capital Concept, Discussion of the, F. A. Fetter, QJEcon.
Carpets, Weaving of, in Donegal, Mary Gorges, Cham.
Casa Grande, Ruins of, Alice R. Crane, Over, October.
Casualties of War and of Industry, F. H. Hitchin, NineC.
Catacombs Were of Christian Origin, M. Campbell, Cath.
Cattle Round-up in Canada, J. Innes, Can.
Cavalry, Notes on the Evolution of, F. N. Maude, USM.
Cave-Birds of Trinidad, Hunting the, W. T. Hornaday, FrL.
Chamberlain, Joseph, H. Whates, Fort.
Charitable Work, Training for, Helen Bosanquet, Char.
Charities, County, of Kansas, Char.
Charity, Organized, in Small Cities, Char.
Charity: Preventive Work, J. Lee, Char.
Chaucer, Geoffrey, F. Greenslet, Forum; J. W. Hales, NAR.
Chautauqua Boys' Club, J. A. Babbitt, Chaut.
Chicago, Social Settlements in, Frances B. Embree, Gunt.
Chile, Social Condition of, C. Subercaseaux, RefS, October 15.
China:
Asiatic Conditions and International Policies, A. T. Mahan, NAR.
Boxers in Manchuria, J. Ross, MisR.
Buddhism and Christianity in China, M. Müller, NineC.
Carriers, Chinese, H. C. Smart, Can.
Causes Which Led to the Siege of the Foreign Legations at Peking, R. Allen, Corn.
China, W. B. Parsons, PopS.
China and International Relations, Edin, October.
Chinese Crisis, QR, October.
Chinese Situation Forty Years Ago, F. W. Fitzpatrick, Int.
Christian Missions and European Politics, G. M. Fiamingo, OC.
Education, Chinese, OC.
Educators, American, in China, G. B. Smyth, Out.
Europe in China, E. Tallichet, BU.
"Foreign Devils," Rival H. Knollys, Black.
Hart, Sir Robert, H. C. Whittlesey, Atlant.
Justice, Plea for, A. E. Spender, West.
Language, Chinese, F. Poole, Lipp.
Li Hung Chang, M. Von Brandt, Deut; J. W. Foster, IntM.
Mother Goose, Chinese, I. T. Headland, Home.
Pagodas of China, By the, R. E. Speer, FrL.
Parties and Their Leaders, I. T. Headland, Ains.

- Peking Legations: A National Uprising and International Episode, R. Hart, Fort.
- Peking, Diary of the Siege of, Mrs. E. K. Lowry, McCl.
- Pleasures and Amusements, Chinese, Gen. Tchong-Ki-Tong, EM, October.
- Powers' Stakes in China, WW.
- Problem, Chinese, P. Leroy-Beaulieu, RDM, November 1.
- Review of the Situation, I. T. Headland, MRNY.
- Shanghai, Siege of, in 1853, LeisH.
- Sports and Games, Chinese, I. T. Headland, O.
- Taming of the Dragon, L. J. Davies, Forum.
- Ward, Frederick Townsend, the American Gordon, T. R. Dawley, Jr., Mod.
- Western Powers, China and the, F. Crispi, NAR.
- Wou-San-Kwei—a Chinese Satrap, D. C. Boulger, Corn.
- Choir Pieces, Words of, W. S. Pratt, Hart.
- Christian Instinct, E. F. Burr, Hom.
- Christianity and Race Evolution, J. H. Willey, MRNY.
- Christianity, Ethics of, W. B. Greene, Jr., PQ, October.
- Christianity, Antecedents of, R. Mariano, NA, October 1.
- Christ's Time, Inner Life of, G. F. Genung, Bib.
- Church for the Times, E. H. Dewart, Hom.
- Cities, Battle of the, A. I. Street, Ains.
- Civil Engineering as a Profession, L. F. Vernon-Harcourt, NatR.
- Cloud-Bursts in Arizona, J. J. E. Lindberg, WWM.
- Coal and Metals, R.-G. Lévy, RDM, November 1.
- Coal, Sea-Borne, Loading and Carrying of, F. S. Snowdon, Eng.
- College Endowments, J. Bigham, MRNY.
- Colleges, Ill-Gotten Gifts to, Vida D. Scudder, Atlant.
- College, The Christian, A. T. Perry, Hart.
- Commerce, International, Century of, O. P. Austin, NAR.
- Competitive System, What Communities Lose by the, J. London, Cos.
- Corporations, Public-Service, W. Z. Ripley, QJEcon.
- Corsica, Quaint Town of, Cham.
- Congo Free State, Visit to the, Count C. d'Ursel, RDM, November 1.
- Congressional Library, Marie A. Gannon, Ros.
- Constantinople, Robert College, G. Washburn, Hart.
- Consumption, Our Race and, J. Grant, San.
- Contiguity and Similarity, W. Fite, Phil.
- Crocker, Richard, The Real, W. M. Clemens, Home.
- "Cromwell," Morley's and Roosevelt's, Dial, November 1.
- Cuba as a Field for Emigration, Cham.
- Cuba's Closing Days, Problems of, Leonora B. Ellis, Mod.
- Cuba: The Greatest Charity Scheme of the Century, F. A. Munsey, Mun.
- Culture, New, for New Conditions, M. H. Liddell, WW.
- Currency: Coin Obligations of the United States, BankNY.
- Currency, United States, F. A. Vanderlip, BankL.
- Darius, the Median, P. P. Flournoy, PQ, October.
- Debts of Honor, W. A. McClean, GBag.
- Democracy: Is It a Failure in the Spanish-American Republics? J. M. Spangler, MRNY.
- Democracy, Organized, and Real Parliamentaryism, C. Benoit, RDM, October 15.
- Democracy, Vindication of, Fort.
- "Dictionary of National Biography," H. Ellis, Crit.
- Divines, Eminent, Study of, J. W. Webb, MRNY.
- Dogmatism, Tendencies of, H. Bassermann, Deut.
- Drama, American, Some Phases of the, L. Mead, Mod.
- Drama, Literary Prospects of the, Mr. Rostand and, Edin.
- Drama: Modern English, C. Hastings, Nou, October 16.
- Dramatic Art in England and America, C. Scott, Mun.
- Dress, Extravagances in, Guendolen Ramsden, NineC.
- Duck-Shooting Methods, J. D. Knap, O.
- Duels, Eighteenth-Century, R. Machray, NIM.
- Dumb Persons: How They Speak, E. F. Edgett, Str.
- Dunrobin Castle, R. S. Gower, P.M.M.
- Ecclesiastical Function, W. G. F. Wallace, PQ, October.
- Echegaray: Spanish Statesman, Dramatist, Poet, Fanny H. Gardner, PL, September.
- Education:
- Arithmetic, Some Historical Points on, S. Harvey, Ed.
- Boys, Private Schools for, L. C. Hull, EdR.
- Education and Morals, B. Winchester, EdR.
- Education as World-Building, T. Davidson, EdR.
- England, Educational Movements in—IV., W. K. Hill, School.
- English Composition in Secondary Schools, Mabel L. Warner, Ed.
- France, Training Teachers in, Lucy M. Salmon, EdR.
- German Higher Schools, E. E. Brown, EdR.
- Higher Education, Ethnic View of, I. W. Howerth, EdR.
- High-School Reform, C. M. Clay, Ed.
- High Schools, Problems Which Confront, R. G. Huling, H. L. Boltwood, C. C. Ramsay, A. W. Bachele, Ed.
- History, Difficulties in Teaching, J. T. McManis, School.
- History-Teaching, Concreteness in, H. E. Bolton, School.
- London School Board, Three Years' Progressivism at the, T. J. Macnamara, Fort.
- Physical a "Training for Power," H. Crew, School.
- Secondary Education in the United States—III., The High-School Period, E. E. Brown, School.
- Secondary Schools for Girls, Private, Louise S. B. Saunders, EdR.
- Teaching as a Profession, Carolyn Shipman, EdR.
- Edwards, Jonathan, Early Idealism of, H. N. Gardiner, Phil.
- Egypt: From Alexandria to the First Cataract of the Nile, F. M. Davenport, Chaut.
- Electricity in the Printing-Office, W. H. Tapley, CasM.
- Electric Tramways in Italy, E. Bignami, Eng.
- Eleusinian Mysteries, C. J. Wood, OC.
- Elocutionists, Women, J. D. Miller, NatM.
- England: see Great Britain.
- England: How Certain Hebrews Wandered to Britain, M. W. Spencer, AngA.
- England, Quickest Streets in, NIM.
- England: The Cinque Ports, Black.
- Enterprise and Profit, F. B. Hawley, QJEcon.
- "Europe Is No More," M. Debrit, IntM.
- Expiation in Human Redemption, Place of, G. B. Gow, AJT.
- Factory Legislation, Courts and, G. W. Alger, AJS.
- Fatalism of the Century, C. Ferguson, Mind.
- Fisheries, Conservation of Our, C. M. Blackford, Jr., O.
- Fitz-Gerald, Edward, B. Torrey, Atlant.
- Flynt, Tutor, New England's First Humorist, D. M. Wilson, NEng.
- Football: Evolution in Tactics and Play, W. Camp; Development of the Kicking Game, G. H. Brooke; A Manual in Punting, P. D. Haughton; The Player's Harness, C. Chadwick, O.
- France:
- Army Maneuvers, H. S. Somerset, NineC.
- Brittany, Pagan, A. de Croze, RRP, October 15.
- Elections, Psychology of the, P. Pottier, RRP, October 15.
- Freemasonry in the Army, L. Jeandré, RRP, November 1.
- Military Question, A. Veuglaire, BU.
- Wit in the Eighteenth Century, S. G. Tallentyre, Corn.
- France, M. Anatole, New Novels of, QR, October.
- Franklin, Benjamin: His Relation to Music, O. G. Sonneck, Mus.
- Frederick the Great—III., W. O'C. Morris, USM.
- Friendship Between the Sexes, L. K. Stibbard, West.
- "From India to the Planet Mars," J. H. Hyslop, NAR.
- Fruit-Growing in America, T. Dreiser, Harp.
- Gael, The, and His Heritage, Fiona Macleod, NineC.
- Galveston Tragedy, J. Fay, Cos.
- Game-Bird Shooting in South Africa, H. A. Bryden, O.
- Game, Mountain, of Europe, W. A. Baillie-Grohman, O.
- Garden-Making, E. S. Prior, IntS.
- Garden, My Midwinter, M. Thompson, Cent.
- Gas-Light, Contem.
- Gaul, Roman Conquest of, Edin, October.
- German Socialists and the Agrarian Question, E. Milhaud, RSoc, October.
- Gerry, Elbridge T., and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, J. H. Adams, Ains.
- Golf, Spread of, WW.
- Gospel, Fourth, Tatian's Rearrangement of the, B. W. Bacon, AJT.
- Gottschalk: The First American Pianist, E. Swayne, Mus, October.
- Great Britain: see also Transvaal.
- Administrative Reform, W. E. Snell, West.
- Army and Its Critics, J. W. Fortescue, Mac.
- Army, How to Popularize the, P.M.M.
- Army Organization, G. Chesney, JMSL.
- Army: Reorganization, Black.
- Belgium, England and, Fort.
- British Czar: The General Elector, W. T. Stead, AMRR.
- Cabinet Government or Departmentalism? J. A. R. Marriott, NineC.
- Canada, Sacrifices of, E. E. Williams, NatR.
- Chamberlain, Joseph, Triumph of, Gunt.
- Churchmen in the Liberal Party, H. C. Garrod, West.
- Commercial Relations of England, U. A. Forbes, LQ.
- Electioneering Women, Elizabeth L. Banks, NineC.
- Election, Patriotic—and After, J. A. Sponder, Contem.
- England's Unpopularity, Lord Newton, Deut.
- English Calm, B. Karageorgevitch, RRP, October 15.
- Englishman: Why He Succeeds—II., W. H. Fitchett, RRM, September.
- General Election, Edin, October; QR, October.
- Imperialism in Extremis, West.
- Industrial Supremacy, Question of, J. Burnley, Cham.
- Intelligence Department, English, A. Griffiths, Forum.
- Invasion of England, Problem of an, W. E. Cairnes, NatR.
- Liberalism, Downfall of, E. Dicey, Fort.
- National Defense, Universities and, T. F. C. Huddleston, NatR.
- Navy, Rank and File of the, C. Beresford, Str.
- Parliament, New, Black.
- Parliament, Quaint Side of, GBag.
- Philanthropy vs. Legislation, A. Ogilvie, West.
- Post-Office, Report of the, BankL.
- Problems Facing England, W. T. Stead, RRL.
- Reconstruction or Catastrophe? NatR.
- School Board, Moderates and the, W. C. Bridgeman, NatR.

- Schools, Higher Elementary, E. L. Stanley, Contem.
 Soldiers, British, Black.
 Tariff Information, A. Warren, West.
 Volunteer Force, Constitution of the, E. Balfour, USM.
 Volunteers, Training of the, USM.
 Greek Religion and Mythology, P. Carus, OC.
 Guns, Great, How the United States Tests Its, C. M. McGovern, Home.
 Hall of Fame, H. M. MacCracken, AMRR.
 Hamburg, Port of, P. de Rousiers, RPar, October 15.
 Hanna, Marcus Alonzo, W. A. White, McCl.
 Harcourt, Sir William, Parliamentary Anecdotes of, W. Sidebotham, Cham.
 Hawaii First—III., E. S. Goodhue, AngA.
 Hebrew Law, Development of the, E. Peck, Bib.
 Helmholtz, Hermann von, Edin, October.
 Horse, American Heavy Harness, Making the, F. M. Ware, O.
 Hospitals, Dispensaries, and Nursing—II., H. M. Hurd, Char.
 Housekeeping, Study of, in Boston, Mary E. Trueblood, NEng.
 Hovey, Richard: His Promise and Work, Helena Knorr, PL, September.
 Hudson's Bay Company To-day, B. Willson, Corn.
 Hugo, Victor, Love-Letters of (1820-1822), Harp.
 Human Race, Cradle of the, S. Waddington, NineC.
 Human Vitality, Vibrations of, H. Baraduc, RRP, November 1.
 Hurricane, Mechanism of the, J. Montague, Home.
 Hurricanes on the Coast of Texas, A. W. Greeley, NatGM.
 Idealism, Practicable, A. Boutwood, LQ, October.
 Immigrants, B. J. Hendrick, FRL.
 India: An Empire Adrift, V. Nash, Contem.
 India, Famines in, G. Bradshaw, Long.
 Indian-Land, Trip to, Helen K. Mills, Kind.
 Infantry, Mounted, R. H. Carr-Ellison, USM.
 Inns, Little, of France and England, E. C. Peixotto, Cos.
 Inquiry, Spirit of, Unshackling of the, E. Krause, OC.
 Inspiration, R. H. Newton, Mind.
 Insurance Against Death, Old Age, and Sickness, L. Fontaine, RefS, October 15.
 Irish Church from the Danish to the Anglo-Norman Invasion, E. A. d'Alton, Dub, October.
 Iron, Revival and Reaction in, A. Brown, Forum.
 Irrigation for the East, IA.
 Irrigation in Nebraska, IA.
 Irrigation in Washington, A. A. Batcheller, IA.
 Irrigation in the West, W. E. Smythe, Atlant.
 Irrigation: Limited Water-Supply of the Arid Region, F. H. Newell, NatGM.
 Italy:
 Colonization and Agrarian Reform, M. Ferraris, NA, October 1.
 Humbert, L., Commemorations of, G. Pompili, NA, October 1.
 Italy, L. Vitali, RasN, October 1.
 Italian Unity, Completion of, 1861-71, Edin, October.
 Italy, Third Life of, G. d'Annunzio, NAR.
 Savings-Banks, Italian, P. Manassei, RasN, October 16.
 Situation in Italy, B. King, Contem.
 Socialists, Congress of, G. Pinardi, RSoc, October.
 Vatican and Quirinal, Struggle Between, G. M. Fleming, Deut.
 Japan, Education in, Louise E. Dew, Kind.
 Japanese Navy, C. C. P. Fitzgerald, NatR.
 Japanese Theater, J. Hitomi, RRP, October 15.
 Japanese—"The French of the Far East," Cora L. Daniels, Mod.
 Japan, Industrial Revolution in, Count Okuma, NAR.
 Jesus, Story of—II., C. Howard, LHJ.
 Joachim, Joseph, Edith L. Winn, Mus.
 Job, Book of, Literary Study of the, W. E. Smyser, MRNY.
 Jordan River, Sources of the, J. L. Leeper, Bib.
 Journalism of New York, H. Davis, Mun.
 Kant, Abstract Freedom of, R. B. Perry, Phil.
 Karl XV., King of Sweden and Norway, C. Schefer, Deut.
 Keeler, James Edward, W. W. Campbell, PopS.
 Keswick Teaching and Effective Gospel Preaching, A. T. Pierson, Hom.
 Key, Francis Scott, Recollections of, Anna K. Bartow, Mod.
 Khakimania, Effects of, Upon Our Dress, H. Shuddick, West.
 Kindergarten, Ethical and Religious Import of the, W. M. Bryant, KindR.
 Kindergartens in the Southland, Mrs. Anna Murray, Kind.
 Kindergarten Work, Simplicity in, Mary J. Garland, KindR.
 Klondike, Impressions of, C. C. Osborne, Mac.
 Lacock Abbey, A. H. Diplock, Gent.
 Lake-Dwellers, Dr. Jessopp, NineC.
 Lamb, Charles, QR, October.
 Law, Roman, Spirit of the, G. Ravené, GBag.
 Lawyer and the Corporation, B. Winchester, Mod.
 Legislation, Direct, in America, E. P. Oberholtzer, Arena.
 Leszczynska, Stanislas and Marie, P. Boyé, RPar, November 1.
 Liberty through Sovereignty, J. Lee, NEng.
 Lind, Jenny, in St. Louis, T. Papin, Mus.
 Literary Center of the English Language, Future, B. Matthews, Bkman.
 Literature, American, Tendencies of, C. L. Moore, Dial, November 1.
 Literature: Débuts of Great Writers, D. d'Almeras, RRP, November 1.
 Literature: Montaigne and Essay-Writing in France, F. M. Warren, Chaut.
 Literature: Slavonic Silhouettes, C. Brinton, Crit.
 Liverpool, Street-Trading Children of, T. Burke, Contem.
 Locke's Relation to Descartes, F. Thilly, Phil.
 London Omnibuses, W. B. Robertson, Cass.
 Longinus and the Treatise on the Sublime, QR, October.
 Luke, Gospel of, Purpose and Plan of the, E. D. Burton, Bib.
 Machinery, Part Played by, L. Houllevigue, RPar, October 15.
 Machine-Shop Cost Reduction, M. Cokely, Eng.
 Mahometan Rule, Sufferings of Christians Under, Ros.
 Malaria and the Mosquito, QR, October.
 Marshall, Emily, W. Perrine, LHJ.
 Maryland, Early, Bar of, E. S. Riley, GBag.
 Master, Life of the—XI., The Crucifixion of the Messiah, J. Watson, McCl.
 Maternal Instinct and the Genesis of Morality, San.
 Mazzucato, Giannandrea, Mus, October.
 Mecca Pilgrimage: How It Is Conducted, A. E. Wort, WWM.
 Medical Jurisprudence in America, C. Bell, San.
 Mexico, National Drink of, Clara S. Brown, Over, October.
 Mill, John Stuart, A Letter to, W. M. Daniels, Atlant.
 Mind Reader, How to Become a, H. Sutherland, Home.
 Mine Management, Principles of, A. G. Charleton, Eng.
 Missions:
 American Board, Annual Survey of the Work of the, J. Smith, and J. L. Barton, MisH.
 American Missionary Association, C. J. Ryder, NatM.
 Banza Manteke, Africa, Story of, H. Richards, MisR.
 China, Future Policy in, A. J. Brown, MisR.
 China, Martyrs of the American Board in, MisH.
 China: the Situation and the Outlook, J. Smith, MisH.
 Hawaii, Mission of, O. H. Gulick, MisR.
 Jews, Mission-Work Among the, A. T. Pierson, MisR.
 Medical Missions, Problems of, E. W. G. Shetterman, MisR.
 Nevius Method in Mission-Work, D. Z. Sheffield, MisR.
 Nicaragua Mission, Crisis in the, P. de Schweinitz, MisR.
 Robert College: How It Was Built, C. Hamlin, MisR.
 Mobile, From, to New Orleans, Ellye H. Glover, Int.
 Mohammedanism in the Nineteenth Century, O. Mann, NAR.
 Money, International, J. H. Cuntz, BankNY.
 Mont St. Michel, Graves and Ghosts of, B. Gilman, Over, October.
 Moorish Market, In a, NIM.
 Morocco, Past and Present, QR, October.
 Morocco, Yesterday and To-day in, B. Meakin, Forum.
 Motorcycles, Field for, M. C. Krupar, O.
 Municipal Government Now and a Hundred Years Ago, C. R. Woodruff, PopS.
 Municipal Trading, Edin, October.
 Musical Interpretation, Competent, W. S. B. Mathews, Mus.
 Napoleonic Question, H. Ullmann, Deut.
 Napoleon in the Near East, W. Miller, West.
 National Guard: In What Way Can It Be Made an Effective Reserve? W. B. Bend, L. D. Greene, JMSI.
 Nations, Rivalry of: World Politics of To-day—V.-VIII., E. A. Start, Chaut.
 Navy Mysteries of the, A. T. Vance, NatM.
 Navy, United States: The *Hornet's* Sting and Wing, P. S. P. Conner, NEng.
 Nebraska: Riches of a Rural State, W. R. Lighton, WW.
 New England Travels, Early Writer of, L. Hayward, NEng.
 Nevins, Ethelbert, W. S. Cather, LHJ.
 New Testament, Revised Version of the, Present Position of the, J. H. Moulton, LQ, October.
 New York and Its Historians, Mrs. S. Van Rensselaer, NAR.
 New York City, Cross Streets of, J. L. Williams, Scrib.
 New York City, Waterways of, M. Foster, Mun.
 New York, Journalism of, H. Davis, Mun.
 New York Life-Insurance Company, BankL.
 New York Zoological Park, W. T. Hornaday, Cent.
 Nietzsche, Friedrich: His Life and Teaching, B. Hume, LQ.
 Nietzsche, Friedrich, Poetry of, T. F. Coduri, NA, October 1.
 Nietzsche, Friedrich, Philosophy of, Prof. Bazellotti, NA, October 16.
 Nordica: A Study, W. Armstrong, Mus.
 North Pole, Nearer the, S. Bompiani, Out.
 Novel, Detective, Germ of the, H. L. Williams, BB.
 Oberammergau Passion Play, J. J. Walsh, Cath.
 Oberammergau, Vulgarism of, L. C. Morant, NineC.
 Ocean Liner, Romance of a, YM.
 Ocean Liners in Time of War, D. T. Timins, Cass.
 Old Testament Prophets, W. R. Betteridge, AJT.
 Ostriches, Raising, in Florida, D. A. Willey, Int.
 Oxford, Town and Gown Rows at, M. R. Roberts, Cass.
 Pacific Coast, The: A Psychological Study of Influence, J. Royce, IntM.
 Pan-American Conference, Next, W. C. Fox, Forum.
 Pan-American Exposition, Anna B. McGill, Cath.
 Paris Exposition:
 Art at the Exposition, R. de la Sizeranne, RDM, October 15.

- Bread-Making at the Exposition, H. W. Wiley, Forum.
 Camera at the Fair, D. L. Elmenhorst, Scrib.
 Congress of the History of Religions, J. de Coussanges, RRP, October 15.
 Exhibition, Closing, P. Geddes, Contem.
 Landscape Features, S. Parsons, Jr., Scrib.
 Locomotive Exhibit, C. Rous-Marten, Eng.
 Negroes, American, Exhibit by, W. E. B. Du Bois, AMRR.
 Russian Philanthropy, A. Raffalovitch, Nou, October 16.
 Tools, Foreign Machine, J. Horner, CasM.
 Trocadero, School of the, M. Talmeir, RDM, November 1.
 World's Fairs, Greatest of, C. E. Russell, Mun.
 Parliament, Men and Manners in, YM.
 Pascal, Inner Life of, N. Luccock, Chaut.
 Patriotism and Humanitarianism, 1870-71, G. Goyau, RDM, October 15.
 Peace Movement, Status of the, Bertha von Suttner, NAR.
 Pension Funds, Railway, in England, BankL.
 Petroleum Pipe-Line, Russian, E. H. Foster, CasM.
 Philippines: Manila Observatory, J. Algué, NatGM.
 Philippines, Notes on the Fighting in the, J. Parker, JMSI.
 Philippines, Problem of the, H. C. Potter, Cent.
 Philippines: The Sulu Archipelago, P. Whitmarsh, Out.
 Photography:
 Agfa-Intensifier, F. Hansen, PhoT.
 Camera in Science, Art, and Pastime, J. C. Abel, Mod.
 Fishing with a Camera, R. W. Shufeldt, Cos.
 Imogen: A New Developer, J. Gaedicke, WPM.
 Insect Studies with the Camera, C. M. Weed, O.
 Intensification, New Method of, F. Hansen, APB.
 Nature Pictures, Revolution in, A. R. Dugmore, WW.
 Negative as a Factor in the Finished Print, APB.
 Negative Faking, H. Scofield, WPM.
 Perspective, Aerial, G. Albién, APB.
 Philadelphia Photographic Salon, W. B. Dyer, BP.
 Pictorial Movement, A. Hewitt, PhoT.
 Reproduction, Direct, of Drawings, Maps, Engravings, etc., F. Alberini, APB.
 Shutter, Testing the Speed of a, W. A. Ingram, PhoT.
 Spots and Spotting, A. Lockett, WPM.
 Stains, Some Useful, J. B. Haggart, APB.
 Stops, Lenses, and Perspective, J. H. A. Baugh, WPM.
 Textile Designs by Photographic Methods, WPM.
 Woods, In the, with a Camera, E. H. Baynes, Home.
 Physical Science, Theistic and Christian, E. M. Davis, PQ.
 Physical Science vs. Matter and Form, C. Aherne, Dub, Oct.
 Piano Methods, Comparative, W. L. Calhoun, Mus, October.
 "Pickwick," Writing of—II., H. Hall, BB.
 Pine, Monterey, Gall of the, W. A. Cannon, ANat, October.
 Planets, Study of the, C. de Freycinet, Deut.
 Playwrights, Problems and, Fort.
 Poetry, English Patriotic, QR, October.
 Polar Expeditions, E. Oberst, RasN, October 16.
 Political Affairs in the United States:
 American Parties, Defense of, W. G. Brown, Atlant.
 Bryan and McKinley—the Parting of the Ways, J. L. Whittle, Fort.
 Bryanism, S. Brooks, Contem.
 Campaigns, National, Cost of, WW.
 Campaign Orators, L. B. Little, Mun.
 Campaign, Picturesque Features of the, M. Mannering, NatM.
 Caricatures, Historical Campaign, WW.
 Cartoons in American Politics, M. Mannering, NatM.
 Democratic Campaign, Management of the, W. J. Abbot, AMRR.
 Democratic Success, Reasons for, C. A. Towne, Forum.
 Election Day, L. J. Lang, FrL.
 Fiat-Money Movement, A. O. Eliason, BankNY.
 Issue, Predominant, W. G. Sumner, IntM.
 Presidential Chances, Law of, WW.
 Presidential Election, A. Shaw, Contem; QR, October.
 Republican National Committee, Work of the, AMRR.
 Republicans: Why They Should be Indorsed, C. Dick, Forum.
 Political Ideas, Evolution of, A. E. Davies, AngA.
 Political Theory and Practice, Recent, QR, October.
 Porto Rico, Political Beginnings in, J. Finley, AMRR.
 Preaching, Expository, G. H. Dublink, PQ, October.
 Press, The, and Public Opinion, D. T. Pierce, Gunt.
 Prima-Donnas of the Past, G. Le G. Norgate, PMM.
 Prison Laboratories, C. R. Henderson, AJS.
 Prison, Recreation of, T. Hopkins, PMM.
 Prosperity Probed, H. Maine, Arena.
 Psychology, The New, R. N. Price, Mind.
 Pusey, Edward B., as a Devotional Writer, F. Platt, LQ.
 Quebec, Pioneer Women of, Mary S. Pepper, Chaut.
 Race Problems at the South, Montgomery Conference on, N. L. Anderson, PQ, October.
 Race Question? Have We an American: The Negro Vindicated, G. A. Mebane; Passing of the Race Problem, W. L. Hawley; Lawlessness vs. Lawlessness, W. S. Scarborough: A Plea from the South, W. Guild, Arena.
 Railways, Government Ownership of—III., R. L. Richardson, Can.
 Reformed Church and Standards, N. M. Steffens, PQ.
 Religion: First, That Which Is Natural, J. F. Chaffee, MRNY.
 Religion, Testimony of Science to, A. A. McGinley, Cath.
 Revolution, Sergeant Macdonald in the, J. P. MacLean, AMonM.
 Rock Formation, Artificial, G. A. Best, Str.
 Roman Catholic Church, Reform Within the, Contem.
 Rome as a Political Bogey, W. S. Davis, WW.
 Roof-Gardens, G. Dollar, Str.
 Ruskin, Art and Truth of, J. La Farge, IntM.
 Russell, Lord, of Killowen, GBag.
 Russia:
 Awakening of Russia, M. A. Morrison, LeisH.
 Creeds of Russia—I., The Old Faith, E. W. Lowry, Gent.
 Financial Crisis in the Russian Capitals, G. Afanassiev, Refs, October 16.
 Future of Russia, E. Noble, Atlant.
 Greek Church of Russia—II., B. Meakim, MisR.
 Russia's March to the East, Anna N. Benjamin, Ains.
 Russo-American Diplomacy, True Motif of, O. A. Mowland, AngA.
 Siberian Railway, Great, H. Norman, Scrib.
 Saloon in Chicago, R. L. Melendy, AJS.
 Samoan Islands, E. V. Morgan, NatGM.
 Sarsfield, Patrick, R. B. O'Brien, Corn.
 Saturnalia and Kindred Festivals, J. G. Frazer, Fort.
 Science, British Association for the Advancement of, Address of the President Before the—II., W. Turner, PopS.
 Scientific Speculation and Unity of Truth, R. E. Froude, Dub.
 Scotland, Free Church of, Union of the, and the United.
 Presbyterian Church, J. Orr, and J. Denney, LQ, October.
 Scotland, Restoration Régime in, Edin, October.
 Scotland: Some Scenes in the Highlands, A. I. Shand, Bad.
 Scottish History, Early, QR, October.
 Shakespeare's "Richard the Third," J. L. Eddy, Mac.
 Shakespeare's Time, Domestic Life of—III., S. Lanier, Mod.
 Shakespeare, William—XIII., H. W. Mabie, Out.
 Ship-Carrying Trade Under American and Foreign Flags, G. B. Waldron, Chaut.
 Shooting, Field, Practice for, E. W. Sandys, O.
 Sidney, Sir Philip, Home of, H. C. Shelley, NEng.
 Slavery, Up from—An Autobiography, B. T. Washington, Out.
 Slave-Traders, Ocean, Last of the, G. S. Boutwell, NEng.
 Sleeping-Apartments, Children's, Hygiene of, J. Byrne, San.
 Smoke Abatement, W. H. Bryan, CasM.
 Social Control—XIX., E. A. Ross, AJS.
 Socialism, Juridical Aspects of, G. Sorel, RSoc, October.
 Social Settlements and Working-men's Colleges, English, A. Filon, RDM, October 15.
 Sociology, Modern, F. H. Giddings, IntM.
 Sociology, Scope of,—VI., A. W. Small, AJS.
 Soldier, German, Making a, R. S. Baker, McCl.
 South America, Pampas Country of, F. Macler, BU.
 South America, Yankee Millionaires in, D. White, Ains.
 South, Oriental Cheap Labor in the, May W. Mount, Gunt.
 Spain: San Ildefonso, Mrs. M. L. Woods, Corn.
 Spain's Foreign Finance, G. Sanchez, RPP, October.
 Spanish America, Course of Events in, EM, October.
 Speech, American—II., Bostonisms, S. D. McCormick, Bkman.
 Spiritual Element in Art, G. F. Powers, FrL.
 Sport, Elizabethan, QR, October.
 Sportsmen in Purple, H. Macfarlane, Bad.
 Stage, Our Schools for the, B. Howard, Cent.
 Stars: Binary and Multiple Systems, S. Newcomb, PopS.
 Stars, Evolution of the, J. E. Gore, Gent.
 Steam-Condensing Plant, Centralized, H. G. V. Oldham, Eng.
 Steam-Engine Practice, Continental, W. D. Wansbrough, CasM.
 Steinitz and Other Chess-Players, A. Guest, Contem.
 Strike, Coal-Miners', E. W. Mayo, FrL.
 Sudermann, Hermann, Plays of, Dora N. Jones, West.
 Sullivan, General John, F. B. Sanborn, NEng.
 Symphony Since Beethoven, H. Imbert, Mus.
 Taxes, Distribution of the, E. Atkinson, PopS.
 Telephone, Romance of the, J. P. Bocock, Mun.
 Telescope, Great, Building of a, H. J. Shepstone, Cas.
 Thackeray—I., Mary J. Darkesteter, RPar, November 1.
 Thebes: Her Ruins and Her Memories, D. Hunter, Cos.
 Theological Seminaries, Influence of Missions on, W. Walker, Hart.
 Theology and Modern Thought, W. H. Kent, Dub, October.
 Theology, Authority as a Principle of, J. Kaftan, AJT.
 Tolstoy Criticised by an Italian Bishop, G. Gabrieli, RasN, October 1.
 Toronto, Canada, J. L. Hughes, NEng.
 Transvaal: see also Great Britain.
 Annexation, After the, Black.
 Artillery in Natal—Colenso, C. H. Wilson, USM.
 Buller, on the Move with, Black.
 Federation in South Africa, QR, October.
 Lessons of the War, Lord Thring, C. & Court, and A. S. Hurd, NineC.
 Settlers, South African, A. White, Contem; Mac.
 Sick and Wounded in South Africa, Edin, October.

Side-Lights on the Battle-Field, RRM, September.
 South Africa, Yankee Correspondent in, J. Ralph, Cent.
 War Operations in South Africa, Black; Edin, October.
 Trevithick, Richard, A. Titley, CasM.
 Trusts: Can There Be a Good Trust? G. E. Roberts, Forum.
 Trusts: Facts Established and Problems Unsolved, J. W. Jenks, QJ Econ.
 Trusts in England, R. Donald, AMRR.
 United States and the Australasian Federation Compared, R. Stout, Forum.
 United States: Growth as a World-Power, F. Emory, WW.
 United States: Our Place Among the Nations, WW.
 United States, Population of the, During the Next Ten Centuries, H. S. Pritchett, PopS.
 Vaccination, Notes on the Subject of, A. L. Haines, JMSI.
 Vagabonds, Concerning, M. M. Turnbull, Gent.
 Vendetta, Provençal, in the 16th Century, Count Remacle, RPar, October 15 and November 1.
 Verse, American, Century of, Dial, October 16.
 Virgil and the Divine Pastoral, Countess M. Cesaresco, Contem.
 Virginia, Miss Johnston's, T. Dixon, Jr., Bkman.
 Voice-Culture, Mrs. W. Creyke, NineC.
 Voice-Teaching, Scientific, K. Hackett, Mus, October.
 Wagner and Legends of the Grail, Jennette Pryce, West.

Wales, History of a Small Estate in, S. Leighton, NatR.
 War Before and After the Renaissance, H. E. Malden, USM.
 War Correspondent, H. F. P. Battersby, NatR.
 Warfare: Cavalry vs. Infantry, A. M. Low, Forum.
 Warner, Charles Dudley, Dial, November 1.
 Water-Filtration, Benefit of Alum in, C. V. Chapin, San.
 Water, Filtration of, for Public Use, JMSI.
 Water-Power and Electricity, Cham.
 Water Supplies, Public, T. H. McKenzie, San.
 Webster, Daniel, J. B. McMaster, Cent.
 Westminster Confession's Right to Construe Itself, E. Daniel, PQ, October.
 Wheat Crop, Evolution of a, H. Bindloss, Mac.
 Wheat Crop, World's, Transportation of the, G. E. Walsh, Arena.
 White House: Future of the, T. A. Bingham, LHJ.
 Wisconsin, Facts About, Jessie G. Finney, AMonM.
 Woman, American, Retrogression of the, Flora McD. Thompson, NAR.
 Women, Elizabethan, G. Bradford, Jr., PL, September.
 World Politics, Moral and Social Tasks of, M. Maurenbrecher, AJS.
 World's Unity League, B. O. Flower, Arena.
 Worship, Primitive Objects of—II., L. Marillier, IntM.
 Yorkshire, Picturesque, J. Telford, LQ, October.

Abbreviations of Magazine Titles used in the Index.

[All the articles in the leading reviews are indexed, but only the more important articles in the other magazines.]

Ains.	Ainslee's Magazine, N. Y.	Eng.	Engineering Magazine, N. Y.	Nou.	Nouvelle Revue, Paris.
ACQR.	American Catholic Quarterly Review, Phila.	EM.	España Moderna, Madrid.	NA.	Nouva Antologia, Rome.
AHR.	American Historical Review, N. Y.	Fort.	Fortnightly Review, London.	OC.	Open Court, Chicago.
AJS.	American Journal of Sociology, Chicago.	Forum.	Forum, N. Y.	O.	Outing, N. Y.
AJT.	American Journal of Theology, Chicago.	FrL.	Frank Leslie's Monthly, N. Y.	Out.	Outlook, N. Y.
ALR.	American Law Review, St. Louis.	Gent.	Gentleman's Magazine, London.	Over.	Overland Monthly, San Francisco.
AMonM.	American Monthly Magazine, Washington, D. C.	GBag.	Green Bag, Boston.	PMM.	Pall Mall Magazine, London.
AMRR.	American Monthly Review of Reviews, N. Y.	Gunt.	Gunt's Magazine, N. Y.	Pear.	Pearson's Magazine, N. Y.
ANat.	American Naturalist, Boston.	Harp.	Harper's Magazine, N. Y.	Phil.	Philosophical Review, N. Y.
AngA.	Anglo-American Magazine, N. Y.	Hart.	Hartford Seminary Record, Hartford, Conn.	PhoT.	Photographic Times, N. Y.
Annals.	Annals of the American Academy of Pol. and Soc. Science, Phila.	Home.	Home Magazine, N. Y.	PL.	Poet-Lore, Boston.
APB.	Anthony's Photographic Bulletin, N. Y.	Hom.	Homiletic Review, N. Y.	PSQ.	Political Science Quarterly, Boston.
Arch.	Architectural Record, N. Y.	HumN.	Humanité Nouvelle, Paris.	PopA.	Popular Astronomy, Northfield, Minn.
Arena.	Arena, N. Y.	Int.	International, Chicago.	PopS.	Popular Science Monthly, N. Y.
AA.	Art Amateur, N. Y.	IJE.	International Journal of Ethics, Phila.	PRR.	Presbyterian and Reformed Review, Phila.
AE.	Art Education, N. Y.	IntM.	International Monthly, N. Y.	PQ.	Presbyterian Quarterly, Charlotte, N. C.
AI.	Art Interchange, N. Y.	IntS.	International Studio, N. Y.	QJ Econ.	Quarterly Journal of Economics, Boston.
AJ.	Art Journal, London.	IA.	Irrigation Age, Chicago.	QR.	Quarterly Review, London.
Art.	Artist, London.	JMSI.	Journal of the Military Service Institution, Governor's Island, N. Y. H.	RasN.	Rassegna Nazionale, Florence.
Atlant.	Atlantic Monthly, Boston.	JPEcon.	Journal of Political Economy, Chicago.	Record.	Record of Christian Work, East Northfield, Mass.
Bad.	Badminton, London.	Kind.	Kindergarten Magazine, Chicago.	RefS.	Réforme Sociale, Paris.
BankL.	Bankers' Magazine, London.	KindR.	Kindergarten Review, Springfield, Mass.	RRL.	Review of Reviews, London.
BankNY.	Bankers' Magazine, N. Y.	LHJ.	Ladies' Home Journal, Phila.	RRM.	Review of Reviews, Melbourne.
Bib.	Biblical World, Chicago.	LeisH.	Leisure Hour, London.	RDM.	Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris.
BSac.	Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, O.	Lipp.	Lippincott's Magazine, Phila.	RDP.	Revue du Droit Public, Paris.
BU.	Bibliothèque Universelle, Lausanne.	LQ.	London Quarterly Review, London.	RGEn.	Revue Générale, Brussels.
Black.	Blackwood's Magazine, Edinburgh.	Long.	Longman's Magazine, London.	RPar.	Revue de Paris, Paris.
BB.	Book Buyer, N. Y.	Luth.	Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, Pa.	RPP.	Revue Politique et Parlementaire, Paris.
Bkman.	Bookman, N. Y.	McCl.	McClure's Magazine, N. Y.	RRP.	Revue des Revues, Paris.
BP.	Brush and Pencil, Chicago.	Mac.	Macmillan's Magazine, London.	RSoc.	Revue Socialiste, Paris.
Can.	Canadian Magazine, Toronto.	MA.	Magazine of Art, London.	RPL.	Rivista Politica e Letteraria, Rome.
Cass.	Cassell's Magazine, London.	MRN.	Methodist Review, Nashville.	Ros.	Rosary, Somerset, Ohio.
CasM.	Cassier's Magazine, N. Y.	MRNY.	Methodist Review, N. Y.	San.	Sanitarian, N. Y.
Cath.	Catholic World, N. Y.	Mind.	Mind, N. Y.	School.	School Review, Chicago.
Cent.	Century Magazine, N. Y.	MisH.	Missionary Herald, Boston.	Scrib.	Scribner's Magazine, N. Y.
Cham.	Chambers's Journal, Edinburgh.	MisR.	Missionary Review, N. Y.	SR.	Sewanee Review, N. Y.
Char.	Charities Review, N. Y.	Mod.	Modern Culture, Cleveland, O.	Str.	Strand Magazine, London.
Chaut.	Chautauquan, Cleveland, O.	Mon.	Monist, Chicago.	Sun.	Sunday Magazine, London.
Cons.	Conservative Review, Washington.	MonR.	Monthly Review, N. Y.	Temp.	Temple Bar, London.
Contem.	Contemporary Review, London.	MunA.	Municipal Affairs, N. Y.	USM.	United Service Magazine, London.
Corn.	Cornhill, London.	Mun.	Munsey's Magazine, N. Y.	West.	Westminster Review, London.
Cos.	Cosmopolitan, N. Y.	Mus.	Music, Chicago.	Wern.	Werner's Magazine, N. Y.
Crit.	Critic, N. Y.	NatGM.	National Geographic Magazine, Washington, D. C.	WWM.	Wide World Magazine, London.
Deut.	Deutsche Revue, Stuttgart.	NatM.	National Magazine, Boston.	WPM.	Wilson's Photographic Magazine, N. Y.
Dial.	Dial, Chicago.	NatR.	National Review, London.	WW.	World's Work, N. Y.
Dub.	Dublin Review, Dublin.	NC.	New Church Review, Boston.	Yale.	Yale Review, New Haven.
Edin.	Edinburgh Review, London.	NEng.	New England Magazine, Boston.	YM.	Young Man, London.
Ed.	Education, Boston.	NIM.	New Illustrated Magazine, London.	YW.	Young Woman, London.
EdR.	Educational Review, N. Y.	NW.	New World, Boston.		
		NineC.	Nineteenth Century, London.		
		NAR.	North American Review, N. Y.		





